

A. D. 1364. King of France, compounding with the Widow of Charles de Blois for a Sum of Money, and some Estate in Land. And now Peace began to flourish, which is unwelcome to none but Soldiers, of which many, whom the War had bred, and Peace would not maintain, getting into strong Bodies in France, did much mischief, till a new Employment was found for them in the Spanish Wars, which happen'd soon after. A Company of them passed over into Italy under the Conduct of Sir John Hawkut^a a great Warriour, who found such Entertainment among the Princes there for the Restoration of military Discipline among them, and such Honour and Estate by his Valour, that his Fame remains to this Day, and his Statute (tho' he was but a Taylor) is there set among their Princes, most memorable for Virtue and Actions. So able was England at that time to furnish the World with great Commanders.

Sir John Hawkut famous in Italy, and by them call'd Johannes de Acuto.

1366. And now is this mighty King come to the fortieth Year of his Reign, which if it had been the last, he had dy'd the most glorious Prince of the World, having always hitherto had Fortune his Friend; but after this he suffer'd a Declination in his Glory, and his Age and Frailties brought some Blemishes upon his Actions. Charles V. King of France, surnam'd the Wise, having learned, by the Sufferings of his Father and himself, to manage a Crown before he had one, by his prudent Government got great advantages of him, and by the Advice of a wise Council, and good Conduct of his Wars by Gueselin, a Britain, chosen Constable of France, recovered his Estate and Power.

Charles K. of France gains much from the K. of England.

1367. The Prince of Wales remaining in the Duchy of Aquitain, with a great Court, and many military Attendants, which had no Employment, was solicited by Peter King of Castile^b, whom his Bastard-Brother Henry had driven from his Kingdom to assist him in recovering it; which the Prince, having obtained his Father's Consent, and being allured to, by the large Promises of Requitall made by the said Peter, undertakes. The Cause was much better than the Person. For this Peter, Son to Alphonsus II. King of Castile, was become intolerable to his Subjects, by his many tyrannical Cruelties acted upon them, oppressing and destroying his Nobles to enrich himself, and after murdering his Wife (who was the Duke of Bourbon's Daughter, and Sister to the present Queen of France) by the Instigation of his Concubine Maria de Padilla, whom he after marry'd. These Actions of his so incensed his People, that they adhering to his Bastard-Brother Henry, a more virtuous Prince, crown'd him King of Spain at Burgos, and forced Peter to fly his Kingdom. Peter being thus rejected of his People, and expelled his own Dominions, fled to the Prince of Wales, and obtained of him so much, that he went with an Army of thirty thousand, attended by his Brother John Duke of Lancaster, and many other English Lords, to re-invest him in his Kingdom. Henry had to support his Possession the French, under the Command of Gueselin Constable, and Dandreben^c Marshal of France, besides so many Castilians, Christians and Sarazens, as made him up an Army of near an hundred thousand Men. Upon the Confines of Castile these

Princes and their Armies came to a Battle^d, and the Prince had the Victory, Henry being put to flight, the French Captains taken Prisoners, and Peter placed upon his Throne again at Burgos. The Work being done, the Prince required the promised Reward, but Peter could not, nor would provide it; but having tired him with Delays, forced him at last to return to Burdeaux, without Money to pay his Army, and which was worst, without Health, which he never after recovered. This Success proved not fortunate to either. Peter, an ungrateful Tyrant, enjoy'd not his Right long, but was soon after dispossessed again, taken and put to Death. The Prince of Wales returning out of Spain without Reward, was forced to find out ways to content his Soldiers, who wanted their Pay; and imposed a new Tax upon the Gascoignes, of Fevage, or Chimney-money; which so discontented the People, that they exclaimed against the Government of the English, and appealed to the King and Court of France for Redress. The King of France, at the earnest request of the great Lords, and others, who by the late Treaty were obliged to hold of the Crown of England, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of Wales at Burdeaux to summon him to answer to their Complaints before him and his Court at Paris^e. At the same time also the Lords Arminiacq, D'Albert, Peregort, Cominges, and many others, made their Protestations against the King of England, in behalf of the Crown of France, which, said they, they were by Nature to obey, and not a strange Prince; That it was against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom to separate them from the Crown; That the Contract was made in Prison, and therefore constrained, and so not to be observed by the Right of Nations. So that they were resolved to spend their Lives and Estates, rather than be under the Government of England. And by their Example the Cities of the County of Ponthieu submitted themselves to Guy Count de S. Poll, and Guy de Chastillon. The King of England displeased with this Breach of the Treaty, complains to the Pope, and the Emperor Charles IV. who made a Journey into France on purpose to determine the Business, and reconcile the two Kings. The Ambassadors on both sides declared their Cause to him. The English alledged first, 'That this Treaty having been made more for the advantage of France than England, in that we resigned thereby not only our Title to Normandy, Tourain, and Anjou, the richest Countries of France, but our Title to the Crown, that we might have the Sovereign Dominion of the Duchy of Aquitain, the County of Ponthieu, with some other pieces, which by Right of Inheritance belonged to the Crown of England, whereby the Effusion of Christian Blood was prevented, France had Peace, and their King restored upon as reasonable Conditions as could be devised. Notwithstanding this, the French King (who himself, with all the Council of France, had agreed upon the Peace, and sworn to observe it) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had gotten his Hostages by Fraud) seized upon the Duchy of Aquitain, and Country of Ponthieu, without denouncing War, &c. The

A. D. 1367. Reg. 41.

The ill Success of the Prince's Expedition into Castile.

The French Princes refuse Subjection to K. Edward.

The Emperor made Umpire between the Kings of England and France. 1369.

^a Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Essex, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, rose by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He past into Italy after the Peace; was mightily esteem'd by Barnaby Duke of Milan, who gave him his natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards served the Republic of Florence, who when he dy'd erected a noble Monument for him in that City, where his Statue on Horseback still remains. He is call'd by the Italians Johannes Acutus, or de Acuto. Paulus Jovius Elog. Illust. Vir. lib. 2.

^b The Seigneur Arnold d' Endreghem Marechal of France.

^c On the 3d of April, at Nejava, in the Province of Rioja in Old Castile.

^d The Prince answer'd; We shall be willing to wait on our Uncle the King of France at Paris, since he hath thus invited us; but it shall be with our Helmet on our Head, and attended by sixty thousand Men.

A. D. 1369. *French* reply, 'That we by the Treaty ought to have immediately drawn our Army out of France, but did not during all King John's Reign, by which means the Peace was more offensive to them than the War, they being forced to purchase the departure of our Soldiers at more Charge than would have maintain'd an Army: So that the Breach was on our side. That King Edward was bound by it to renounce his Title to the Crown of France in an open Parliament of both Realms, which he had not done. And as to the Release of their King, they said, that it cost France more Gold than it did to redeem their King S. Lewis, with his Nobles and whole Army, when taken by the Solden of Egypt, an Infidel. Thus both sides defended themselves. But the French King (it seems) tho' willing to get in what he could of his Country, yet was unwilling to renew the War, and therefore courted the King of England to Peace by many Presents. But Edward seeing himself thus deluded, prepared to vindicate himself by the Sword; and having borrowed great Sums of Money of the Clergy, sends over John Duke of Lancaster, and Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, with a mighty Army to Callis, to invade France on this side, while the Prince of Wales endeavour'd to recover the revolted Towns of the other. But the Duke returned a little after without effect. Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was then sent over with fresh Supplies, but dy'd in the Journey. Sir Robert Knolls^b, a Man highly celebrated in those times for his Conduct and Valour, was sent with another Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdaining to be commanded by one that they accounted their Inferiour, overthrew themselves, and frustrated that Expedition. Thus the English lost their ground, and the French King grew greater both in Power and Alliance. For Margaret, the only Daughter and Heir of Lewis Earl of Flanders, to whom King Edward fought to match his Son Edmund, was won to marry Philip the Hardy Duke of Burgogne, Brother of the French King. This much vexed the King of England, who to revenge himself the better, calls a Parliament at Westminster, wherein he resumes his Claim to the Crown of France, and desires an Aid of his Subjects to recover it, and obtained it. The Clergy granted him fifty thousand Pounds to be paid the same Year, and the Laity as much. For the levying of which every Parish in England was rated at first to pay 23 s. 4 d. (the Great to help the less) upon a Supposition there had been Parishes enough to have made up that Sum. But by a Certificate made in return to the King's Writs, sent out to enquire what Number of Parishes there were in every Shire, they found it came short, and then they rated every Parish at 5 l. 16 s. (the Greater to help the Less) and so of 8600 Parishes found to be in the 37 Shires, 50181 l. 0 s. 8 d. was raised. But in regard of the great Poverty of Suffolk and Devonshire, the 181 l. was abated, and so the King received 50000 l. for the Laity. Upon the grant of this Supply, the King again confirmed^d the great Charter, and the Charter of Forests, and promised that they should be observed in all points, which in most of his Parliaments was his first Act, as appears by the printed

Statutes. And now John Duke Lancaster, and Edmund Earl of Cambridge, are sent with Forces into Aquitaine to assist the Prince of Wales, who after he had taken Limoges^e that had revolted, his Health not holding out to perform any more, left the prosecution of the War to his Brother, and with his Wife, and young Son Richard, born at Burdeaux, returns home into England, and resigns to his Father the Dutchy of Aquitaine. The Duke of Lancaster, after the departure of the Prince, did little else but provide himself a Wife. For being a Widower by the Death of his Wife, who dy'd about two Years before, near the time of the Queen Philippa's Death, he marry'd Constance the Daughter of Peter King of Castile, by whom he had (after her Father's Death) the empty Title of King of Castile and Leon, but left it to his Daughter to possess. For Katherine, whom he had by her, being marry'd to Henry the Grandson of the Usurper, Henry the Bastard, and in her Right now King of both those Realms, became Queen of Castile and Leon, and left her Posterity Kings of Spain. Edmund Earl of Cambridge marry'd at the same time Isabel the Daughter of King Peter, and both of them shortly after return'd into England, tho' without Victory, yet with Wives. Lionel Duke of Clarence, a little before, had marry'd Violenta, the Daughter of the Duke of Milan in Italy, where they feasted him so much, that he dy'd soon after. The City of Rochel, which yet held out for the English, had endured a long Siege both by Sea and Land; to relieve which important place, the Earl of Pembroke is sent with forty Ships well mann'd and victuall'd, and furnish'd with twenty thousand Marks to defray the Charge of the Voyage. But encountering the Spanish Armado, which was sent to aid the French in this Siege by Henry King of Castile, after a long and cruel Fight he was taken Prisoner, and his Navy utterly destroyed. King Edward himself, tho' now aged, sets forth with a mighty Army to recover these Losses, but lost the more, Winds and Fortune being against him to beat him back; so that all his Preparations, in which he had spent nine hundred thousand Marks, were to no purpose. Shortly after John Duke of Lancaster went over to Callis with another, which he led through France by the way of Avergne, and lost many of his People in the Mountains for want of Victuals, and almost all his Horse; so that he came to Burdeaux with his Army almost starv'd. After he had refreshed them well, he made some attempts upon the Enemy, but without effect; the Date of the English Victories was out, and all things were unsuccessful. The Duke returns the next Year, and all Gascoigne revolted, except Burdeaux and Bayon. King Edward obtained another Supply of the Parliament, a tenth of the Clergy, and fifteenth of the Laity, towards these Wars. But sought all means to end them by a Treaty; a very unlikely way to do any good. Yet two Years were spent therein at Burges and other places, at great Charges by Commissioners, and with much Debate. The French having now the advantage of the Time, would make their own Conditions, requiring Callis, and Restitution of great Sums of Money, which would not be granted. So that nothing but temporary Truces could be gotten,

A. D. 1371. Reg. 45.

1372.

1373.

the English
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against
France.

1370.

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Edward
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peace.

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Truces with
France, to
the English
loss.

^a He reassumed the Title and Arms of France, and promised to give his Subjects all they could conquer in France.

^b He rose from a common Soldier to the Post he was in.

^c Sir Robert did what he could. He marched through France to the Neighbourhood of Paris with a small Army, and defied the French King, who durst not come out of his Quarters. But afterwards the young Lords grew mutinous, and he dismissed his Soldiers.

^d This King confirmed the Great Charter twelve times in his Reign; which shews not only how willing the King was to humour his Subject's Distrusts, but also how much the Laws and Customs contained in it were valued by them.

^e The Prince was so angry with the Inhabitants of Limoges, that he put four thousand of them to the Sword.

and

A. D. 1373. and in them the *English* and their Party had always the worst.

Reg. 47. Nor was the state of the King's Affairs better at home than abroad. The Sickness of the Prince

K. Edward grew desperate, the Government disorder'd, the King in his Age milled, the Treasure exhausted, and all Affairs ill managed. A Parliament^a was call'd at *Westminster* to cure these Evils, in which the King's Wants were laid open, and Supplies required; but the whole Body of that Assembly, weary of bearing such continual Burthens, instead of contributing, prefer Complaints, charging the King's Officers with Fraud, and humbly begging, that^b the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* then Lord Chamberlain, Dame^c *Alice Peirce* the King's Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be removed from Court. These Complaints and Desires were so vehemently urg'd by their Speaker, Sir *Peter la Mare*^d, that the King, rather than not be supply'd, gave way to them, and all those Persons are immediately expell'd from Court. The Prince was thought to favour these proceedings, because there was no good Correspondence between him and his Brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, who manag'd all under his aged Father, and whose Ambition might be dangerous to his young Son *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. In this Parliament, the King being now in the 50th Year of his Reign, to gratifie his Subjects, granted another General Pardon, as a second Jubilee, only excepting *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was lately fallen under the King's Displeasure, through the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this Jubilee was turn'd into Sorrow by the Death of the Prince of *Wales*, which happen'd while this Parliament sat: A great loss to the State, being a Prince endued with all excellent Virtues, and free from all Vices. His Death chang'd the face of Affairs. The late excluded Persons return to the Court, and their former Places; and so this Parliament (tho' call'd the good Parliament) produced ill effects by their Petitions. For Sir *Peter de la Mare*, at the Suit of *Alice Peirce*, an impudent Woman, was committed to a perpetual Imprisonment at *Nottingham*. The Duke of *Lancaster* is^e enstat'd in the Regency, and manages all the Affairs of the Kingdom. But King *Edward*, to prevent the mischiefs which might arise by disordering of the Succellion, providently settled the same in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earl of *Chester* and *Cornwall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his Safety against the Designs which the Duke of *Lancaster* had form'd

The King gives Pardon in the 50th Year of his Reign.

The Prince dy'd.

Richard the Prince's Son made Prince of Wales.

to supplant him. For this Confirmation by the Parliament, which he had offended, and the Breach he had with the *Londoners* soon after, deterr'd him from so much as attempting that which his Son in the next Reign effected. But yet in the Station he was in under his Father, he play'd the King very much, and carry'd himself very imperiously. And first he shews his Authority upon the Earl of *March*, commanding him to go over to guard *Callis*, and the parts adjoining, which the Earl refused, and chose rather to lay down his Office of Earl Marshal, than obey his Command in that. His Office the Duke gave to Sir *Henry Percy*, one of his intimate Friends. About this time the Parliament met again at *Westminster*, (whether it was a new one, or the last prorogued, I know not) and thither the Duke himself brings Prince *Richard* (being about eleven Years old) and places him in the King's Seat, having taught him to demand a Subsidy, which was two Tenths to be paid in one Year, or Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandises sold for one Year, and one Pound of Silver for every Knight's Fee, and of every Fire-House one Penny. And this Demand the Duke earnestly urged, saying, 'That one of them must of necessity be granted, because the Enemy had proclaimed War, and purposed to invade the Realm. The Knights of the Parliament (who were all pack'd by the Duke, as 'tis said, except twelve, which he could not remove) required a time to give their Answer, and so a day was appointed. The major part made choice of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Duke's, to give their Answer. The other would have Sir *Peter de la Mare* to be enlarged, and deliver theirs, and answer to what could be objected against him before the Lords in Parliament, and submit to their Judgment. Then the Duke demanded Aid of the Bishops, but they refused to treat about it, without their Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was prohibited from coming to the Parliament; and so nothing was obtained, and the Duke disappointed, which he shew'd no small Resentment of afterwards.

Another Accident happen'd now, which much interrupted this and all other Affairs. A certain Divine, named *John Wickliffe*, being depriv'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* of a Benefice in *Oxford*, which he was found unjustly to hold, grew thereupon discontented, (an Humour which generally breeds Schisms) enveighed in his Sermons, and other Acts in the Schools, against the Abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders, (which were indeed not so free from Scandal, but that they deserved blame) and had by

A. 1373 Reg.

Richard demands a

A stir at John Wickliffe, at his Death

^a This Parliament was called the Good Parliament.

^b Who was grown so insolent, that (as if she was the King's Vicegerent) she would sit in the Courts of Judicature, controul the Judges, and manage them as she pleased.

^c He was a Knight of *Herefordshire*, but not Speaker of this Parliament, as *Walsingham* and *Daniell* after him erroneously relate. *Chron. Eves.*

^d This Bishop had divulged, that the Duke of *Lancaster* was not the King's Son, and that the Queen her self told him in Confession so; which coming to the Duke's Ear, he caused him to be deprived of his Bishoprick, his Goods to be confiscated, and himself injoined not to come within twenty Miles of *London*.

^e Who dy'd June 8. 1376. in the 46th Year of his Age, upon *Trinity-Sunday*, the Day which he always kept with most singular Devotion, as presaging the happy Reward of worshipping the Trinity in Unity, which he was immediately to receive.

^f Contrary to the Order of this Parliament, which provided, that since the King through Age and Weakness was unable to govern the Realm, twelve of the most sage and discreet Lords should dispose of all National Affairs under him, by fix at a time.

^g Mr. *Daniell* seems to have taken up an Account of *John Wickliffe's* Preaching, and other Circumstances, from his Enemies the Monks. He represents him a little better than a poor Parish-Priest, so freightened for Preferment, that he wrongfully seized upon another's Benefice; and because he was justly deprived of it, merely out of Anger and Discontent, he broached a Schism, and factiously maintained several Anti-papistical Doctrines. But the Truth is far otherwise: For tho' his Parentage be not known to us, yet his Education and Life is manifest enough. He was brought up in *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, where he took his Degrees to Doctor of Divinity, and performed all his Exercises with great Applause, according to the Reputation he had for Learning in that University. He was once sent Ambassador by this King several Years in *Oxford*, and was only through force of Truth induced to hold the Doctrines against the Real Presence, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, &c. He had a Living in *Oxford*, where through Zeal to reform the Church, he preach'd the same Doctrine, and so enraged the Monks, that they procured *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to silence and deprive him. Several Noblemen favoured and encouraged him, if for any politick Ends, 'twas their fault; we find not that he used their Favour for any Interest, but to defend himself in Preaching the Divine Truth. We wonder Mr. *Daniell* should not have informed himself better of *Wickliffe's* Condition. Mr. *Wood* in his *Antiq. Oxon.* c. 1. p. 184, 186: says, He was Warden of *Canterbury College* in *Oxford*.

A. D. 1376. his Doctrine there and at London, gotten him-
 self many Followers (who after were called in
 Reg. 50. Contempt Lollards) professing Poverty, going
 bare-footed, and poorly clad in Ruffet; which
 made them (as Extreame usually are) the more
 noted, and get the more into the Opinion of the
 People, who are apt to embrace Novelties, and
 usually beguiled with Disguises, being more apt
 to believe than judge. Among other his Do-
 ctrines he taught, That neither any King nor
 Temporal Lord could give any thing in Perpe-
 tuity to Church-men; and that Temporal Lords,
 if they needed, might lawfully take away the
 Goods of such Religious Persons to relieve them-
 selves in their Necessities by the Example of
 William Rufus, &c. A Doctrine very pleasing
 to great Men, who embrace Sects, either thro'
 Ambition to get, or Fear of losing, or thro'
 Hatred, that they may revenge themselves.
 This Man the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Hen-
 ry Peirce, much favour'd and encourag'd, extol-
 ling him both for his Learning and Integrity of
 Life; which so embolden'd him, that he daily
 in one Church or other publish'd his Opinions
 freely: Whereupon, at length, he is cited to an-
 swer before the Archbishop and Bishop of Lon-
 don, and others in St. Paul's. At the day ap-
 pointed the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Marshal
 went to conduct him, and by the way he was
 animated by his Followers not to fear the Bi-
 shops. When they came to S. Paul's the Pres-
 bytery was so great, that hardly any Passage could be
 made into the Church; whereupon the Marshal
 using some Violence, thrust in among the Peo-
 ple; which Courtney the Bishop of London obser-
 ving, forbade him to do, saying, 'If he had
 known that he wou'd have behav'd himself so
 in that place, he should not have come into it.
 The Duke hearing these words, angrily replied,
 'That the Marshal should execute his Authority
 whether he would or not. When they were
 come to our Lady's Chapel, the Duke, Barons,
 and Bishops sitting down; John Wickliffe being
 sent for by the Lord Marshal, was by him de-
 sired to sit down, because as he said, *The Man
 had much to answer to, and needed a convenient
 Seat.* The Bishop of London told him, That it
 was against all Law and Reason, that a Person
 cited before his Ordinary should sit, and there-
 upon angry words arose between the Lord Mar-
 shal and the Bishop. The Duke takes the Mar-
 shal's part, and sharply reprov'd the Bishop,
 and the Bishop returns the like to the Duke;
 who in great Rage, seeing he could not prevail,
 swore, 'That he would pull down the Pride
 of him, and all the Bishops of England: And
 tho' you trust, said he, to your Parentage, that
 shall do you no Service. The Bishop answer'd,
 'I trust not to my Parents, nor any Man living,
 but in God only, in whom I ought to trust.
 The Duke, as if he whisper'd in his Ear, told
 him, 'That he had rather pull him out of the
 Church by the Hair of the Head, than suffer
 such Indignities and Affronts; which Words
 the Londoners over-hearing, swore with a loud
 Voice, 'They would lose their Lives, rather than
 suffer their Bishop to be thus injur'd, and threa-
 ten'd to be pull'd out of his own Church. And
 their Fury was the greater towards the Duke,
 because the day before in the Parliament (of which
 he was President) it was requir'd in the King's
 Name, that from thenceforth there should be no
 more a Mayor of London, but a Captain appoint-
 ed for the Government of the City, and that the

Lord Marshal of England should arrest Offenders
 within the Liberties, as in other places. About
 this Business, and the Wrong offer'd to their Bishop,
 the Citizens assembled the next day, to consult
 among themselves what to do; which, as they
 were concerting upon, the Lord Fitz-Walter and
 Guido Brian, came into the City. The People
 seeing them, furiously ran to them, and had like
 to have fall'n foul upon them for coming unsent
 for at that time: But the Lord Fitz-Walter pro-
 tested, That he came for no other end, but to
 offer his Service to the City, being by Inhe-
 rance their Standard-bearer; and therefore
 thought himself oblig'd to take all Injuries of-
 fer'd to them as done to himself, and desir'd
 them to stand upon their own Defence. At this
 they presently take Arms, assault the Marshal's
 Inn, and breaking open the Gates brought forth
 a Prisoner in his Shackles, and set him at Liber-
 ty, but found not the Lord Marshal, whom they
 sought, being at Dinner that Day with the Duke
 at John de Ipres's House. Then did the furious
 Multitude run to assault the Savoy, the Duke's
 House; which a Knight of the Duke's Retinue
 seeing, went in haste to the Place where the Duke
 dined to acquaint him with this Uproar in the
 City. The Duke hearing it, leaps so hastily from
 the Table, that he broke both his Shins against the
 Form, and with Sir Henry Peirce, passes over by
 Boat to Kensington near Lambert, to the Prince
 and Princess his Mother, to complain of the Vi-
 olence offer'd him by a riotous Rabble of the Ci-
 tizens. In the mean time, the Multitude com-
 ing to the Savoy met a Priest, who being inqui-
 sitive to know the Business they were about, was
 answer'd, 'They were going to take the Duke
 and Lord Marshal, and compel them to release
 Sir Peter de la Mare from his unjust Imprison-
 ment. The Priest replied, 'That Sir Peter was
 a Trayor to the King, and deserv'd to be hang'd.
 The Rabble at these words cry'd out, 'This is
 Peirce, the Trayor to England, his Speech be-
 trays him, tho' in Disguise, and presently they
 fell upon him and kill'd him. The Bishop of
 London hearing of this Tumult, leaves his Din-
 ner, and goes in haste to the Savoy; where he ad-
 monishing the People to be mindful of the Holy
 Time of Lent, and beseeching them for the Love
 of Christ to desist from such seditious Attempts,
 and assuring them that all things should be end-
 ed for the Good of the City: He so pacified them
 that they forbore to assault the Duke's House,
 having missed of his Person, whom in their Fury
 they had certainly destroyed, if they met with
 him, as also the Lord Marshal; but to shew their
 Anger, they hung up his Arms revers'd in Sign
 of Treason, in all the principal Streets of the
 City. The Princess, from Kensington, sent Albert
 de Vere, Lewis Clifford, and Simon Burleigh to
 the Citizens to persuade them to make their
 Peace with the Duke. They returned Answer,
 'That for her Honour they would do whatever
 she commanded, but enjoyn'd the Messengers to
 require the Duke to suffer the Bishop of Win-
 chester and Sir Peter de la Mare to have their
 Lawful Tryal according to the Custom of Eng-
 land. They sent likewise some of their chief
 Men to the sick King to excuse themselves for this
 Tumult; protesting, 'That they were not pri-
 vy to it, but endeavour'd all they could to sup-
 press it, but could not do it, because the whole
 Commonalty were in a Commotion; being in-
 form'd, That all their Liberties were likely to
 be taken from them by Parliament. The King

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51.

The Citi-
 zens assault
 the Mar-
 shal's Inn
 and Duke's
 House.

The Citi-
 zens in
 their Tu-
 mults kill
 a Priest.

The Bishop of
 London ap-
 peases the
 tumultuous
 Citizens.

The Citi-
 zens submit
 to the Prin-
 cess, and ex-
 cuse them-
 selves to
 the King.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51. told them, 'It was never in his Thoughts to de-
prive them of their Liberties, but desired ra-
ther to enlarge them; and therefore required
them to rest satisfied, and keep their People in Peace

The first
Poll Tax.

A Tax
granted the
King in his
Sickness.

and Order, which upon this Answer they easily did. But they could not hinder Rhymes and Libels (those secret Stings of Discontent) which were spread daily about the City to defame the Duke, and make him odious to the People; for which the Duke caused the Authors to be excommunicated by the Bishops. But notwithstanding these harsh Proceedings of the Duke's, very incommo-
dious as well to himself as the King, yet the Commons being assembled in Parliament, granted the King a Tax, upon condition that being levied, it should be put into the hands of certain Earls and Barons to be disposed of according to the Occa-
sions of the King and Kingdom. This Tax was perfectly new; every Person, Man and Woman, within the Kingdom above fourteen Years of Age, was to pay 4d. a Head, those that lived upon Alms only excepted. The Clergy likewise grant-
ed 12d. a Head for every Person beneficed, and 4d. for all other Religious Persons: A mighty and unknown Aid, never granted to any King before, but a Precedent to the following Reigns; in the next of which it caused the greatest popu-
lar Insurrection, that ever was seen in the King-
dom. And so the Parliament ended, but not the Duke's Displeasure against the City: For the Mayor and Aldermen were brought before the King at *Shene*, and advised to submit themselves to the Duke, and crave Pardon for their greivous Offences. They protest as before, that they could not stop the Rage of the Multitude, who committed those Insolencies, and beseeching the King not to punish them who were innocent and ignorant of the Fact; promised the Duke to use all means that they could to bring in the Male-
factors, and oblige them to satisfy his Honour, and more they could not do. Upon this Answer, they were sent from the Court, and shortly af-
ter put from their Places by the Duke's Power: Sir Nicholas Brember was made Mayor instead of Adam Staple, and other Aldermen put in their Places. The King was desirous to have reconciled them to his Son, but Sickness disabled him from his Design, Death forced him to give over the World by its near Approaches. At his last Mo-
ment, when he stood most in need of Attendants, tho' they did not of him, he was deserted by all; his Concubine packing up all she could lay her hands on, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; which tho' a very bad Example, and like such a Woman's, yet was imitated by his Coun-
sellors and Attendants, who forsook him and left the Room where he lay a dying empty; which a poor Priest^a, who was passing by observing, enter'd, and going to the King's Bed-side, whom he found sensible, he besought him to remember his Saviour, and beg pardon of his Offence, (which none before would do) and so wrought upon him by his Advice, that he resign'd his last Breath, with many Signs of a sound Faith and hearty Repentance, at his Manour of *Richmond* (or *Shene*) June 21. A. D. 1377. in the 64th Year of his Age, and fifty first Year of his Reign.

King Ed-
ward's
Death.

His Chara-
cter, of Ju-
stice.

He was a Prince best known by his Actions, the soonest a Man, and the longest that held so of any we read. He was of a comely Personage,

of a good and graceful Stature, affable and cour-
teous, well expressing himself. He was a great Lover of Justice, Order, and his People, the chief Vertues of a King. His Justice he shew'd in making so many Statutes for the Execution of it, and the Oaths he caused his Justices to take for that end, and the severe Punishment he in-
flicted upon his Judges (*viz.* Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Shipwith) for their Corruptions. He also better'd the Form of publick Justice, which his Grandfather began, and settled it so as it re-
mains to this day. His Care of the Order of the Nation is proved from so many Laws made to restrain Excesses in all kinds. His Love to his People he expressed by often easing their Grie-
vances, and Willingness to give them Satisfaction at all times, particularly in granting the Obser-
vation of their Charters in most of his Parlia-
ments; and when (*Anno Reg.* 14.) they were jealous, that upon his assuming the Title of King of *France* he would subject *England* to that Crown; he passed a Statute to clear their Doubts, that this Kingdom should remain entire as before, without any Violation of their Privileges. He was very circumspect in all his Actions, never undertaking any thing but what he had means to perform; which his Subjects knowing, yielded him more Taxes readily, than any of his Predecessors had before him, and he was as careful to expend them for the Good and Honour of the Kingdom. He was indeed covetous to get Money, but without the oppressing any Man, as his Grandfather did the Judges, Jews, and his other Officers. His Gifts were never profuse, or misplaced, so as to hurt his Treasure, Fame or Reverence with his People. In fine, he was a Prince who knew his Work, and did it; and therefore was he better obeyed, more respected, and better served than any of his Predecessors.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51.

Love to his
People.

His Works of Piety were many. He founded the Abby of *Eastminster* for Cisterians; near the Tower, a Nunnery at *Deptford*; the King's Hall in *Cambridge* for poor Scholars; an Hospital at *Callis*, and St. Stephen's Chapel at *Westminster*, and the Church he endowed with 300l. per Annum. He enlarged the Chapel at *Windsor*, and made a Provision not only for the Churchmen, but twenty four poor Knights. These were his pub-
lick Works, the best Monuments to perpetuate the Memories of Princes. Besides these, his pri-
vate Buildings were many; as the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle of *Quinborough*, Fortifications at *Callis*, and other Places. He shewed his Magnificence in his Triumphs and Feasts, which were sum-
ptuous, with all due Rites and Ceremonies to preserve Reverence and Majesty. To conclude, He was a Prince whose Nature was so suitable to his Office, as if he were made only for it. His Failures are to be imputed to Age, in which Princes are never happy, their Vigour and For-
tune departing usually together. His Queen was a Lady of excellent Vertue, who tho' she brought him little or no Estate, yielded him much Con-
tent, some Alliance and a fair Issue. She con-
spired to advance his Honour and Power, and was very gracious and loving to the Nation, doing many pious Actions; among which, *Queens College* in *Oxford* is a Monument of her Goodness and Name. She bare him seven Sons, of whom five lived to have Children; *Edward Prince of Wales*^b,

His Works
of Piety.

Buildings.

Magnificence.

His Queen.

^a He was a Priest or Chaplain of the Household. *Tho. of Walsingham Hist.*

^b From him the Title of the Line of *York* to the Crown was derived by his Daughter *Philippa*, Married to *Edmund Mortimer*, by whom she had *Roger Mortimer*, whose Daughter and Heiress *Ann* in Right of the Lady *Philippa*, on the Death of *Richard the Second* was Heir to the Crown.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51. Lionel * Duke of Clarence, John b Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester. Five Daughters, of which four lived to be married; Isabel the eldest to Ingelram Lord of Coucy, Earl of Soissons and Bedford; Joanna to Alphonso the eleventh King of Castile, but she dy'd before she lay with him; Mary to John Monfort Duke of Britain, and Margaret to John Hastings Earl of Pembroke, by whom she had no Issue. Thus we have seen the beginning and end of this great King: He stepp'd over his Father's Head to the Throne, which tho' it was not his Fault, yet had its Punishment in that he had a plentiful Issue, but had no Son of his own to sit on his Throne, but left his Crown to a Child of eleven Years of Age, expos'd to the Ambition of his Uncles, to a factious and discontented People, and broken and shattered Inheritances abroad, having Lost all his gettings in France, but Calais.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Edward III.

IN the fourth Year of his Reign, on the 16th of July, there happen'd a great Eclipse of the Sun, and the Rains were so violent this Year, that the Harvest did not begin till Michaelmas. At Christmas a mighty Westerly Wind overthrew several private Houses and publick Edifices, tore Trees up by the Roots, and did a vast deal of Mischief.

In his 9th Year the Rains were so fatal, that the Corn was spoil'd, a Dearth ensu'd, Wheat being sold for 40 s. a Quarter, as much as 20 s. a Bushel now, and the Cattel was destroy'd by a Murrain.

In the 12th Year it rain'd almost continually from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, and then came a Frost upon it, which lasted twelve Weeks; yet, tho' the Corn was destroy'd by it in a great measure, the War with Scotland, says my Author, made Money so scarce, that all sorts of Grain were sold at a reasonable Rate.

In his 13th Year one hundred and twenty Laymen and several Priests, besides Women, were drown'd by an Inundation of Water at Newcastle upon Tyne.

While the Battel of Cressy was fighting, in the 20th Year of his Reign, there fell a violent Storm of Hail, accompany'd with an Eclipse, and terrible Thunders, at which time prodigious Flights of Crows hover'd over the English and French Armies.

In his 22d Year it rain'd from Midsummer to Christmas so constantly, that there was not one Day or Night dry together. This wet Season caus'd great Floods, and a Pestilence, which rag'd for a whole Year: The Earth was at the same time barren, and even the Sea did not produce such Plenty of Fish as formerly. The Mortality was so great, that in the City of London two hundred Corps were bury'd every Day in the Charterhouse-yard, besides those interr'd in other common burying Places, and this lasted from Candlemas to Easter.

His 27th Year was remarkable for the Scarcity of Corn and Provisions in England and France, occasion'd by a great Drought: 'Twas call'd the Dear Summer, Rye was brought out of Zealand to support the Poor, who otherwise must have perish'd for want of Sustenance.

In his 34th Year Men and Beasts were destroy'd in several Parts of England by Thunder and Lightning; many Houses were burnt and ruin'd by it, and strange Sights were also seen. The second Mortality happen'd, so call'd to distinguish it from that we have mention'd already: This latter was the more remarkable, because it seiz'd generally on Men; and in the same Year, if we may give Credit to the Continuator of Nic. Trivet's History, two Castles were seen in the Air, the one in the South-east, the other in the South-west, out of which Castles about Noon there seem'd to fall several Troops of arm'd Men. The Band that came forth of the Castle in the South-east appear'd in White, and the other in Black: They fought for some time, the White conquer'd at first; but in the end the Black got the Victory.

In his 39th Year the Rains were again violent, and a great Dearth and Pestilence follow'd: Flights of Sparrows fought in the Air, and many of them dropp'd dead down to the Ground.

Caxton.

In his 42d Year a Comet appear'd in March between the North and West, the Beams were darted towards France, and were thought to presage new Troubles to that Kingdom in the following Year. The Western Parts of England, and Oxford particularly, were sorely afflicted with a Pestilence.

This King's Reign, as it was Glorious in Arms, so it was renown'd for the Arts and Sciences which flourish'd in his Days, more than in any of the former Reigns since the Norman Invasion.

Edward the Black Prince, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Henry Duke of Lancaster his Father-in-Law, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York; the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Huntington, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Stafford, the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel; the Lord Cobham, the Lord Bassett, the Lord Thomas Holland, the Lord Walter De Manny, the Lord Spencer, the Lord Chandois, the Lord James Audley; Sir John Copland, Sir Thomas Felton, the Capital de Beuse Knight of the Garter, born in Gascoigne; Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Baldwin Freville, Sir John Harleston, Sir James Pipe, Sir Thomas Dagworth, and Sir John Hawkwood, were all of them famous for their brave Actions in War: As those that we are about to name, were for their Vertue and Learning, John Baconthorpe, Doctor of both Laws in the Universities of Oxford and Paris; William

* From him the Title of the Line of York to the Crown was derived by his Daughter Philippa, Married to Edmund Mortimer, by whom she had Roger Mortimer, whose Daughter and Heiress Ann in Right of the Lady Philippa, on the Death of Richard the Second was Heir to the Crown.

b From him by the Marriage of Blanch, sole Heiress of Henry Duke of Lancaster, Son of Henry Earl of Lancaster, Son of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, Brother to Edward the First, was derived the Title of the Lancastrian Family to the Crown; which the three Henry's successively enjoy'd, as Heirs of that Family, but yet with much War and Bloodshed, as we shall see in the Course of this History. This Title was very little made use of, and indeed was a very weak one; for all the Sons of Edward the Third, and the Posterity of Edmund Earl of Kent, Son of Edward the First, had a Prior Title to the Descendants of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, younger Brother to Edward the First.

Ockham, John Bloxham a Carmelite Fryar, William Alnwick a Fryar Minor, John of Thanet an excellent Musician, and a Monk at Canterbury; Hugh of St. Neot, a Carmelite Fryar, an Eminent Divine, and William of Alton a Black Fryar; Richard Stradley who wrote several Treatises of the Scripture; William Herbert a Welshman and Fryar Minor, Richard Comington a Preacher, William of Exeter, Lucas Bosden a Carmelite Fryar, Thomas Wallice a Dominican Fryar, a great Divine; Thomas Pontius a Monk of Canterbury, John Ridewall a Gray Fryar, Henry Cossay a Fryar Minor, Geoffrey Allevant of Yorkshire, a Carmelite Fryar; Dr. Simon Burnstone, Provincial of the Dominican or Black Fryars; Dr. Walter Burley, who wrote a Comment on Aristotle's Ethicks, Schoolmaster to Prince Edward; John Berwick, Reader to the Fryar Minors in Oxford; William Nottingham, Robert Glaston, of Huntingdonshire; John Polested of Suffolk, Walter Kingham, Thomas de Hales a Fryar Minor, Robert Eliphal a Gray Fryar, Geoffrey Grandseild an Augustine Fryar, Hugh Wirely a Carmelite Fryar of Norwich, William Emcourt a Black Fryar of Boston, Hugh Ditton a Fryar Preacher of Cambridgeshire, Dr. Adam Carthusianus, John Lutterel a Mathematician, and an Eminent Philosopher; Walter Cotton and Thomas Eccleston, both Gray Fryars; John Folsam a Carmelite Fryar of Norwich, Benet of Norfolk, William of Southampton a Black Fryar, Adam Widdard, A.M. William Sissy a Fryar Minor, John Repingale a White Fryar, Christopher Mothufensis a Black Fryar, Richard Aungerville Bishop of Durham, and Lord Chancellor of England; John Mauduith a Divine, John of Olmie in Gloucestershire, a Carthusian Monk; Thomas Staveshaw a Fryar Minor of Bristol, Robert of Leicester a Franciscan or Gray Fryar, John of Northampton a Carmelite Fryar and a Mathematician; Robert Warsop of Yorkshire a Black Fryar at Tickhill, William Bruyard a Black Fryar, Richard Role an excellent Divine, John Guent a Welshman, a Franciscan Fryar, Provincial of his Order; Rodulph Radiporius a Fryar Minor, Robert Holcote a Black Fryar, William Milverly a Logician, John of Tewkesbury, Thomas Bradwardin, born in Hartfield in Sussex, Archbishop of Canterbury, he wrote against the Pelagians; Richard Wetherset, William Breton a Gray Fryar, John of St. Faith, born in Norfolk, a Carmelite Fryar in Burnham; John Goodwick, born also in Norfolk, an Augustin Fryar at Linne; William Rothwell, Geoffrey Waterton a Monk of Bury, Richard Fitz-Rafe, Pupil to John Baconthrope, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh; Dr. Richard Killington, William Grisant a Physician, who lived at Marseilles, he was call'd Anglicus from his Country, his Son rose to be Pope, and bore the Name of Urban the Vth; John Paschal, born in Suffolk, Bishop of Landaff; Adam Woodham a Fryar Minor, Simon Henton a Black Fryar, William de Pagula, Dr. John Wickliffe, Geoffrey Hardeby a Black Fryar of Leicester, William Binham, Roger Conway a Welshman, and a Gray Fryar; Richard Billingham, William Do-roch a Lawyer, John Killingworth a Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician; William of Coventry a Carmelite Fryar, John Eastwood a Philosopher, Thomas Ratcliffe an Augustine Fryar of Leicester, Bartholomew Glanville, descended from the Family of that Name, Earls of Suffolk; Robert Computista a Monk of Bury, John Wilton, Simon Wickengham, John Deir a notable Divine, Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury, George Chadley, John of Tinmouth, Peter Babien, Walter Winburne, Divines; Nicholas of Lyn a Carmelite Fryar, and an Astronomer; John Ridington a Fryar Minor in Stafford, Adam a Monk of the Cistercian Order, Roger Wihelpedale a Mathematician, John Elin a Carmelite Fryar, born in Norfolk; Thomas de Sturly, Sertorius Gualensis a Welshman, Simon de Tunsted of Norfolk, Provincial of the Gray Fryars; Lewis Caerleon a Welshman, an Astronomer and Mathematician; John Garanson, Nicholas Durham a Carmelite Fryar of Newcastle, William Fleet an Hermit, who preach'd up Repentance to the English; John of Stafford a Fryar Minor, Thomas Rugsteed a Black Fryar, Ralph Stride a Logician, William of St. Faith a Carmelite Fryar of Norfolk, Thomas of Dover a Monk of that Abby, John Stokes an Augustine Fryar of Suffolk, John Horneby a Carmelite Fryar of Boston, Henry Bederick an Augustine Fryar, Simon Alcock a Divine, Utrid Balton a Welshman, and a Monk at Durham; William Jordan an Augustine Fryar, John Hilton a Fryar Minor, William of Lincoln a Carmelite Fryar, Adam Saxlingham the same born in Norfolk, Simon Mephram Prebend of Chichester, a great Divine; John Bampton a Carmelite of Cambridge and John Wickenham, a Gray Fryar; Nicholas Trivet, Son of Sir Nicholas Trivet, one of the King's Justices; John Eversden a Monk of Bury, Robert Langland, Roger of Chester, John Burgh, Walter Hemingsford a Canon of Gisburn, Richard Chichester a Monk of Westminster, wrote a Chronicle from the Invasion of the Saxons, Anno 449. to the Year 1348. Ranulp Higden, Matthew of Westminster, William Thorn, John Bromyard, Adam Hereford, Thomas Stubbs, John Cluni an Irishman, John Malvern a Monk of Worcester, Historians; and Sir John Mandeville the great Traveller, who dy'd at Liege the 17th of November, 1372.



KING RICHARD THE II.nd

T H E

L I F E and R E I G N

O F

R I C H A R D II.

A. D.
1377.
Reg. I.

His Age and
Descent.

The Duke of
Lancaster
and Lon-
doners re-
minded.

RICHARD II. surnam'd of *Burdeaux*, a City in the Province of *Guienne* in *France*, because he was born there, when his Father, the most illustrious English Hero, *Edward* the Black-Prince was Duke of *Aquitain*, succeeded his Grandfather *Edward* III. in the Throne of *England*, *June* 21. 1377. He was but eleven Years old when he began his Reign; but there appear'd in him so great a pregnancy of Wit above his Years, and so sweet a Disposition, set off with an admirable Beauty and Proportion of Body, that the People were enamour'd with him, and as if the Virtues of both his immediate Ancestors were united in him, received him for their King with universal Joy and Satisfaction; the loss of their brave Prince *Edward* III. so lately deceased, was quite forgotten, being swallow'd up with the hopes of that Happiness which they promised themselves under this his Successor. And indeed their high Opinion of this young Prince was much confirm'd by the first Action which he undertook after he was King, viz. the Reconciliation of the Duke of *Lancaster* and City of *London*, in which he shew'd a Prudence and Moderation much above his Age. For whereas the Citizens, who had gotten a certain Information of the King's approaching Death, had made an Address to him, then Prince of *Wales*, the day before his Grandfather's decease, assuring him of their Service and Fidelity, if their present King should die, and petitioning his Highness to mediate between his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaster* and them; he return'd them not only promises of his Love and Favour to their City, but of his Endeavours to effect their Desires; and accordingly the very next day spoke to his Uncle about it, and brought him to submit to his Decision. Of which he gave the Citizens notice immediately by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Richard Adderbury*, Sir *Simon Burley*, Prince *Richard's* Tutor, and Sir *Nicholas Bond*, whom he sent on purpose upon that Message, and to tell them, that he expected the like Submission from them. The Citizens were a little afraid, lest the Influence which the Duke had upon him might prove to their disadvantage, if they should leave the matter entirely to his Judgment; but Sir *Richard Adderbury* giving them hopes of a good Conclusion, brought them to yield; and so certain Aldermen going along with them to him (then King) at *Shene* near *Richmond*, were reconciled honourably to the Duke in the Name of the whole City; and in favour to them, the King also released Sir *Peter de la Mare* from his Imprisonment, and receiv'd him into his special Grace.

The only thing which threaten'd a disturbance to the Nation, being thus compos'd, the next Care was to settle the Crown upon the young King's Head; and to that end, *June* 16. was appointed for his Coronation. This the Nation took for a fit opportunity of testifying their Affections to him; and therefore all things by general consent were so prepared, that it might be as magnificent and splendid as possible. The Duke of *Lancaster*, who for his Dukedom of *Lancaster*, and Earldoms of *Leicester* and *Lincoln*, was admitted upon his Claim to be High Steward, Bearer of the King's chief Sword, call'd *Curtana*, and Carver at that Solemnity, (which two last Offices he executed by his Deputies the Earls of *Darby* and *Stafford*) held the Steward's Court several days in *Westminster-Hall*, to receive the Claims of such Persons as by certain Tenures or Customs were to officiate at that Ceremony, and such as were of an inferior degree, he put Noblemen into their places, that none but Persons of the best Quality might attend upon the King at it. On the day before the Coronation, the King rode through the City to *Westminster* in great State, and being royally attended by his Nobles and Great Men, the Citizens in his passage gave him large Demonstrations of their Loyalty and Affections, having adorn'd their Houses with rich Tapestry, and erected several costly Pageants, the Conduits ran Wine, and the People in crouds saluted the King with loud Acclamations, and wishes of Blessings and Prosperity. The Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *Piercy*, who rode before the King, behav'd themselves with so much Obligingness and Respect to the Citizens all along, that all the Spectators were fully persuaded, that the late Reconciliation made between the City and them was real and hearty. The King lodged at *Westminster* that night, and the next day was crown'd in the Abby-Church, by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the usual Ceremonies of Anointing, giving him the Sword of Justice, taking an Oath of him for the good Government of the Nation, and requiring the People's Consent to have him for their King. After his Coronation, the King return'd to *Westminster-Hall* to Dinner; but before he sat down, he created four Earls, viz. His Uncle *Thomas Woodstocke*, Earl of *Buckingham* and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbrey*, the younger Brother of *John Lord Mowbrey* Earl of *Nottingham*; *Guisard Angolism*, a *Gascoigne*, his Tutor^b, Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Piercy*^c, Son of *Henry Lord Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, allowing his Uncle and Tutor a thousand Marks a Year a-piece out of his Treas-

A. D.
1377.
Reg. I.

His Corona-
tion.

Several
Creations
at the Cor-
nation.

^a He was Earl of *Northampton* before, that Title being brought him by his Wife, eldest Daughter of *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*. *Camb. Brit. Tit. Northamp.*

^b His Governour.

^c 'Twas the Lord *Henry Piercy* Lord Marshal, who was created Earl of *Northumberland*, and not his Son *Henry*, afterwards surnam'd *Hotspur*.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 1. fury, till he could provide them an Estate of equal Value. He also made at the same time nine Knights. The next day was celebrated a very devout Procession by the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Clergy, to pray for the Peace of the Realm, and prosperous Reign of the King. *Thomas Brinton* Bishop of *Rocheſter* preach'd, and in his Sermon pathetically exhorted all Men to Peace and Unity, conjuring all of a ſuperiour degree to deal gently with the Commons, and the People to obey their Superiors willingly; but moſt of all, the Nobility, who were to be about the King, to give him a Religious and Virtuous Example, leſt the King being either by their Flattery or Vices miſled, the People ſhould have cauſe to curſe them. Thus was the young King fully ſettled in his Throne; but becauſe he was himſelf, by reaſon of his tender Age, unable to rule, the Government was committed to the Care of the King's Mother^a, his two Uncles, *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, and certain Bishops, who were as well to provide for the Security and Happineſs of the Nation, as the Education of the King.

The French and Scots inſult the Nation.

But notwithstanding the ordering and ſupreme diſpoſal of all things was put into ſo many hands, and thoſe of ſuch Perſons, whoſe Conſcience, Intereſt and Honour were obliged to manage all Affairs, for the good both of the King and People; yet as if a Kingdom could never be govern'd well by Guardians, or as if many Governours were very little better than none, the old Enemies of the Nation, the French and Scots, thought the Minority of the King a fit opportunity to annoy and ſpoil it. The French, who had been making Preparations for that end in King *Edward's* Reign, and had mann'd out a Fleet juſt before his Death, to revenge all the Loſſes they had ſuffer'd by his victorious Sword, entred the narrow Seas immediately after his deceaſe, and while the Nation was buſied in ſettling their new King, invaded the Coaſts of *England*, and did much miſchief, which they continu'd for ſeveral Months without oppoſition. On *S. Peter's* day, *June 29.* they put in with fifty Sail at *Ry* in *Suſſex*, and having riſed and plundered the Town at their pleaſure, ſet it on Fire, and ſo departed, leaving the miſerable and help-leſs Inhabitants to quench the Flames with their Tears. From hence they coaſted to the Iſle of *Wight*, and enter'd it without Reſiſtance. The Houſes they ſpoil'd of all ſuch Goods as were valuable, and eaſily carry'd to their Ships, but ſpared the Buildings from burning, having compounded with the People of the Iſle for a thouſand Marks to forbear that Cruelty; and ſo left it, ſooner perhaps than they intended, becauſe they could not, after ſeveral attempts, make themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle of *Carisbrook*, which was bravely defended againſt them by the valiant Governor of it, *Sir Hugh Tyrrell*. From hence they return'd back to do the like at *Wincheſea*, ſuppoſing that the terror of the Sufferings of their neighbouring Town of *Ry* would have made it an eaſie Prey to them, but they found the contrary at their coming. For the Abbot of *Battel*, being a Man of Courage, and ſome Skill in Warlike Affairs, had ſo fortify'd and mann'd the Town for its defence, that the French could gain no entrance into it; yet ſuppoſing it to be eaſily taken, they ſent to

Ry and the Iſle of Wight plunder'd and burnt.

Wincheſea bravely defended by the Abbot of Battel.

the Abbot to redeem it from Affault; but the Abbot return'd them anſwer, *That he had no reaſon to redeem what was not loſt.* The French hereupon having in vain endeavour'd to draw the Defendants out of the Town to a pitch Battel in the Fields, fell to battering the Walls with ſuch Engines and Warlike Inſtruments as they had brought with them on purpoſe, but with no ſucceſs. So that they were forced to leave the Town with little advantage. But in the mean time they ſent a Party to *Haſtings*, which finding almoſt void of People, who were gone to maintain the Siege of *Wincheſea*, they burnt and utterly conſumed it. Their next attempt was upon the ſmall Town of *Rottingham* in *Suſſex*, near *Lewis*, where the Prior of *Lewis*, *Sir John Faleſley*, *Sir Thomas Cheyney*, and one *Mr. Brookes*, ſo zealous for the preſervation of their Country, that they did not conſider what Forces they had to do it with, encountred them boldly with an unarm'd and undisciplin'd Rabble; and tho' they kill'd many of their Enemies, yet were in the end beaten, the Prior and Knights, with ſome others, being taken Priſoners, and an hundred ſlain. Many other Towns they plunder'd and robb'd, as *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*; by the Spoils of all which, having fill'd their Ships, they return'd home; and ſoon after their arrival, beſieged the Caſtle of *Arde*, which they got not by their own Valour, but the Treason of the Lord *Gurney*, a German, the Governor of it, who for a Bribe reſign'd it to them. But he had but ſmall Enjoyment of his baſe Gain, being ſoon taken by *Sir Hugh Calverley* Governor of *Callis*, and ſent into *England* to ſuffer the deſerved Punishment of his Treachery. The Scots in the mean time were not idle, (tho' not ſo miſchievous as the French deſired them) for they aſſaulted the Town and Caſtle of *Roxborough*, then in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and having gain'd it with no ſmall loſs to themſelves, took what was of any price out of it, and then burnt it. Thus was the Nation miſerably afflicted by a double Enemy, and little or no care taken to ſecure the People from them; whether out of negligence, deſign, or want of Shipping, or whether it was forborn till a Parliament could meet, and provide ſome more effectual Remedy againſt them, is uncertain; yet the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had the chief Management of publick Affairs, brought an incurable Odium upon himſelf from the People ever after, becauſe he did not endeavour their Relief ſo diligently as his Place and the People's Neceſſities required.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 1.

The Caſtle of Arde gotten by the French.

About *Michaelmas* a Parliament met, to rectifie the Diſorders, and provide for the Security of the Nation, the firſt thing they went upon^d was the puniſhment of *Alice Peirce*, the late King's Concubine, who had been the cauſe of many Miſchiefs in the laſt Reign, and for that end had been baniſh'd from the Court, and made to take an Oath, that ſhe would never return again; but, as it generally happens, that thoſe who allow themſelves in one Sin, ſeldom make any Conſcience of committing another, ſhe kept her Oath no longer than the fear of the Parliament was removed; ſhe became as great at Court, and as insolent as before, and cauſ'd *Sir Peter de la Mare*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to be imprison'd. Theſe impudent Actions the Parliament thought fit to

^a His Mother was not one of thoſe appointed by the great Council of Peers to be his Proteſtors. *Holinſhead.*

^b They Landed in the Iſle of *Wight* in *Auguſt*, and having done what Miſchief they could, they reſembarked, and in their return burnt *Haſtings*, *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth* and *Plymouth*.

^c The Town of *Ardes*, near *Calis*.

^d It was not the firſt thing they went upon. The firſt was upon the Petition of the Commons, to appoint a Council to be joined with the King's Officers, and to adviſe him in the Affairs of the Government. Theſe Counſellors were appointed by the Parliament, viz. the Bishops of *London*, *Caſtle*, and *Salisbury*, the Earls of *March* and *Stafford*, *Sir Richard de Stafford* and *Sir Henry L'Eſcop* Bannorers, *Sir John Devereuſe* and *Sir Hugh Degrave* Knights. The next thing the Commons did, was to grant the Tax deſired, and then they proſecuted *Alice Peirce*, or *Porrers*. *Rot. Par. 1 Rich. 2.*

A. D. 1377. Reg. 1. take notice of, and Sir *Peter de la Mare* contributed his utmost to have them punish'd, which was by general consent thus agreed upon: That she should be banish'd, and all her Goods confiscated, which was immediately done^a. Then the Necessity of a Tax being made known to them, to provide a Navy for the defence of the Kingdom, against the Invasion of the *French*, and their Confederates the *Spaniards*, there was granted to the King two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths from the Laity; yet upon these Conditions, that the Monies collected should be deposited in the hands of two eminent Citizens of *London*, *William Walworth* and *John Philpott*, who were to take care that they were expended for the publick Good: 2. That for the future the King should maintain his State and Wars out of his own Revenues, which if well manag'd were judg'd sufficient to maintain both. The Laws which the King made in Compensation of this Tax, for the good of the People were several. He confirm'd the Great Charter^b, Charter of Forests, and the many good Laws of his Ancestors unrepeal'd; and enacted, 'That the Peace should be carefully preserved, and Justice impartially done to all his Subjects; That the Prelates, and the rest of the Clergy, should have a Remedy by Action of Trespass against all Purveyors, who contrary to the Laws of his Predecessors, did without their consent take away their Corn, Hay, Beasts, or Carriages from their Houses, Mannors, or Granges for the King's use, and should recover treble Damages; That Persons that shall maintain any Quarrels, if Officers of the King's Exchequer, or other Courts, shall lose their places, and others be fined at the King's pleasure; That all Persons that shall arrest any Clergyman in his Church, or the Church-yard, or while he is performing Divine Service, shall suffer Imprisonment, and be ransom'd at the King's Will, but shall first make satisfaction to the Person arrested. The King also confirm'd the Pardon granted by his Grandfather in the fiftieth Year of his Reign. In this Parliament it was farther moved, 'That the Clergy might be restrain'd by Statute from imposing Money-penance upon Offenders, because by this means the Church exhausted the Treasure of the Nation. The Clergy hotly opposed the Proposition, and the King unwilling to disoblige the Churchmen, order'd, 'That the Prelates should proceed therein as formerly, according to the Canons of Holy Church, and not otherwise. But tho' the Commons could not prevail in the restraint of their own Clergy's Exactions, they were more successful in opposing the Pope's Encroachments; for they obtained several Acts, whereby it was order'd, 'That the Pope's Collectors shall gather the first Fruits of Benefices in this Realm no longer, and that the Clergy should not pay them; That no Man should procure any Benefice by provision from *Rome*, on pain of being put out of the King's Protection; That no *Englishman* farm any such Benefice of any Alien, on the like penalty. In it 'tis said, the *French* had six thousand Pounds yearly from *England* by such Benefices; That a Remedy be provided against the Pope's Reservations of Dignities Elective, they being against the Treaty made with the Pope by King *Edward III*. These Matters being thus settled and debated, the Parliament broke up about the Feast of *All-Saints*.

After the Parliament was risen, the Governours of the Nation being enabled to act against the Enemy, began to think upon some ways to revenge the last Summer's Losses, sustain'd by the People from the *French*; and having received Information, that the *Spanish-Fleet* lay at *Sluce* in *Flanders*, richly laden with Wines, and other Commodities, and waiting only for a fair Wind to return, they sent out a great Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of *Britain*, Earl of *Buckingham*, the Lords *Latimer* and *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Robert Knolles*, and other chosen Captains, to intercept them in their passage; but by contrary Winds they were so dispers'd and shatter'd, that they could at that time effect nothing. A little after *Christmas*, Sir *Hugh Calverly* Governour of *Callis* was more fortunate in his Adventures against the *French*. For making an Inroad towards *Bulloigne*, he plunder'd twenty-six Vessels, besides Barges, which lay in the Haven, and a great part of the Suburbs of that Town; and in his return, drove along with him into *Callis* a great Booty of Sheep and Oxen, which he found in the Pastures adjoining, to the great enriching of his Garrison. He also recover'd the Castle of *S. Mark*, on the same day the *French* had it betray'd to them by the *Picards*, whom Sir *Hugh* homag'd. Not long after, Sir *Hugh* with his Garrison Soldiers made an attempt upon the Town of *Estaples* on the Fair-day, when the Merchants of *Paris*, *Amiens*, *Bulloigne*, and *Lutterell*, had brought great Quantities of Goods thither to sell, which all became an easie prey to the *English*. The more valuable and portable they carry'd back with them, the rest they sold to the Merchants themselves for a great Sum of Money, resolving otherwise to have burnt them. While the Garrison at *Callis* thus acted its part under its valiant Captain, the Fleet under the Earl of *Buckingham* being gotten together, and new rigg'd, set out to Sea, and cruising upon the Coast of *Britain* near *Brest*, took eight *Spanish* Ships, and might have taken more, had not their own Divisions and the tempestuous Weather been an Impediment to their farther Success. While the King's Ships were thus employ'd against the Enemy, divers private Men and Towns provided Ships, and observed all opportunities of annoying them. The Lord *Peirce* with one great Ship and some small Vessels putting out to Sea, met with a Fleet of fifty Sail of *Spanish* and *Flemish* Ships, laden with *French* Merchandize, which to attack look'd more couragious than prudent; yet he was so fortunate, that he took two and twenty of them, the rest escaping by flight. The Inhabitants of *Winchelsea* and *Ry*, who had felt so much of the *French* Cruelty, being bent upon a sharp Revenge of their late Sufferings, fitted out a certain Number of Ships, with sufficient quantity of Men and Provision; with which they made an Inroad into *Normandy*, enter'd and plunder'd the Towns of *S. Peter's Haven* and *Willet*, where they found and recover'd many of the Goods, which the *French* had lately taken from them, and having set the Houses on Fire, took their Ships, and got home safe. Thus did the *English* in some measure repay the *French* for the Injuries they had done them, and free their Coasts a-while from their Depredations.

The Duke of *Lancaster* about this time, thro' some disgust or suspicion, desired leave of the King to retreat from Court to his private Habitation at *Kellingsworth-Castle*, and obtained it;

Duke of Lancaster retires from Court, but undertakes to secure the Nation from the French.

^a The next Year. She married Sir *William of Windsor*, and they obtained a Reversal of the late Judgment in Parliament. Rot. Parl. 2. Rich. 2.

^b It appears by the Statutes made in this his first Session of Parliament, Cap. 1. That he confirmed the Liberty of the Church, and the Great Charter of Forests. The *Magna Charta*, or Great Charter, is not mentioned, but that was always done of Course at the beginning of every Session.

^c It should be Sir *Thomas Peirce*.

A. D. 1378. but before he retir'd, he settled such Governours about the King as were more pleasing to the People, viz. *William Courtney* Bishop of *London*, *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Morch*, and several others, yet because the Bishop of *Salisbury* and Lord *Latimer* were put in the Number, they were not fully contented, and thro' a desire of securing the Nation from their Enemies, he requested that the Money granted the last Parliament for that end might be put into his hands, and he would take care to guard the Coasts from the Incursions of the *French*, and their Confederates for the succeeding Year. Some of the Nobility oppos'd his Proposition, but it was at length consented to, and the Duke immediately set himself to provide a sufficient Navy for the Safety of the People, and hired eight Ships of the City of *Baion* to joyn with it; but before the Duke's Ships were ready (whither thro' necessity, or wilful delay, is not known) one *Mercer*, a desperate *Scot*, having gotten together a small Number of *Scotch*, *French*, and *Spanish* Ships, enter'd the Haven of *Scarborough*, and seizing upon several Ships in it, carry'd them away to *Scotland*. This Mischief he did to that Town, because his Father, who had been taken not long before by some Northern Vessels, was by the Earl of *Northumberland* committed Prisoner to *Scarborough* Castle. This Success much encourag'd him and his Crew, so that he greatly infested those Seas; and tho' the Duke of *Lancaster* had undertaken to prevent such Evils and Complaints of it were brought to the King and his Council, yet none appear'd to oppose the Pirates, so that those Parts of the Kingdom suffer'd many Calamities from them. The News of these things being brought to *London*, *John Philpott*, an Alderman, and a great Lover of his Country, pitying the Miseries of the People resolv'd upon a Relief at his own Charge; and fitting out such a Number of well-built Ships, as would conveniently carry a thousand Men, with all Ammunition and Provision, which he hired and paid himself, he set out to Sea with them himself being their Captain, and found out *Mercer* and his Associates, whom he immediately set upon, and after a smart Engagement conquer'd; taking *Mercer* himself, and all the Vessels he had carry'd from *Scarborough*, with fifteen *Spanish* Bottoms well laden with rich, tho' ill gotten Goods. With Spoil and Victory *Philpott* returns to *London*, where he met with Acclamations from the People, but no welcome from the Nobles, who envy'd him that Honour which they had not either Courage or Fidelity enough themselves to seek and gain. For he was sent for to come before the Council, to give an Account of his Action; which tho' they could not dislike, yet much blam'd him for daring it without a Commission from the King and his Council; and *Hugh* Earl of *Stafford* charg'd him with doing a very unlawful Act to levy Arms in the King's Dominions without his Leave. But Mr. *Philpott* made a modest and ingenious Defence, telling them, 'That it was not out of any Desire or ambitious Aim to get himself a Name, or raise to himself the Reputation of being a great Soldier, that induc'd him to venter his Money and Men to vanquish the *Scotch* Pirate, but merely out of Love to his Countrymen, and for the Honour of the Nation, that the Sloth of such as ought to have secured the Nation, might not ruine the People and make it contemptible. This Answer so satisfied the Council, that he return'd with as much Commenda-

Alderman
Philpott's
Bravery.

tion from some of the Nobility as he was receiv'd by the City with Applause.

While the Duke of *Lancaster* lay at Anchor with his Ships, getting in Provision and Ammunition slowly, and with unnecessary Delays, some of his Men weary of their unmanlike Idleness, and of plundering their own Brethren, set out to Sea under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury* and *Arundel*, and sailed towards the Coasts of *Britain*; Sir *Peter* and Sir *Philip Courtney*, two Brothers, who had the Command of some Ships, spying certain Vessels belonging to the Enemy inconsiderately assaulted them, being the whole *Spanish* Fleet; and tho' they bravely fought and defended themselves, yet in the end were beaten, most of their Men, who were good Gentlemen of *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*, being slain, and Sir *Peter* with some others were taken Prisoners. This Misfortune at their first setting out much disheartned them, but yet they persisted in their Design, and went on in their intended Voyage, which proved some Compensation to their former Loss; for being arrived, they found the King of *Navarre* fall'n into a Difference with the King of *France*, and very desirous of an Alliance with the King of *England*: Whereupon, for a certain Sum of Money lent to the said King, and a Confederacy establish'd between the *English* and him. The Haven of *Chierburg* was put into the Possession of the *English*, whereby an easy Entrance was made for them at all times into *Normandy*, and present occasion given them to annoy the *French*; but this advantageous Alliance was not thought sufficient to compensate the Loss of the Gentlemen that were kill'd, and taken Captive at the beginning of this Voyage: Yet the *Spaniards* did not long escape without Loss; for the Ships of *Baion* coasting about the Kingdom to defend it from the Enemy, took fourteen Ships laden with Wine and other Goods.

In the latter end of this Year Pope *Gregory XI.* wrote a Letter to the King, requiring him to assist the Bishops in suppressing *John Wickliffe* and his Adherents; but that the Bishop's Heat stirred up by his Letters to them almost of the same Date, was little encourag'd by the King's Authority, the Favour that *Wickliffe* found may serve for a Demonstration. The Letters from the Pope to the King and Bishops are printed at large in Mr. *Fox* Acts and Mon. in the beginning of this King's Reign.

About *Midsummer* the Duke of *Lancaster* having compleatly equipp'd his Ships, put out to Sea with a great Force, and landing in *Britain*, laid Siege to *S. Malo de Lisle*, an important Fortrefs in those Parts. The Earls of *Buckingham*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, and other Noblemen, who had great Experience in Warlike Affairs, manag'd it with much Art and Subtlety; but it was so well defended by the *French*, that the Duke was forced to raise the Siege and return home. A little after the Duke's Departure from *England*, viz. on *Aug. 11.* was committed a barbarous Murder in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, which whether caused by the Duke or not, is uncertain; yet he was so far concern'd in it, as that it redounded much to his Dishonour, and increased the Hatred of him among the People. The Occasion of it was this: In the War, which the *Black Prince* *Edward* had in *Spain* for the Restoration of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, two Gentlemen *Robert Haul*, and *John Shakell*, had by their Valour taken the Earl of *Denia* Prisoner; and that such brave Actions might be encourag'd,

A. D.
1378.
Reg. 2.

The Duke
of Lanca-
ster's Pre-
parations
and Success.

The Haven
of Chier-
burg put
into the
hands of
the English.

Pope Gre-
gory's Let-
ters against
John Wick-
liffe.

A barbarous
Murder
committed
in the San-
ctuary at
Westmin-
ster.

* This was done in Parliament the last Year, and not now by the Procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster*.

A. D. 1378. the Prince himself, and Sir *John Shandois*, a chief Commander under him, gave him to the Gentlemen to make the best of his Ransom. The Earl being thus left in their hands, made an Agreement with them for his Liberty, and left his Son with them as an Hostage, till the Ransom was paid; which the Earl neglecting, the Earl's Son remained with them many Years. The Duke of *Lancaster*, who had marry'd one of the Heiresses of the Crown of *Spain*, but was kept out by their Uncle, casting about him to find out all ways how to recover his Wife's Right, thought upon the Restitution of the Earl of *Denia's* Son, whereby he might oblige his Father to engage in his Interest, and make a Party among his Friends for him. Wherefore the Duke sends to Mr. *Hawl* and *Shakell*, in the King's Name, to deliver up their Prisoner; and because they obstinately refused, he caused them to be imprison'd in the *Tower*. The Gentlemen, tho' thus unjustly handled, yet kept him; but after some time made their escape out of the *Tower*, and got to the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where they hoped to find more Liberty and kinder Usage. The Constable of the *Tower*, Sir *Allen Buxhall*, a great Friend of the Duke's, much troubled at this escape, contrived with the Lord *Latimer* and Sir *Ralph Ferrers*, two of the Duke's Creatures, to take them by Force out of the Sanctuary; and accordingly with a sufficient Strength of arm'd Men enter'd the Abby-Church when the Monks were at Prayers, and seiz'd upon the two Gentlemen. Mr. *Hawl* made some Opposition, and was slain in the Quire, with a Monk, and his Servant who stood up for his Assistance; but Mr. *Shakell* they carry'd away with them to the *Tower*, from whence he at length got his Freedom, by resigning his Prisoner, to them, upon condition, that he should receive an hundred Marks per An. and that the King should found a Chantry of five Priests to pray for the Souls of Mr. *Hawl* and his Servant. This Violation of the Sanctuary was so highly resented by the Archbishop, Bishop of *London* and other Bishops, that they excommunicated all that were Assistants in this Murther, except the King, Queen, and Duke of *Lancaster*; and the Bishop of *London* pronounced the Excommunication every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, for a long time after. The King looking upon it as a Reflection upon himself and the Duke, sent to the Bishop to cease it; who not regarding the Order, he was summon'd to *Windfor*, but he would not obey: Whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* in a Rage told the King that he would fetch the Bishop by Force to him in spite of those Rebels the *Londoners*, if he would give him leave. These words lost the Duke the Good-will of the City, and made him generally thought the Author of the Murther.

On the 20th of October the Parliament met at *Glocester*, out of Displeasure taken against the *Londoners*. In it many things were propounded, but few concluded; besides that the King had granted to him a Subsidy of a Mark for every Sack of Wooll, and Six-pence in the Pound for all Foreign Commodities brought into, and sold in the Nation. The chief things enacted were, 1. Concerning Merchant Strangers, That it should be lawful for them in all Places of the Land to buy or sell all sorts of Commodities by Wholesale or Retail, which was a great Encouragement to Merchandize. 2. And whereas both Pope *Urban* and *Clement* had sent to the King, Nobles, and Bishops, to accept each of them for lawful Popes, the Legality of both Popes Election was debated, and in Conclusion it was agreed upon and passed into a Law, That Pope *Urban* was duly chosen,

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and so ought to be accepted and obey'd; That all Benefices of the Nation, which were held and enjoy'd by such Cardinals, or others of the Clergy, as were Rebels to Pope *Urban*, should be seized into the King's hands, and the Profits of them answer'd to him; That whosoever should purchase or obtain any Provisions, or other Instruments from any other Pope than the said *Urban*, shall be put out of the King's Protection. This Law is said to have been made through the Advice of the Archbishop. 3. That all Persons that shall report any slanderous words concerning any Bishop or Nobleman, shall be imprison'd till he can produce the Author of such Calumnies. Some other things were propounded, but nothing enacted concerning them. The Archbishop complained of the late Violation of the Sanctuary of *Westminster*, and desired that some effectual Course might be taken to secure the Privileges of Sanctuaries; but the Nobles objecting the voluntary Abuses of them maintained by the Clergy in protecting Debtors, Accountants, &c. the Archbishop dropp'd the Motion, lest they should be depriv'd of those Advantages. Complaint also was made by the Commons against the Clergy for taking Timber as Tyth under the Notion of *Silva Cadua*; and it was desired, that it might be limited to Woods of ten Years Growth, but the King answer'd them, That he would not alter common Usage.

Soon after the Parliament was risen Robert The Scots King of Scots raised an Army to invade the Borders of England, being put upon it by the King of France; and one Alexander Ramsey, a valiant Scot, with forty of his Countrymen, surpriz'd the Castle of *Barwicke*, and slaying Sir Robert Bointon, the Governour of it, with the whole Garrison, made themselves absolute Masters of it. This first Attempt proved not only advantageous to the fortunate Aggressors, who seized much Spoil, and put the Governour's Wife and Children to pay two thousand Marks for their Ransom, but open'd a free Passage for the whole Army into England. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the keeping of that Castle and Town committed to him, as soon as he had received Information of it, raised an Army out of those Parts for the Recovery of it; the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Lucy*, *Graistocke*, and *Stafford*, Sir *Thomas Musgrave*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen brought in their Assistance to him: So that the Earl had soon gotten an Army of above a thousand Men well arm'd. With these he march'd to *Barwicke*, and finding that the Townsmen had broken down the Draw-bridge, by which only the Scots could get into the Town; so that Ramsey and his Fellows could have no Assistance from their Army, which lay near. He laid siege to the Castle, and within nine days after his Arrival took it by a two hours Assault: All the Scots but Ramsey their Captain were put to Death, and he saved partly in respect to his Valour, and partly that he might discover the Strength and farther Designs of the Scottish Army. The Earl and Lords with the English Army being flush'd with this Success, sent out a Party of six hundred Men, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Musgrave* to pursue the Scots Army, which upon the Loss of *Barwicke* were a little withdrawn into the Country: But Earl *Douglasse* watching his Opportunity, fell upon them at such an Advantage, that he utterly defeated them, taking Sir *Thomas* himself, and one hundred twenty more Prisoners, the rest hardly escaping by flight. In this Expedition the Earl of *Northumberland's* eldest Son *Henry*, behaved himself so bravely, that he was highly commended and admir'd.

About

Second Parliament, and the Taxes granted and Acts made in it.

A. D. 1379. About Christmas Sir Robert Rouse, who was made Governour of Chierburg the last Summer, and had done many brave Actions against the *The Captains French* in taking Sir Oliver Clifton^a, and by other adventures, was call'd home, and Sir John Herleson put in his place. Sir Hugh Calverley also was remov'd from his Government of Callis, and made Admiral, being joyn'd in Commission with Sir Thomas Peirey, and William Montacute Earl of Salisbury succeeded Calverley as Governour of Callis.

The Captains French in taking Sir Oliver Clifton^a, and by other adventures, was call'd home, and Sir John Herleson put in his place.

A Genoese Merchant kill'd.

War between the Popes.

Third Parliament, and its Acts and Taxes.

This noble Person began his Office with an Inroad into France, by which he took a great Booty of Cattle, and much enriched the Town. Nor was Sir Hugh less active against the Enemy by Sea, than he had been formerly by Land; for soon after he had set out, he took seven Merchant Ships laden with Goods, and one Man of War. The Merchants of London being angry with a Genoese Merchant, who had brought into Port a Ship laden with rich Spices, because he would not sell them at such low Prices as they would give, but was departing to seek a better Market, fell upon him and slew him^b; which unjust Action was very much resented by the Government, and the Actors, as they could be taken punished according to their deserts. About this time began the Popes to stir up an Holy War, for the Establishment of themselves singly in the Papacy, and sent their Agents into the Nations, which submitted to them, to undertake a War against the Antipope. The Archbishop of Cassils in Ireland, who had been lately at Rome, brought with him a full power from Pope Urban to excommunicate all Persons that should hold with Clement, or uphold his Cause; and because the French were the chief Maintainers of Clement, who had establish'd his See at Avignon, the same Archbishop in a Sermon preach'd at London, told the People, 'That the French were excommunicated, and that if ever they could hope for success against that old Enemy of the Nation, now was the time, when they would have no Courage to make Resistance; or if they had, the powerful Curse would so weaken their Hands, and bind them over to inevitable Ruin, that they would become an easie Prey to the English. Thus did the Vicar of the Prince of Peace blow up the Flames of War among Christians; a very bad proof of so high Office, to act so directly contrary to the Practice of him, whose Deputy he pretends to be.

A little after Easter the Parliament was assembled at Westminster, and some things settled of most necessity. For after the King, according to the usual Custom, had confirm'd the Privileges of the Church and the two Great Charters; the principal was about the Privileges of Sanctuaries, and particularly of that of Westminster, which being found to be abused to protect Debtors against their Creditors, it was enacted, 'That all such Debtors, as after they have made over their Goods and Lands by Feoffments, Deeds of Gifts, or otherwise, to their Friends, and had for protection fled into Sanctuary, so defrauding their Creditors, if they did not render up themselves upon Proclamation made at the Gates of the Sanctuary, Judgment should pass against them, and an Execution be awarded upon their Goods and Lands, which were without such privileg'd places, as well such as are given by Collusion as otherwise. By this Parliament a Poll-Tax was given to the King, but with a particular Exemption of the Commons, and therefore laid the

more heavy upon the Nobility and Gentry; for Dukes and Archbishops were to pay * twenty Marks; Bishops, Earls, and mitred Abbots, six Marks; Monks, ten Groats; and Gentlemen, and all the other Clergy, at a certain Rate, none was spared; but the Commons paid nothing.

A. D. 1379.

* Some say ten Marks.

This following Summer the Plague so afflicted the Northern Countries, that the Inhabitants were many of them forced to remove their Dwellings into other parts of the Nation; and those, whom either Necessity or Charity oblig'd to remain there, the Scots being sure of no resistance, so infested with frequent Incursions and Robberies, that the Country was almost wholly depopulated.

A Plague in the North.

The Duke of Britain, who in the first Year of this King's Reign came into England to beg the King's assistance against his Rebellious Subjects, who by joyning with the King of France had expelled him out of his Dominions, was now invited home by his Nobles, to return and accept the Government of his Country. He had hitherto solicited with small success, because the Duke of Lancaster thought to have got his Dukedom for himself, and for that end went over with a powerful Army; but the Constable of France opposed him with so strong a Force, that he was obliged to give over the thoughts of it; but now he had sufficient Aid granted him to attend him into his Country, and greater Forces promised to be sent after him. On August 4. Sir Hugh Calverley and Sir Thomas Peirey set him ashore in his own Country, where he was received by his Nobility, and all his other Subjects, with a great deal of Joy, except some few who held great places under the French Government, and were likely to lose them by his coming. But because it could not be expected, but the French Faction would create him great Troubles and Disturbance; therefore on the Feast of St. Nicholas, Sept. 10. the Army promised him, to maintain him in his Dignity, was sent after him under the Command of Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir Nicholas Trumpington, and Sir Thomas Delaware, with others; but in their passage they met with so terrible a Tempest, that they could not touch the French Shore, twenty five Ships were cast away, most of the Captains drowned, and a great number of Soldiers. This unlucky Accident was look'd upon as a just Judgment from Heaven upon them for their Wickednesses, which they had committed on Shore^c, not only plundering Houses, and robbing Churches, but ravishing Men's Wives and Daughters, and carrying them on Board with them to satiate their Lusts, whom they cast into the Sea when the Tempest began, and so inhumanly hasten'd the ruin of their Souls, as well as corrupted their Bodies.

Sir John Harleston, and his Men, who held the Town of Chierburg, having Intelligence that the French had laid up great quantities of Provision in a Church and Mill adjoining, as in Storehouses, sallied out with a strong Force, and possessed themselves of them, tho' guarded and defended by the French. But in their return were encountered by Sir William de Bourd, the French Captain in Mountbergh, the Counter-Garrison to Chierburg. The English, loth to lose so soon what they had so lately gotten, stood upon their defence, and there follow'd a furious Battle. The French were the greatest in Number, but the English in Resolution, which Fortune so far favoured, that by the help of a few fresh Men, who came out of the Town to their assistance, they ob-

The English at Chierburg assault the French.

^a Sir Oliver Gueselin, Brother to the famous Constable of that Name.

^b They murder'd him for offering the King to fortifie Southampton, and make it a free Port for foreign Traders out of the East. The Merchants of London being jealous of their own Trade, to spoil the Project, caused him to be Assassinated.

^c This Wickedness is particularly laid to the Charge of Sir John Arundel.

A. D. 1380. Reg. 3. tain'd a compleat Victory, taking Sir William himself, and a hundred and twenty Prisoners. But this advantage was allay'd by as great loss to the English soon after; for several English Ships lying in the Haven of Britain, under the protection of a Castle, then kept by the English, under the command of Sir John Clarke, a valiant Captain, the French had intelligence of it, and going with a Squadron, sent one Ship into the Haven, either to fire them, or draw the English Ships to a pursuit of it, by which means they might come into their hands. The English, not suspecting the design, accordingly pursu'd the Ship, and Sir John Clarke and his Men went aboard to effect the taking of it, and so fell into the Ambuscade. Sir John perceiving his danger, fought bravely to free his Ships, but all was in vain, the French were too strong for them; and tho' few of the Men fell into the Enemy's hand, many being kill'd, among which was the Captain himself, and some escaping a shoar, they gain'd the Ships, but so shatter'd, they could not carry them home.

1380. About Christmas the Earl of Salisbury was remov'd from the Lieutenancy of Callis, and Sir John Devereux was put in his place. Sir John Harleston also was call'd home from Chierburg, and Sir William of Windsor sent over to succeed him. About the Feast of St. Hilary a Parliament met at Westminster, and sat till the beginning of March. In this Parliament it was enacted, 'That since many of the richest Church-preferments of the Nation were got into the hands of Strangers, who neither could nor did do their Duty in hearing Confessions, preaching to, and teaching the People, maintaining Hospitality, or furthering the good of Men's Souls, contrary to the intent of the pious Donors, and the ancient Custom of the Realm, whereby the Riches of the Nation was carry'd into foreign Parts; therefore no Alien should hold any Benefices in England, nor any Englishman be a Farmer, Procurator, or Attorney for such Aliens, without an expresse License from the King and his Council. The Commons also petition'd, 'That a Provision should be made against the Pope's Collectors of the first Fruits of all Ecclesiastical Benefices within this Realm, and that all Priors Aliens might be remov'd out of their Houses, and licens'd to depart the Nation, never to return, and that Englishmen be put in their places, answering the King's Revenues as they did. At the Request also of the Lords and Commons, Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was made sole Governor of the King's Person, instead of the greater number of Bishops and Barons, which hitherto had enjoy'd that Office, because they were found burthensome and chargeable to the Nation; and he had a competent Salary allow'd him for his Care and Attendance. This Parliament granted to the King a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity, but upon condition that the King should not summon another Parliament till the Michaelmas twelve-month after, which tho' at present he assented to, yet was not perform'd.

A little after Easter, the Lady Jane de Courtney, the King's half Sister, was marry'd to the Lord Valeran Earl of S. Paul, who having been taken Prisoner in the Marches of Callis, was kept in the English Court, and by his winning Behaviour much engag'd the young Lady's Affections to him. The Princess her Mother was very much against the Match; but fearing lest it might be prejudicial to the young Lady to cross her Affections, she yielded, and the King gave his Consent, and for her Dower bestow'd upon the Earl the Mannour of Biefleet.

The Duke of Britain having been disappointed

of the Aids which he expected from England soon after his arrival, but were kept back by a Tempest, not knowing the Cause of the Delay, sent a fresh Petition to the King for his assistance; whereupon seven or eight thousand Men were raised to be conducted thither, under the Command of Thomas Woodstocke Earl of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Peircy, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Robert Knowles, Sir John Harleston, and other experienced Commanders; but to avoid the former danger by Sea, were set on Shoar at Callis, June 4. and so were to pass through France into Britain. In their March through the Country, tho' they did much harm to the French, yet they met with no Opposition. The Duke of Burgundy would have vain opposed them, and the injur'd People were very ready and desirous to crush their Insolencies; but King Charles, being a very politick Prince, who could have no Refuge in the midst of their Enemies, but an irresistible Boldness and Desperateness; he order'd them to keep themselves and Cattle close in their Towns, while they pass'd by, and in the mean time he so dealt with the Britains, that he made their Journey unsuccessful; for the City of Nantz deny'd utterly to receive them, and the Britains gave them a cold welcome; which Disappointment did more damage to the English, than the French had suffer'd by them, and Charles's Policy outdid their Force, tho' he liv'd not to see the success of it. For that great Prince having been poison'd about the time that the English landed at Callis, was hardly preserved by a German Physician a few Months, and dy'd Sept. 26. just as the English were passing the River Sartie, and left his Kingdom to his Son Charles VI. then but twelve Years old. This Accident might have prov'd fortunate to the English, had the Duke persisted in his Quarrel with France, especially since there was a Diffention among the French Princes of the Blood about the Regency and Government of the King's Person; but the Peers of Britain being more desirous of Peace than War, and the French as willing to comply with them, the English were sent home again, and a Peace concluded to no small displeasure of the Earl of Buckingham, and his whole Army, whom to appease the Duke pretended, that his Nobles over-rul'd him, and forc'd him to it; which Excuse did not satisfie the angred Soldiers.

While the English under the Earl of Buckingham were passing France, the French and Spanish Gallies under the Command of the Lord Oliver de Clisson, and other great Men, much infested the Coasts of England, especially in the Western parts, where they took several Ships; and at last, entring the Thames, burnt Gravesend, after they had plunder'd it, and so return'd with much Booty. About the latter end of June the Merchandizing Towns of the West set out a Fleet to repress their Insolencies, which being in pursuit of them, forced them into Ireland to Kingsale; but they were so assaulted from the Irish and English on both sides, that above four hundred of them were slain, most of their Captains and Ships taken, besides one and twenty Vessels, which had been taken from the English, which they now recover'd; but four of the most desperate of their Captains escaped, who being enrag'd at their loss, got up what Force they could together, and observing their opportunity, came again upon the English Coasts, robbing, killing, and burning in a more outrageous manner than before; against whom, tho' the People oppos'd themselves with what strength they could get, and did some Execution upon them, yet they suffer'd much damage, for they burnt the Town of Winchelsea, and put the Abbot of Battel

A. D. 1381. Reg. 4. Aids sent to the Duke of Britain, and their success.

Charles the French King dy'd.

The French much annoy England.

The Lady an Court-y marry'd the Earl S. Paul.

A. D. 1380. Reg. 4. to flight, who came to defend it, as also *Rye, Hastings*, and *Portsmouth*, were destroy'd and plunder'd by them; which having done, they retir'd for Fear.

The Scots invade England.

The Scots, who were always joyned with their old Confederates the *French*, in assaulting *England*, were not backward at this time to contribute their Assistance; and because the *French* acted only as Pirates, without Declaration of War, therefore the Scots made this a Pretence of their Invasion, that the Townsmen of *Newcastle* and *Hull* had taken one of their Ships worth six or seven thousand Marks, tho' they took it not from the Scots, but from the Pirates that infested *England*. Whereupon the Scots, with a considerable Body of Men, enter'd *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, spoiling and destroying the Country; and out of the Forest of *Inglewood* drove away forty thousand Head of great and small Cattle as was thought. It happen'd, that just at this time *Penrith* Fair was kept; of which, when the Scots had notice, they hastened thither; and finding none to oppose them, for the Tradesmen, who were naked and unarm'd, hearing of their coming, had left their Goods to save their Lives; they seized upon all their Shops and Stalls, and returned laden home by the City of *Carlisle*; which tho' strong enough to defend it self, yet made no Resistance; and so the Scots got safe into their own Country, save that an Ambush of Archers cut off some few of them. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the Guardian of those Northern Parts, hearing of these Mischiefs done by the Scots, was preparing a sharp Revenge against them, but was forbidden by Letters from the King and Council to proceed against them, till the time of Treaty with them was past, that it might be known, whether they would make any Satisfaction for those Wrongs or no.

A Treaty with the Scots.

About *Michaelmas* the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Stafford*, with other Noblemen, went with a great Army into the North, and lay on the Borders to treat with the Scots. This Negotiation, which lasted long, ended in a Truce till *Easter* following, but was so great a Burthen to the poor Inhabitants, that they had rather have had the Scots still their Enemies, than the Company of their Friends with the Army that attended them, who did them as much Injury as they could have done. The Truce was indeed no Security to the *English*, the Scots ever making use of such Cessations of Arms to plunder *England* the more fearlessly; for they never observ'd them longer than they could gain an advantageous Opportunity to break them. While the *English* Army lay here, some treasonable Letters were found at *London* by a poor Man, seal'd with Sir *Ralph Ferrers's* Arms, who was one of the King's Council, and directed to Sir *Bertram Glegurn*, the Lord *de la River*, Chamberlain of *France*, the Lord *Gueselin*, and the Patron of the *French* Gallies. They were carried to Mr. *John Philpott*, and by him to the King and Council, who sent him with them to the Duke of *Lancaster*, that the Knight might be seiz'd and secur'd; which the Duke accordingly did, and imprison'd him in *Durham* Castle, but upon his Examination at the next Parliament he was set at Liberty, four Barons being bound for his Appearance, till his Innocency could be more fully cleared.

Sir Ralph Ferrers accused of corresponding with the French.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The King called another Parliament to meet at *Northampton* in *November*, a place tho' not very convenient in Winter for the Entertainment of so great a Company, and so August an Assembly, yet was thought more fit than *London* at that time; because he was resolved to punish

John Kirby, a Merchant of *London*, who was one of those that had barbarously kill'd the *Genoese* Merchant: And it was feared, that his suffering in the City might occasion some Tumult by the Interests of his Dependants or Friends, so he had his Tryal at *Northampton*, and was hanged. By this Parliament was granted to the King a Tax of 6s. 8d. for every Priest and Nun, and 4d. by the Poll upon all Persons whatever being of the Age of fourteen Years and upward (such as took Alms only excepted) which was then thought so considerable a Sum, that it raised a great Discontent among the Commons, as we shall see, when we come to the Account of the Collection of it.

A. D. 1380. Reg. 4.

Soon after the rising of this Parliament, which was about *Christmas*, *Thomas Braintringham* Bishop of *Exeter*, was put out of his Office of Treasurer, and Sir *Robert Hales* Lord Prior of *St. John's* Hospital in *Smithfield*, was put into his place; a very worthy and gallant Person, but not beloved of the Commons. Also a Marriage began to be treated of between the King and the Emperor's Sister, and the Duke of *Tarfilia* and the Cardinal of *S. Praxedes*, came over to the King about it. The Cardinal made it a very advantageous Negotiation, for presuming upon the King's Favour and Permission, he sold Indulgences, Confessional Letters, Portative Altars, Absolutions and Dispensations at dear Rates to the superstitious People and Clergy, who glad of such near Markets, catch'd at them eagerly, to the great enriching of the Cardinal.

1381.

The King's Marriage negotiated.

The Truce with the Scots being now just upon the Expiration, the Duke of *Lancaster* was sent into *Scotland* to procure a Continuation of the Truce for a longer time, viz. three Years. The Duke was the more zealous to promote a firm Peace at home, because he had an Opportunity put into his hands, as he thought, of recovering his Wife's Right to the Crown of *Spain*, by a Breach between the King of *Portugal* and the Usurper. The former had sent to the Duke to assist him, and he dispatch'd away his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, with the Lords *William Beauchamp* and *Botreux*, and Sir *Matthew Gourney*, with a considerable Force to help him, intending to follow himself with greater Strength as soon as things were put into a settled Posture at home; but while he was endeavouring to lengthen the Peace with a Foreign Nation, an unexpected Disturbance, but very dangerous one, arose at home among the People upon this Occasion.

The Truce with the Scots renewed.

An Expedition into Portugal.

The Collection of the Poll-Tax, which was so much displeasing to the Common People, began in the Spring, and being manag'd by indiscreet and uncivil Officers, raised such Discontents in most Counties of *England*, that they were every where almost ripe for Rebellion: For tho' 'tis probable the severe exacting of so small a Sum would not have raised such Combustions alone, yet meeting with other Grounds of Dissatisfaction, which the People had long smother'd, it swelled them to so big a Bulk, that they could not keep longer in. The Government of the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Exactions and Corruptions of Lawyers and Attorneys, and the Oppression from Lords of Mannors by their Tenures of Villanage, had sat very uneasie upon their Shoulders a great while, and they longed for a Deliverance from both; but more especially from the insupportable Burthens of their Lords, whose Slaves and Servants they generally were, doing all their Work and Drudgery, as plowing, sowing, carrying their Dung, cutting

The Rebellion of Jack Straw, and the Occasions of it.

* This Tax was proposed by the Lords.

A. D. 1381. Reg. 5. their Wood, and carrying it to their Houses, which being a great Avocation from their own Business, and Disadvantage to their Labours, they were glad of a just Cause and Opportunity of vindicating their Liberty. And this they were much the more encourag'd to do by the Sermons of a seditious Priest, nam'd *John Ball*, who in his Popular Discourses told the Commons, 'That all Men were equal by Nature; That as Children of *Adam* no Man is better than another; That if God had appointed any Man to Slavery, he would have declared, who should be Lords, and who Servants; That Servitude, which his gotten by unjust Force, is confirmed by as unjust Laws; and therefore he advised them to go to the King and require their Liberty, which if they could not obtain, to recover it with their Swords. Whether these Instigations had produced any settled Resolutions in the People to ease themselves after that manner, is uncertain^a; but that they made them more ready to lay hold of a slight Occasion to rebel, is out of Question, and so were the chief means to raise that Flame, which the Poll-Tax served but as a Pretence to. This Rebellion first began at *Dartmouth* in *Kent*, where a rude Collector of the Poll-Groats having offer'd some Incivility to ^bone *Jack Tyler's* Daughter, created a Quarrel with the Father; which coming to Blows, *Tyler* being a Thatcher, with his thatching Staff^c beat out his Brains. The Fact was applauded by his Neighbours, but yet fearing he should be punish'd for it, they gather'd together for his Defence, and in a short time were become a large Multitude^d able to defend themselves against any Force almost whatsoever: For not only the People of *Kent*, but *Essex* united themselves in one Body, and as if his Cause were common to them all, resolv'd to vindicate themselves and him from all such unjust Oppressions and Abuses. *Wat. Tyler* became the Head and Captain of this Rabble, which being so strong as he thought to be beyond all Resistance, and able to vindicate themselves from all Wrongs, which they in their own Opinions sustained from their Superiors; he first engag'd them each to other withan Oath, 'That they would be true to King *Richard*, and the Interests of the Commons of *England*; That they never would receive a *John* (meaning the Duke of *Lancaster*) for their King; That they would perswade all their Neighbours to join in the same Cause, and would never yield to the Payment of any Tax, but a 15th. Being firmly united by this Oath, they began their March from *Maidstone*, where their first Rendezvous was, towards *London*, plundering all that would not joyn with them in their Passage. At *Blackheath* they had a general Muster, where they appeared to be sixty thousand, or as others say, an hundred thousand strong. The King hearing of the Approach of so great a Multitude in an Army, sent to them to know the Cause of their tumultuous meeting, and they sent him word, 'That they were come to speak with him about Matters of Importance, and desired him to come to them. The Message being related to the King, it was debated in the Council, whether he should go to them or

no: Some thought it the best way to appease them, but *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Chancellor, and Sir *Robert Hales* the Treasurer, were utterly against it, as not safe for the King's Person. This Advice was taken, and the Rebels Petition rejected, which as soon as they heard the Authors of, they vow'd they would cut off their Heads; but the King fearing that this Denial would provoke them, he went down by Water as far as *Rotherhithe* to talk with them. They were pleased with his Presence, and petition'd him to come a-shore among them, but that would not be granted: So that this new Distrust created a greater Displeasure against the King's Ministers, and Persons about him.

As soon as the King had left them, they march'd forward to *London*, and on *Corpus Christi Day*, June 2. enter'd *Southwark*; where they plunder'd the rich House-keepers, let out the Prisoners of the *Marshalsea* and *Kings-Bench*, whom they lifted into their own Company. The Mayor and chief Men of the City adher'd firmly to the King, and shut up their Gates against them; but the Commonalty taking their part, and the Rebels themselves threatening to burn all the Borough of *Southwark*, unless they had free Access into the City; they were forced to open the Gates to them, as well for their own as Friends Safety. And now being Masters of all the Wealth and Power of the Nation, they made no Law for their Actions, but their own Will; the Wine-Cellars and Shambles yielded them Dainties for their Bellies and Palates, and every Banker's Shop was their Treasury. The meanest Peasant knew no Want, when abundance of all things was at hand: But these Lawless Actions they justified by their Zeal for the common Good, and taking off such as they called the Enemies of the publick, which they were not sparing in the Execution of, or in destroying their Houses and Possessions. For they burnt the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*, and the Duke of *Lancaster's* House in the *Savey*, with all their rich Furniture and Goods; which, as if they had been devoted to God, they would suffer no Man to rescue from the Flames; but when one of their Company took a piece of Plate, and put it in his Bosom, they cast him into the Fire. *S. John's* Hospital in *Smithfield* also they set on fire, and the Mannor of *Highbury*, belonging to it. All the Professors of the Law, which they could get into their Power, they put to Death; and entring into the Temple, they destroy'd all the Rolls or Records of the Chancery which they could find, with all Law-Books and Writings of the Students, and so they dealt with the other Inns of Court. They divided themselves into three parts to prevent any Opposition, and remained one part in the City under *Jack Straw*, another at *Mile-End*, and a third at *Tower-Hill*^e. The King and his Guards (tho' twelve hundred) were so much afraid of them, that they allow'd them to come into the *Tower*, and took out from thence the Archbishop *Simon Sudbury*, then Chancellor, and Sir *Robert Hales* the Treasurer, and beheaded them on *Tower-Hill*. In the City also they were very severe to Foreigners, especially the *Flem-*

A. D. 1381. Reg. 5.

Rebels come to London, and their Actions there.

^a 'Tis so far certain, as that he was among them at *Blackheath*, where he made this Sermon. He was a Prisoner in *Maidstone* Goal, and had been set free by the Rabble, whom he excited to proceed from Rior to Rebellion, taking this Rhime for his Text,

When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Who was then a Gentleman?

^b This was done at *Debtford* in *Kent*. The Fellow's Name was *Walter* or *Wat*, his Trade a *Tyler*, whence he is called *Wat. Tyler*.

^c With his Lathing Hammer.

^d An hundred thousand Men.

^e These were the *Essex* Men to the Number of sixty thousand, who on Promise of Charters of Freedom, dispersed and went Home.

^f *Kentish* Men headed by *Wat. Tyler*.

A. D. 1381. *ings*, and taking them out of the Sanctuaries, whither they were fled to escape their Fury, beheaded many of them. Their *Shibboleth* to discern them by, was to pronounce the words *Bread and Cheese*, which if they could not do, but said as usually, *Brot and Cause*, they instantly beheaded them. *Wat. Tyler's* private Revenge in beheading his old Master, *Richard Lyon*, in *Cheapside*, for his necessary Severity to him when he was his Apprentice, much stain'd their glorious Pretences of reforming publick Disorders, and punishing bad Ministers of the State. Nor was it very agreeable to the Justice they pretended to observe, to open the Prisons of *Newgate* and the *Compters*, and let out those Pests of Societies, Thieves, Burglers, and other disorderly Persons, burning their Registers, that in more settled times they might not be again apprehended: But so it for the most part happens, Hypocrites can't keep the Vizard on so close, but their Pretences will be seen through, and their disagreeing Actions betray the Wickedness of their Designs.

King's methods to appease the Rebels.

Wat. Tyler Captain of the Kentish Rebels.

The King compassionating the Miseries of his People, which by force he was unable to relieve, consulted with his Council about such Courses as were best to be taken to prevent them; and upon deliberation it was advised, That since Rebels, tho' strong, are yet timorous, the King should offer them all Pardon for their former Offences, and give them Charters of Freedom to confirm their Liberties for the future. The greatest part of the Rebels accepted of the King's Favour, and especially the *Essex* Men, who sorry for their Disloyalty, departed immediately home, leaving only some of their chief Men to get their Pardon and Charter of Freedom pass'd and sign'd. But *Wat. Tyler*, and his *Kentish* Men, which were about twenty thousand, still continued unsatisfy'd, and persisted in their mischievous Actions of plundering and killing whom they pleas'd. The King and his Council made larger Proposals to him, but nothing would be accepted, tho' he pretended he would be quiet upon reasonable Conditions; which that the King might know, and comply with for the Peace of the Nation, he with many of his Nobility, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and his Guards, went into *Smithfield*, and sent one of his Attendants, *Sir John Newton*, to summons *Tyler* to a Parley with him. *Sir John* thinking it Condescension enough in the King to send for so mean a Subject, hasten'd *Tyler* to attend upon his Majesty; but he told him, *he would come at his own time*; and tho' he set forward, yet did it so slowly, as if he had been as great a King, which he dream'd he should soon be, and the King were to wait upon him. His delays caus'd *Sir John* to be sent again, and to quicken his pace, without respect to him; which so angered the proud Rebel, that he drew his Dagger at him to kill him; and tho' he was in the King's Presence, would not lay aside his Fury: Whereupon *Sir John* was commanded by the King to deliver up his Dagger to *Tyler*, and submit. When the King and *Tyler* came together, as he gave very little Respect to the King, so his Demands were very unreasonable; for he required, That the ancient Laws of the Land should be abolished; That the Sword, which was carry'd before the King, should be deliver'd to him; and many other insolent matters, unfit to be granted. *William Walmorth* the Mayor of

London, and *John Philpot* an Alderman, both Men of an undaunted Courage as zealous Loyalty, told the King, That the rude Behaviour of *Tyler* to him was intolerable, and desired that the Mayor might have liberty to arrest him, being in his Jurisdiction. The King doubting the issue of such an Attempt, which their Passion would not suffer them to consider, was very unwilling to permit them, but at last yielded; and *Walmorth* immediately with his Sword struck him from his Horse, and being seconded with *Philpot*, and others that stood by, they kill'd him. The Rabble seeing their Captain dead, presently incited one another to revenge his Blood, and bent their Bows to shoot at his Murtherers, as they call'd them. The King considering their unavoidable danger, though but fifteen Years of Age, rode bravely up to the People, and said, *What will you kill your King? Be not troubled for the loss of your Leader, I will be your Captain, and grant you what you desire.* These Words had so great an influence upon them, that they laid aside their Intentions, and march'd with the King into *St. George's Fields*, as sure to obtain their Requests of him. In the mean time, *Walmorth* posted into the City, and brought back with him a thousand Citizens well arm'd, who waited under *Sir Robert Knowles* to give the King assistance, when it was most seasonable; and upon this notice, immediately march'd in good order into the Fields to the King. The Rabble were amaz'd at their approach, and flung down their Weapons, begging the King's Pardon; which being obtain'd, they fled, and got home as fast as they could. The Nobles and others that attended the King, desired him to execute three or four hundred of them instantly for a terror to others; but the King would by no means consent to it, and only order'd, that the City should give them no entertainment, and that the Heads of them should be apprehended, and legally punish'd. The Tumult being thus compos'd, the King sensible of the Service which *Walmorth* and *Philpot* had done him, with so great hazard of their Lives, conferr'd the honour of Knighthood upon them and some other Aldermen, *John Standish*, *Nicholas Brambre*, *John Lawnd*, and *Nicholas Twiford*; and as a perpetual Memorial of the City's Loyalty, commanded the Dagger to be added to their Arms, and gave also an hundred Pounds per Annum to *Walmorth*, and forty Pounds per Annum to all the rest. After this success, the King return'd to the Tower, where he was receiv'd by his Mother with much Joy, and the more, because she knew him to be in great danger of Life from the numerous and heady Rout of his rebellious Subjects.

While the former Commotions were about *London*, the Commons in other parts of the Nation raised the like Stirs and Tumult, under the same Pretences, being instigated by the Emiffaries of the *Kentish* Rebels, *John Ball* and *John Wraw*, two seditious Priests, who had a special Talent of Haranguing the Rabble into Discontents and Rebellion. In *Suffolk*, about *St. Edmundsbury*, they were gather'd together into a Body of fifty thousand, under the Command of *Robert Westbroom* an Inn-keeper, and *John Wraw* the above-mentioned lewd Priest, as his Assistant. They made it their business also to go about the Country to plunder and murder Lawyers, Justices, and all such as they imagin'd to be the Instruments of

A. 1381 Reg.

Wat. 1 kill'd the Rebel dispers'd

Rebels in other parts of the Nation

^a This cannot be right, for Mr. *Lyon* was a very eminent Merchant, the same that had been in the former Reign condemned in a great Fine to the King for several Misdemeanors, and *Alice Peirce* begged it off for him when she was in favour. So 'tis not probable, that *Wat* the Thatcher or the *Tyler* was ever Prentice to him.

^b He was angry with the Knight, because he did not dismount in his Presence, but presumed to talk to him on Horseback.

^c *Sir William Walmorth* seeing *Tyler* begin to meddle with the Bridle of the King's Horse, and play'd with his Dagger, lifting it from one Hand to the other, was afraid he meant some Mischief to his Royal Person, and struck him on the Head with his Dagger; Alderman *Philpot* seconded the Blow with his Sword, and so the Rebel came down.

A. D. 1381. the People's Slavery. These beheaded Sir John Cavendish Lord Chief Justice, who had his Dwelling in those parts, and the Prior of Bury, John of Cambridge^a, forcing the Monks of the Abby to bring forth and burn those Writings, by which the Privileges of the Monastery over the Townsmen were granted and confirmed; and left the Abbot, who escap'd from them, should recover his former Immunities of them, they put a Cross, Chalice, and other Jewels belonging to the Monastery into their hands, that the Abbot should be oblig'd to seal a Release of all Services to them for the recovery of them. In Cambridgeshire also and the Isle of Ely there were the like tumults, and many mischiefs done by the seditious People, who thrunk away upon the first Proclamation of Pardon, and sav'd themselves. But in Norfolk, tho' they were as forward in disquieting the Nation, yet they were not so wise to secure themselves. John Littlester, a Dyer of Norwich, whom they stiled King of the Commons, headed a vast Rabble, and with the same mad Fury destroy'd the Lawyers, Lords of Mannours, and such as they believ'd Instruments of their Slavery. These were, as they thought, more politick than their Fellows in other parts, in compelling several Gentlemen of that Country to join with them to increase their Numbers, and make themselves the more considerable, as the Lord Scales, Sir William Morley, Sir John Brewes, Sir Stephen Hales, and Sir Robert Salle. This last was too Loyal to comply with such a rebellious Rout, and too Bold to keep his Sentiments of their wicked and unjust Actions to himself; wherefore reproving both their Attempt, and the ill Conduct of it, he was knock'd on the Head by them. The rest sav'd their Lives with such servile Compliances as were worse than an honourable Death, for they were forced to serve Littlester at Table upon their Knees^b, and outwardly applaud his brave Endeavours for the People's Liberties. They sought to have brought William Ufford Earl of Suffolk to the same Union with them, but he had some notice of their Intentions, and so timely made his escape, and went to the King. When the Proclamation of Pardon to the Rebels about London was published, they had news of it; but whether they supposed themselves not included in it, or whether they disputed with themselves about accepting it, is uncertain; yet they kept together in a Body, and sent three of their chief Leaders, with Sir John Brewes and Sir William Morley, with store of Money^c to obtain their Pardon. The Bishop of Norwich, Henry Spencer, a Man of a Warlike Spirit, tho' a Clergyman, being zealous to purge his Diocess of such Troublers of the Nation, was at the same time coming down with a small Force, of eighty Lances, and a few Archers, and hoped by the assistance of such as continued Loyal in his Diocess, to rout the Rebels. The Messengers from the Mutineers met the Bishop near New-Market, who question'd them about their Business, Company, and the People in Arms; and finding that three of the chief of the Rebels were with them, and that their Camp lay at North-walsham strongly entrench'd, the Bishop being hot in the pursuit of them, beheaded the three Leaders, set up their Heads at New-Market, and hastening forward with Sir William Morley and Sir John Brewes, gather'd an Army of such Gentlemen and Commons, as flock'd to them in their passage; which making up no inconsiderable Body, the Bishop assaulted their Camp, and routed them, tho' with some difficulty. Littlester, and several others of his Associates, he beheaded; but Wraw, with several Prisoners, were sent up to London to receive the just Punishment of their Demerit. Thus was the Rebellion ended, and almost as soon suppressed as raised, not continuing above three Weeks, or thereabouts, from the beginning to the end of May, the heady Rabble wanting Skill and Courage to maintain their bad Cause.

The Nation being thus a little appeased, tho' not settled, the Governours with the young King thought it necessary, for the compleating of its Quiet for the future, to raise a good Army of such as were firmly Loyal to the King, who might be able to suppress any Insurrections hereafter, which were not a little to be feared, because the Commons were yet in a ferment, and they had resolv'd to punish many of the Leaders of the Rebellion, that were in Custody in several places of the Nation, with as great severity as their Crimes deserv'd, which would probably incense the People, and cause new Stirs. The King thereupon call'd all his Friends together about London, and sent into the Country to such as he knew to be Men well-affected, and Persons of Interest, to attend him, and bring what Men they could with them well arm'd; by which means he got in a few Days a gallant Army of above forty thousand Men, which he muster'd himself in Person at Black-heath with great pleasure and satisfaction. As soon as this Force was got together about the King, news was brought him, that the Commons were risen again in two parts, viz. in Kent, and in Essex about Billerica. The King, whether tried with the former Provocations, or exalted with the Presence of his Army, which he wanted before, forgot all his former Gentleness, and immediately resolv'd to go himself into Kent, and destroy the whole Country, and to send the Earl of Buckingham and Lord Piercy to repress the Essex-Men, to whose Petition for Liberty, though promised before, he reply'd, that *Slaves they were, and Slaves they should be*. But the Lords, by their earnest Persuasions, allay'd the Fierceness of his Passion, and brought him to yield to more gentle and legal ways of proceeding against them. So the Earl of Buckingham, and Sir Thomas Piercy, with a good strength of Men, went into Essex, and finding the Rebels entrench'd between Billerica and Hatfield Peverell, within Ditches and Carts; they assaulted their Camp, kill'd five hundred of them, and took eight hundred Horses, the rest escaping towards Colchester, which they solicited in vain to joyn with them, and from thence went to Sudbury. The Lord Fitz-Walter and Sir John Harleston with a Body of Men pursu'd them so hard, that they slew and took them almost all Prisoners, and committed them to several Gaols in their own Country. And with the like success did the King's Army subdue the seditious People of Kent. After the Composure of these Disturbances, there appear'd a general Quietness over the Nation, which made way for the Punishment of those Captains of the Rebels which were reserv'd for Justice.

The Lord Mayor of London, Sir William Walworth, had taken several of the chief of them, as Jack Straw, Allen Threader, John Kirby, and John Starling, who bragg'd that he had slain the Archbishop with his own hands; and being seiz'd within his Precincts, they were by Law to be tried before him, from whom they received the

A second Rising in Kent and Essex.

Reg. 5. Several Rebels executed

Sentence

^a John of Cambridge and John de Lankeinbeath, two Monks of that Priory, were both Beheaded.
^b They managed themselves so cunningly, that they became his Favourites, and were made this King of the Mob's Chief Officers, Sir Stephen Hales being his Carver.
^c This Money was given 'em by the Citizens of Norwich, to save their Town from being burnt.
^d They were born Villains, and so they should remain. Something softer than to call them Slaves.

A. D. 1381. Sentence of Condemnation, to be beheaded; which was executed on them accordingly. *Jack Straw*, without any Promises, or Hopes of Pardon, ingenuously confessed at his Execution, That if they had been successful in their Enterprize, and could have gotten all the Power into their hands, as they had no small Reason to hope, being so very strong, they intended to have slain the King, Noblemen, Bishops, Monks, Canons, Parsons, and all the richest and wealthiest of the Commons, and seiz'd upon their Possessions, leaving only the Fryars Mendicants to administer Sacraments and divine Service; And when they had thus gotten all into their hands, they would have established new Laws for the Government of the Realm, which they had contrived to divide among their Leaders; *Wat. Tyler* was to be King of *Kent*, and others of them in other Countries were to have their petty Kingdoms. This, he said, was true, as God should help him in those his last Moments. *John Ball*, who was taken about *Coventry*, was sent up to the King, and try'd before him at *S. Albans*, with others of the Rebels, brought thither from *Hartford Goal*. *Ball* behaved himself with very great Irreverence to the King; and tho' he was advised to submit and beg pardon, he scorn'd and despis'd his Monitors: So he was condemn'd and executed with fifteen others, *July 15th*. As for the rest, the King sent out his Judges with Commissions into the several Counties of the Nation to try them. *Sir Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, went into *Essex*, and the King himself accompany'd him at their Examinations. The *Essex* Men in a Body of about five hundred Men, address'd themselves bare-foot to the King for Mercy, and had it granted upon condition, That they should deliver up to Justice the chief Instruments of stirring up the Rebellion; which being accordingly done, they were immediately try'd and hang'd ten or twelve, on a Beam at *Chelmsford*; because they were too many to be executed after the usual manner, which was by beheading. In other Counties also, where the Rebellion had come, were the like Executions done; and the Lords of Manors dealt with the like Severity with their Tenants, and punish'd many of them with Death: So that in divers places of *England*, no less than fifteen hundred are computed to have suffer'd for this their Disloyalty; by which means the Mischiefs they did to others, and the Blood they shed, was justly return'd upon themselves. This Rebellion hath since been imputed to *Wickliffe* and his Followers Principles, of whom *John Ball* is said to have been one; but that this is an Aspersion invented by Monkish Historians, to blacken the Protestant Doctrines, may appear from hence, that the Rebels were very cruel to some of the chief Followers of *Wickliffe*, as the Duke of *Lancaster*; and that *Wickliffe* himself, then residing upon his Parsonage of *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, was never called in Question for this Rebellion; and tho' *John Ball*, who was a Franciscan Fryar, was said to be imprison'd by the Archbishop for preaching *Wickliffe's* Doctrine; yet 'tis probable his Discontents, not Opinions, made him forward to promote these Disturbances of the Nation, and therefore neither *Wickliffe* nor his Doctrines were to blame.

The Duke of Lancaster in Scotland during this Rebellion.

The Duke of *Lancaster* was all the time of these Commotions in *Scotland*, not so much to conclude the Peace, which upon the first News of them he suddenly clapt up; because if the *Scots* had heard of them, they would certainly have rejected all Propositions for it, as to secure his own Person, to whom he knew they bore a deadly

Hatred. The *Scots*, tho' vexed that the Duke had by his Policy debarr'd them from a great Advantage upon *England* by it, yet offer'd him twenty thousand Men to guard himself against the Rebels, if he purposed to return home; or if he thought it better to stay till the Storm was spent, the Accommodations of *Holy-rood House*; but the Duke accepted the latter, and abode some Months in *Scotland* extraordinary. This gave the tumultuous Multitude occasion to report, That the Duke of *Lancaster* was gone over to the *Scots*, and had obtained of them an Army to invade and conquer *England*; but as soon as the Rebellion was allay'd, the Duke cleared himself of that foul Aspersion, by sending a Message to the King to give an account of the Reasons of his stay; yet assuring his Majesty, That if he had any Suspicion of his Disloyalty, he would either come to him without any Attendance, or at his Command go into a voluntary Exile. But the King giving no Credit to the Report, sent him word, That he might return with his Retinue; and being come to Court, gave him an hearty welcome. Soon after his Arrival there happen'd a furious Quarrel between the Duke of *Lancaster* and Earl of *Northumberland*; because *Sir Matthew Redman*, Governour of *Barwicke* under the Earl, had deny'd the Duke Admittance into that Garrison, when he was on the Borders of *Scotland*, by the Earl's Order. This Act the Duke complain'd of to the King in the Earl's Presence, and accus'd him of Ingratitude, Unfaithfulness, and Disobedience. The Earl being a Man of an high and angry Spirit, burst out into foul and reproachful Language against the Duke; and was so very furious, that tho' the King commanded him Silence, yet he would not hold in his reproachful Language. Whereupon the King commanded him to be arrested and imprison'd; but the Earls of *Warwick* and *Suffolk* undertaking for his Appearance at the next Parliament, he was left at Liberty, and returned into his own Country. About this time the King made *William Courtney*, Bishop of *London*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was a zealous Opposer of *Wickliffe* and his Followers.

A Quarrel between the Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Northumberland.

About the beginning of *November* the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Duke of *Lancaster* attended it, but with very large Retinues of armed Men, to the great Terror of all Places where they came. The Earl and his Company were lodg'd in the City, and the Duke with his Men in the Suburbs, and both went every Day to the Parliament House with their Guards, to the Amaze-ment of the Citizens. The Quarrel between these two great Personages was first debated by the Houses, and took up so much time before it was fully decided by the King, that News was brought of the Queen's Arrival at *Dover*, before they could proceed to any other Business; and so the Parliament was prorogued to give Attendance upon her Reception, and the Celebration of the Marriage: For many of the Nobility, and others of the Parliament, were sent to receive her, and convey her honourably to the King's Presence. Before she came to *London*, the Mayor and Aldermen, with a great Company of the chief Citizens, met her at *Blackheath*, and led her into their City with great Honour and Respect, from whence she was conducted in Triumph to the King at *Westminster*. Within a few days she was marry'd to the King by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Name of *Ann*, the Daughter of the late Emperor *Charles IV.* and Sister to *Winceslaus* the present Emperor. Her Coronation soon follow'd, which was celebrated with infinite Splendour

A. D. 1381.

A Quarrel between the Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Northumberland.

Sixth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The King's Marriage and Queen's Coronation.

A. D.
1382.

Splendour and Magnificence; all the Nobility of the Nation attending, and sparing no Cost to heighten the Glory and State of that day. These Solemnities being ended, the Parliament met again soon after the Feast of *Epiphany*, and settled many good Laws for the publick Benefit: For after the Confirmation of the Liberties of the Church, the great Charters, and many old Laws found by Experience conducive to the Nation's Welfare, they establish'd several new ones, *viz.* That no Gold or Silver should be carry'd out of the Realm, either in Coin, or otherwise; it being found then, as well as now, that Traffick with ready Money impoverishes the Nation. That all Merchants, that were the King's Subjects, should traffick in *English* Bottoms only. That no Wines should be sold for above six Marks by the Tun. That all Manumissions, Obligations, Releases, and other Bonds made by Force and Compulsion in the late Tumults, as being against the Laws of the Land, should be void. That it should be lawful for the King's Loyal Subjects to seize and apprehend all Persons, whom they suspect to be riotously assembled, if there be in number above six or seven, without the King's Writ, and imprison them till they are brought to answer it. That such Persons as out of Zeal to the Safety of the King and Peace of the Realm, had taken up Arms to repress and subdue the Rebels without a special Commission from the King, should be all pardon'd. That such Persons, as in the late Troubles had lost their Charters, Releases, Obligations, Deeds, and other Monuments, (for the Rebels burnt many, and destroy'd them) upon their Petition to the King and his Council, and a Proof of the Contents of the Form and Tenure of them, their Rights, Titles, and Privileges, should be confirm'd otherwise to them. That Strangers might personally sell their Goods in *London*, without Impeachments to the Merchants of *England*. That no Furs nor Girdles garnish'd with Gold or Silver, should be worn, with some other Laws concerning the Regulation of Courts of Law, and Officers Fees. By this Parliament a Subsidy call'd a *Maletoft* (which is a fiftieth part) was impos'd upon all Wools bought or sold by the Merchants, and at the Request of the Lords and Commons, the Lord *Scroop*, a Person eminent for his Knowledge and unbiass'd Integrity, was made Chancellor, and Sir *Hugh Segrave* Treasurer, those great Places remaining vacant ever since the Rebellion, wherein the Archbishop and Sir *Robert Hales* were slain^a.

Death of
Earl of
'chintre-
l.

About this time *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Lieutenant in *Ireland*, dy'd in that Nation. He was nearly ally'd to the Crown by the Marriage of *Philippa* the only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, by whom he had a large Possessions in the Province of *Ulster*; and by his prudent Government, had before his Death settled that barbarous People in great Peace and Order; he left one Son, *Roger*, who succeeded him in the Earldom of *March*, and a Daughter, *Ann*, who by *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* was Grandmother to King *Edward IV.* *John Wickliffe* also published an Explication of several of his Doctrines and Opinions, which the Archbishop and Bishops were very zealous to suppress; as Mr. *Fox*, and our Ecclesiastical Histories relate it.

nth Par-
lent, its
and
s.

On the Tuesday after the Feast of *S. John Portlatine*, May 6. another Parliament met at *Westmin-*

ster; in which, at the earnest Petition of the Knights of the Shires, *John Wraw*, a Priest, who had been active in raising the Rebellion in *Suffolk*, was tried, and after a Legal Sentence drawn and hang'd. In this Parliament, among other things of less Importance, one Act very memorable is said to have been made, which began the first Persecution that ever was among the *English* for the Christian Religion, on the Followers of *Wickliffe*. By it it was enacted, That Commissions should, upon the Certificate and Request of the Bishops into the Chancery, be directed by the Chancellor to the Sheriffs, and others, to apprehend certain Preachers of Heresie, who without the Licence of their Ordinaries, preached not only in Churches and Church-yards, but in Market-places, and other Places of Concourse, Sermons full of Errors and Heresie, and their Followers, and to keep them in strong Prison until they shall justify themselves according to the Law of the Holy Church. By Authority of this Act, the Bishops not only proceeded with great Severity against the Followers of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, but as if the Power had been in their own hands, they procured Commissions from the King directed to themselves to prosecute them, and so cruelly imprison'd them in their own Houses, and punish'd them as they pleased. But this Act, tho' put in our Statute-Books, was not passed by the Assent of the Commons (as Mr. *Fox* in his *Acts and Mon.* p. 406. shews) but was fraudulently procured of the King by the Bishops to gratifie their own bloody Malice against those whom they pleased to call Hereticks. A Subsidy was granted to the King by this Parliament, but upon condition, That it should be expended upon a Navy to guard the Nation by Sea.

A. D.
1382.

This Summer some Ships that belong'd to *Rye*, *Severall* and the adjacent Towns, meeting with some *Pirates* engag'd them, and overcoming them took *memorable* seven of their Ships (of which one was an *Eng- things hap- pen'd.* *lish* Ship, call'd the *Falcon*, belonging to the Lord *Latimer*) richly laden with Wine, Wax, and other Merchandize, which they had taken from others. Also *John Northampton*, alias *Comberton*, Mayor of *London*, observing with Sorrow the Lewdness and Debaucheries of the Citizens, set himself with all Diligence to suppress them; and severely punish'd all such as he found guilty of Whoredom, by imprisoning both Sexes, and causing the Women to be carry'd thro' the Streets of *London* with their Hair shorn, as Thieves were in those days usually expos'd to Shame, with Trumpets and Pipes going before them; nor did he spare the Men more. The Bishops pretending, that the Punishment of such Immoralities belonged to their Jurisdiction rather than the Mayor's, were highly displeased with him, and forbad him; but that did not in the least deter him from proceeding in so good a Work, so long as his Power lasted, tho' against the Bishop's Will, who ought to have encourag'd him. Whether this uneven Zeal of the Church-men against Opinions and Doctrines, more than vicious Practices, were the cause of those fearful Judgments which happen'd at the same time they were carrying on their Prosecutions, is hard for us peremptorily to determine; but certain it is, that many heavy Calamities beset the Nation at this time. Such an Earthquake was felt, as not only wrought great Terroures in the Inhabitants, but shook down divers Churches and Houses in the Nation, and

^a In this Parliament an Act of General Pardon passed, with some Exceptions to the following Towns, *Canterbury*, *St. Edmunds-Bury*, *Beverly*, *Scarborough*, *Bridgewater*, and *Cambridge*; which, it seems, had been most mutinous in the late troublesome Times, and at last these Towns were also pardoned, by Petition of the House of Commons.

^b *John Wickliffe* is said to have put the Mayor of *London* upon this Reformation of Manners in that City, because he saw the Bishops Ministers tolerated all Lewdness for Money.

A. D. 1382. principally in Kent. Not many Days after hap-
pen'd a *Water-shake*, as it was call'd, which beat
the Ships in the Havens so violently together, that
many received no small damage. And about
St. Thomas's-day there fell such great Rains, as caus'd
mighty Inundations, which drowned many Villa-
ges, and carry'd away divers Bridges.

Reg. 6.
King's Dispo-
sition at
seventeen
Years of Age.

The King, being now in his seventeenth Year,
began to discover his Inclinations and Affections.
He lov'd the State and Magnificence of a King,
and was very Noble, Generous and Liberal, out-
going all his Ancestors in stately Equipages, and
the pompous Gallantry of a Court; but he lov'd
not the burthenome Cares and dangerous At-
chievements of a Crown, giving himself up to
Pleasures and Ease, and favouring such as most
encouraged and applauded him by their Flatteries
and Company in that course of Life. His best
Friends, and wisest Counsellors, knowing how
much such a Life was inconsistent with the Great-
ness and Interest of a King, could not countenance
his Choice, but much disapproved his Actions, to
which he being too fondly addict'd, and beyond
all compulsive Restraints, became averse to the
Persons and Counsels of such as really tender'd his
Advantage, and the flourishing State of his Reign,
and pleas'd himself in the Company and Caresses
of those Persons which sought to please him, with
advantage to themselves, magnifying his Power,
and extolling that Life of Ease and Pleasure which
he naturally lov'd, as most suitable to the Happi-
ness and State of a King. The chief of these Men
were *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of York, *Robert
de Vere* Earl of Oxford, a young and sprightly
Nobleman, *Michael de la Poole* a Merchant's Son
of London, and *Sir Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice.
These Men had the Ear, the Company and Fa-
vour of the King, whilst others bore the heavy
Toils and Troubles of Government, and scarce re-
ceived Thanks for their pains; which rais'd Dis-
contents in the one, and Pride and Insolency in
the other; Passions which can never subsist long
quietly together, as this Accident discovers to us.
One of these Favourites having obtain'd a Con-
cession of some part of the King's Revenues, went
to the Lord Chancellor, *Richard Scroop*, to have it
confirm'd by the Great Seal. The Chancellor,
considering that Gifts are the Rewards of Deserts
only, and that it was hardly agreeable to the Trust
reposed in him, to confirm such Grants rashly as
the King had given indiscreetly, put him off with

Id. Scroop
the Chancellor
remov'd, and
the occasion.

this Answer, 'That the King was himself much in
debt, and that all Profits of the Crown were
therefore to be employ'd to the benefit of the
King; wherefore he refus'd to set his Seal to
such Grants till the King was of greater Age and
Judgment. The angry Petitioner goes imme-
diately to the King, and with Aggravations of the
Chancellor's Disobedience, represents his Denial
to him. The King, impatient of all Opposition at
best; but much more now, being enrag'd by the
Instigations of such as were about him, sent im-
mediately to him to deliver up the Seal; but the
Chancellor, having been put into that Office by
the Parliament, refus'd to resign it, till the King
came himself in Person and demanded it of him;
to whom he, with all due Respect, said at his part-
ing with it, 'That since his Fidelity to his Inte-
rests was so displeasing to him, he never would
again serve him in any place of Trust, tho' he
would obey him as a good Subject. The King
having thus gotten the Seal, gave it to *Robert
Braybrooke* Bishop of London. And tho' he pleas'd
himself and Favourites in thus transferring that
great Office, yet it much disgust'd the Parliament,

who had put the Lord *Scroop* into it, and discon-
tented the People, who accounted him the fittest
Person of the Nation for that Office, because of his
impartial Justice and great Knowledge.

A. D.
1382.

Not long after this Change, the Parliament met
at *Westminster*, in the Octaves of St. Michael. In
this Parliament, after the Confirmation of the

Eighty Par-
liament, in
the Acts.

Charter and old Laws in the usual manner, it was
enacted, 'That Deeds enrolled, which had been
torn and defaced by the Rebels, should be ex-
emplified under the King's great Seal, and such
Exemplifications shall be of as great Force as
the Originals; which much pleas'd the King's
loyal Subjects, whose Estates were endanger'd
by the loss of their Writings. *John Northampton*
Mayor of London also procur'd an Act, in preju-
dice to the Fishmongers of London, 'That no Vi-
ctualler should exercise any Judicial Office, ei-
ther in the City of London, or in any Borough,
Town, or Sea-port, through the Realm, unless
where no sufficient Person else can be had for such
Office, in which Case such Person was to abstain
from his Trade during the time of his Office. By
this Act all Victuallers, viz. Fishmongers, Butchers
and Grocers, (for so it seems they were then re-
puted) were debarr'd from being Mayors of Lon-
don. *Sir John Philpot* was much against this Action
of the Mayor, and is said to have been put from
the Bench of the City for opposing it. Mr. Fox
in his *Acts and Mon.* p. 406. sets down a Petition
of the Commons of this Parliament, extracted out
of the Parliament Rolls, Art. 52. wherein the Com-
mons humbly request of the King, 'That the Act
made the last Session, giving the Bishops Autho-
rity upon their Certificates into Chancery to re-
quire Commissions to apprehend and imprison the
Preachers, Maintainers and Abettors of *Wick-
liffe's* Doctrines, should be disannulled, because
it was procur'd without their consent; and the
King yielded to their Petition. Yet by the Arti-
fices of the Bishops, the aforesaid Repeal was sup-
pressed, and Prosecutions carry'd on by virtue of
the said surreptitious Act, without the least regard
had to the Repeal; which is the Reason that that
Act of Repeal has never since been printed among
our Statutes. These were the chief Matters tran-
sacted by this Parliament; for no Tax was granted
but a single fifteenth, instead of which the King
granted a general Pardon to all concerned in the
former Rebellion, excepting only some of the more
notorious Leaders in it.

The second Holy War began now to be espoused
in earnest in England. For Pope *Urban* sent over
his Bulls to *Henry Spenser* Bishop of *Normich*, a
Man better qualify'd for the Camp than Church,
granting large Pardon of Sin, and promising as
great Imputations of Merit and Happiness, as if
they had went against Turks and Infidels, to all
such as would either go in Person, or contribute
Money to maintain a War against *Clement* the
Antipope, and his Adherents. The Clergy preach-
ed up the Merit of this Expedition, and gained
many Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, as well as
great multitudes of the common People to under-
take it. Nothing but Money (which they had
gather'd in great Sums, yet not sufficient for so
chargeable an Undertaking) and the Consent of
the King and Nation were wanting to the intend-
ed design, both which they referr'd to the Con-
sideration of the next Parliament.

Toward the latter end of this Summer, *Edmund* Earl of Ca-
bridge return'd out of *Portugal*, with the
English Army under his Command, much disconten-
ted for the ill success of his Voyage. They had
a very hard and dangerous passage, and when they

The War be-
tween the An-
tipopes.

bridge re-
turn'd out of
Portugal.

* The King kept the Seal for some Days in his own Custody, and Sealed several Grants with it himself.

ward, but the King of Portugal, who had intended them very backward in his Preparations, were hardly resolv'd upon a War. They lay nine Months in Lisbon in Garrison, without any Action of moment, giving their Enemy the King of Spain time to raise an Army, which with such aid as he procured out of France thro' Arragon, was too strong for Opposition. So that by that time the Portuguese and English were ready to fight, the Spaniard was irresistible, and that King, who had no mind to fight at first, was in the end easily deterr'd from it. The English nevertheless being weary of Idleness, could not by the Persecutions of their General be kept from attempting something. Wherefore they invaded the neighbouring Territories of Spain, and taking several small Cities, put Garrisons into them. This angered the King of Portugal so much that he refused to pay the English according to agreement; which had like to have begotten a Quarrel between them, tho' Confederates; for the English had purposed to plunder the Country, and satisfy themselves. But this Breach being compos'd, the King of Portugal made a Peace with the King of Spain, and sent away the English with all speed, as if he had been glad to rid the Kingdom of so terrible Guests. The Earl of Cambridge was so much incens'd with this unexpected Treatment, that he departed in a great anger, and would not leave his Son behind him, tho' he had affianced him to the King of Portugal's Daughter. His arrival in England was no good news to the Duke of Lancaster, whose Title became so much the more worthless, as his Enemy was more successful.

1282.
The Parliament
at its
Pills and
Taxes.

The Bishop of
Norwich's
Exposition
against the
Advocates of
Pope Clement.

A little after Christmas a Parliament met at Westminster, to which the Consideration of the intended Expedition against the Adherents of Pope Clement was referr'd, and upon a full Debate disallow'd; but the Clergy and their Friends at length made such Interests that it was permitted, and a fifteenth which had been granted to the King by the former Parliament was given for the carrying on the Expedition, and only a tenth granted by the Clergy, reserved for the King's use. The Bishop of Norwich having received this Encouragement, sent out his Letters immediately unto all Parsons of his Diocese to preach up the Merit of this Holy War, and pronounce Pardon of Sin to all that would go to it; and his Brethren in other Diocesses did the same: Which had so great an effect, that by the entrance of the Spring he had an Army ready to attend him of fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. The chief Men, who accompany'd the Bishop in this War, were Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Farrington, Henry Lord Beaumont, Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir John Ferrers, Sir Henry Spenser the Bishop's Nephew, Sir Matthew Redman, Sir Nicholas Traicton, and some others. Few of the Noblemen would engage in it, because the Duke of Lancaster oppos'd it, and would by no means be induced to joyn in it, unless they would have made War upon the King of Castile, who was also a Clementine. On the 23d of April these Religious Warriours put to Sea, and landed at Callis. The King had some days before sent to the Bishop to attend him at Court before he left the Realm, for what Reason was not known; but the Bishop fearing it was to countermand his Proceedings, would not go to the King, but went on his intended Voyage. When they were all arriv'd at Callis, they entred into a Consultation which way they should bend their Forces. Some were for invading France, because their Commission was to make War only upon Pope Clement and his Party,

of which the French were the chief. But the Bishop was for invading Flanders, because the Earl Lewis had lately expell'd all the English out of his Dominions, upon a Supposition, that King Richard had joyned with the People of Guant against him, and many in their hasty Removal from Bruges, and other places, had sustain'd great Damages in their Merchandizes. To the Bishop's Judgment they all yielded, tho' Sir Hugh Calverley and some others did not approve of it; and therefore entering Flanders in the beginning of May, they besieged and took in less than three Weeks Graveling, Emburgh, Dunkirk, and Mardike. This sudden storm the Earl of Flanders not suspecting, sent to the Bishop to know the Cause why he made War upon him, and was answer'd, *Because he had a Commission to assault all the Abettors of Pope Clement.* The Earl's Messengers reply'd, *That they then were his Friends and Allies, being for Pope Urban;* but that was not sufficient to divert the English from them. Whereupon the Earl raised an Army of twelve thousand Men to oppose the Current of their Victories, and engag'd them about Mardike; but the English behav'd themselves with that Valour and Resolution, that they slew nine thousand of their Enemies on the place, and gained a great Victory; upon which they immediately became Masters of all the Country between Graveling and Sluce, and got such Spoils as laden one and forty Ships with the Riches of the Country. The Earl of Flanders being thus driven to the lowest ebb of Fortune, hath no Refuge but to the King of France, whom he solicited with the greatest Earnestness to oppose and stop the Current of the English Victories, which would certainly in the issue prove dangerous to his Kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy seconded the Earl's Request, and prevail'd so far with the French King, as to raise an Army of a hundred thousand Men. In the mean season, the English being reinforced with twenty thousand Gauntiners, had laid close Siege to the City of Ipres, and tho' it was a very strong Town, were in no small hopes of taking it. But the Earl of Flanders hastening out of the French Forces against them, oblig'd them to raise the Siege, after one successful Assault, and retire to Emburgh, wherein they fortify'd themselves with Waggon's set upon the Rampeirs and Ditches. The French pursu'd them, and besieg'd the Town; but by the mediation of the Duke of Britain, a fast Friend to the English, a Composition was made, 'That the English upon their surrendring up the Town to the French, should have safe Conduct, with Arms and Baggage, to Callis; which was perform'd on both sides. The English being thus driven out of Flanders again, all the places which they had taken fell into the hands of the French, who spoil'd them of all the English had left. The King, to whom the Bishop of Norwich had given an account of the French Army's success while he was besieg'd in Emburgh, had order'd the Duke of Lancaster to hasten over with all the Force he could to relieve the Bishop; but the Duke delay'd so long, till the Bishop had left all, and was landed in England. Thus this Expedition concluded, with both Dishonour and Disadvantage to the English; for they not only lost the Town, but the Prey they had gotten, being forced to burn their Ships, lest they should come into the Enemy's hand; which that the King might shew his Resentments of, he seiz'd upon the Bishop's Temporalities, and imprison'd Sir Thomas Trivet and Sir William Elmham soon after their return.

The French
drive the
English out of
Flanders.

French and
Scots assault
England.

After the Departure of the English Army home, the French and Scots began their wonted Ravages

A. D. 1382. into *England*; the one by Land, and the other by Sea. The *French* sent out several Ships to intercept the Coasts, and annoy the Passage into *Gascogne* and *Flanders*: The *Scots* invaded the Borders, drove away a great Booty of Cattel, took the Castle of *Worcester*, and burnt it. The Inhabitants of *Portsmouth*, and the Neighbouring Towns, set out some Ships to defend their Coasts, which took five Ships of the *French* after a sharp Fight; another Squadron of *English* Vessels took eight *French* Ships laden with Wines, to the Quantity of fifteen hundred Tun; but the *Scots* found no Opposition till the Parliament met, and gave a Tax to defray the Charge of the Expedition.

Tenth Parliament, its Acts and Excesses.

On the Monday before the Feast of *All-Saints*, the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and after the Confirmation of the Charters, and other old Laws, repealed the Act against the Victuallers, made in the last Parliament, and enacted, That no Foreigner should purchase any Benefice of the Church in this Realm, or enjoy the same without a special Licence from the King, with several other Laws. But since the main end of their meeting was to provide for the Defence of the Nation against the *Scots*, it was resolved, That a puissant Army should be immediately raised to repress their Insults with Severity; and for that end, there was given the King half a fifteenth of the Laity, and half a tenth of the Clergy; and because it would require some time to raise an Army of such Strength as was design'd, therefore a part of the Tax was order'd to be allow'd the Lords of the North to guard the Borders, till the Grand Army could arrive. The *Scots* having Advice of this impending Storm, sued to the King for the Continuation of the Truce, which they had broken, but were deny'd, and sent home to provide for their Defence; and the Care of providing and conducting the Army, was committed to the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Buckingham*, with Order to be ready to march early in the Spring.

A Peace propounded between the English and French.

1384. But a Truce only concluded.

The Duke of *Britain* seeing Matters to ripen apace to a War between the *French* and *English*, small Inroads and IncurSIONS being usually Prologues to great Battels, solicited the *French* King earnestly to come to a Peace, and by many Importunities prevail'd, of which he gave the King of *England* speedy notice. About *Christmas* the Commissioners on both sides met: The Duke of *Lancaster*, Earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Thomas Holland* and Sir *Thomas Peirey*, were Plenipotentiaries for the *English*; the Duke of *Berry* and *Burgogne*, the Bishop of *Laon*, and the Chancellor of *France*, were for the *French*. The King of *Spain* also had some Embassadors at the Treaty, because the *French* would not conclude any thing, unless the *Scots* and *Spaniards* were included in it. Three Weeks or more were spent in Propositions on both sides, but the Demands of the *French* were so extravagant, and so obstinately persisted in, especially in having *Aquitain*, *Calis*, and some other Castles, which the *English* then held in *France*, deliver'd up to them, that they came to no Agreement; but for the present made a Truce for ten Months, and at the end of them agreed to meet again to conclude a Peace, and so the *English* returned. The *Spaniards*, *Scots*, and *Gasconiers*, were included in this Truce; and the *French* were, by an Article of it, to give the *Scots* notice of it. Soon after this Accord the Earl of *Flanders* died, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had marry'd the Earl's Daughter, being Heir of all his Dominions, was very busie in settling himself in his Government, so that he forgot to give the *Scots* notice of the Truce. The *English* having already made Preparations to invade *Scotland*, proceeded in their

Design; and about the beginning of *Leet*, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, went with a very great Army down thither, and wasted all the Country with Fire and Sword, as far as *Edinburgh*; out of which also the Inhabitants were fled, with the best of their Goods, to save themselves from this Torrent. The Duke of *Burgundy* hearing of this Rupture, which was no Breach of the Truce, because it was not confirm'd with the *Scots* through his own Neglect, immediately dispatch'd an Embassy into *Scotland* to compose this Breach; but the *Scots*, who had receiv'd so much Damage, were so hardly brought to sit down without Revenge, that the *English* Army did almost as much harm by their long Continuance on the Borders to their Countrymen, as they had done to the *Scots*; but at last a Cessation of Arms was consented to for the time fix'd, and the *English* return'd home. About this time happen'd very great Thunders and Lightnings, Presages of those Tumults, which concurr'd in the City of *London* between *John Northampton*, call'd for his turbulent Humour *Cumbertown*, and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, Mayor.

A little after *Easter* there was a Convocation of the Nobles at *Salisbury*, and in it one *John Latimer*, B. D. an *Irish* Fryar appeared, and brought an Information against the Duke of *Lancaster*, That he had a design to destroy the King, and usurp his Crown, relating such Circumstances of his Actions, as render'd the Accusation, very probable. The Duke being about the King at the same time came into his Presence, as soon as the King had receiv'd the Accusation, not suspecting what had happen'd; but seeing the King displeased, withdrew. The King having taken Advice of his two Chaplains about it, sent for the Duke, and told him how and by whom he was charged of high Treason against his Person. The Duke not seeming concern'd, as if he had been innocent, gave such an Answer to every Particular, as satisfied the King that he had no such Intentions; yet desired, that the Fryar might be put into safe Custody, till he should clear himself of what he had charg'd him with: Whereupon he was committed to the keeping of the Lord *Holland*, the King's Brother, in the *Tower*. When the day of Tryal was come, and the Duke was to clear himself, and convince the Fryar of false Accusation, in a publick Judicature, the Lord *John Holland* and Sir *Henry Green*, two of the Duke's Friends, the Night before entering the Fryar's Lodgings, cruelly put him to Death with their own hands, by hanging him up by the Neck and privy Members, and laying a great Stone upon his Breast, which brake his Back; and as if they had done this by publick Authority, drew his dead Body through the Streets the next day, as being deservedly punish'd as a Traytor. This cruel Action got the Duke much Dishonour, and tho' it rid him of a false Accuser, as was thought till the Fryar was so illegally put to Death; yet it render'd his Innocency more suspicious than before, and many believed him really guilty, who before thought him falsely accused. This Parliament gave the King half a Tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, and so was dissolv'd.

The *Scots* notwithstanding the Truce, which they were over-persuaded, rather than yielded to, could not forbear to revenge the Wrongs they so lately suffer'd by the *English*; and therefore infested the Borders with continual Inroads and Plunderings all this Summer, and particularly did much Wrong to the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, who were the

A. D. 1384.

Accusation of the N. 15, in which the Duke of Lancaster was accused of Treason.

The Scots break the Truce, and invade England.

A. D. 1384. the Guardians of these Northern Parts, gather'd an Army of two thousand Spears, and six thousand Archers, and pursuing the Scots ravag'd the Country, as far as *Edinburgh*, and return'd safely.

Reg. 8. The Truce made with the French and their Allies being now near the Expiration, the Duke of *Lancaster* was sent over again with a great Equipage to endeavour a Peace, or renew the Truce for a longer time. He remain'd a great while there, as if some great things were settled; but at length return'd with the News only of a Continuation of the Truce till *May*, which was generally meanly thought of, as not worth the Time and Expence that was consumed about it. In the Duke's absence *John Northampton*, Alderman of *London*, was accus'd by his own Chaplain of conspiring against the King and Government, and raising Stirs in the City. He had his Tryal at *Reading*, before many of the Nobles of the Realm, but could alledge nothing in his own Defence, only that he ought not to be condemned in the absence of the Duke of *Lancaster*^b; yet being found guilty, he was sentenced to perpetual Imprisonment at an hundred Miles distance from *London*, and all his Goods to be confiscated, which Sentence was executed strictly, and he was sent to *Tintagil Castle* in *Cornwall*, and his Goods and Estate were all seized for the King. The like Punishment did his Associates *John Mowbray* and *Richard Norbery* suffer.

Eleventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes. On the Morrow of *St. Martin*, Nov. 12. the Parliament met at *Westminster* to furnish the King with Moneys for the War, which threaten'd him from the Scots and French; which, when his Subjects had given liberally, the King in Recompence pass'd several Laws for the exact Administration of Justice, viz. That no Judge should keep an Affize in the County where he lives; That a Judge should take no Fee or Reward for the Administration of Justice, but only of the King; and if any Judge raise a Record, make a false Entry, or change a Verdict, he shall after Conviction make Satisfaction to the Party aggrieved, and be fined at the King's Pleasure. While this Parliament was sitting, the Scots besieged and took the Town and Castle of *Barnwick*, yet not so much by their Valour as by the Bribery of the Governour; who being put in by the Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom belong'd the keeping of that Garrison, by Inheritance from his Ancestors, brought great Blame upon the Earl. For the Duke of *Lancaster*, who bore an ill Will to the Earl, so aggravated the Loss of the Town, that he had almost persuaded the Members of both Houses, that it was a treasonable Conspiracy in him and his Deputy to resign it to them; but the King observing the Passion and Prejudice of his Uncle, permitted the Earl to go down to recover it, tho' many of the Nobles were for imprisoning him. He bestir'd himself so briskly among his Friends in the North, that he gather'd an Army, and so straightly besieg'd the Castle, that the Scots surrender'd it in a few days upon better Conditions than they gave the English, viz. That they should march out with their Arms and Goods, and have two thousand Marks paid them down by the Earl, because he was willing to get it again in as small time, and with as little Loss to the Nation as possible. This set him right again in the good Opinion both of King and Parliament, and taught him more Care for the future, in chusing such Deputies as would be faithful. In the time of the sitting of this Parliament were two Combats fought before the King, one between *John Welsh*, an Eng-

lish Gentleman, and a *Navarrois*, and the other between *John Wallis* and a *Navarre Esquire*. The English Gentlemen were Victors, and the *Navarrois* hang'd, as false Accusers; for Victory in these single Fights was account'd a sign of Innocency.

The Duke of *Lancaster*, who being the King's Uncle, and chief Governour about the King, was the greatest Obstruction to the Ambitious aims of the King's Favourites; who growing now impatient of Delays, thought upon all ways to remove him, if not out of the World, yet out of the King's Affections, was now in great Danger of losing both his Life and Honour by their means. For these cunning Flatterers having by forged Crimes and Accusations incens'd the King against him, contriv'd to have him suddenly arrested, and try'd before Judge *Tisilian*; who being perfectly fram'd to their Interests, would be ready enough upon such Evidence as they should produce to condemn him. But these Consultations were not so closely manag'd, but they got Wind, and came to the Duke's Ear; who knowing that Innocency in such cases could not be Guard sufficient against their bloody Designs, fled to *Pevensey Castle*, and there strongly fortified himself against his Adversaries, drawing in all his Friends of the Nobility to his Assistance. The Duke indeed was not very well belov'd by the People, yet the King's Favourites were generally so odious, that the greatest Endearment to the People was to oppose them: So that if the King had persisted in his Anger against the Duke, here was a Foundation laid for a Civil War between his Favourites and Nobility. This the King's Mother presently observ'd, and easily fore-saw the Effects of, and therefore in her own Person undertook a Mediation between the King and Duke; and to make a Peace between them, tho' she was very corpulent and unfit for Travel, yet made many Journeys from the one to the other; and in the end, by the Duke's dutiful Submission, wrought a perfect Reconciliation between them, to the great Satisfaction of the Nation, as well as her own Eternal Honour.

The Truce between the English and French being to expire in *May*, the French King resolv'd upon a vigorous War with England as soon as it was ended, and to that end first sent the Duke of *Bourbon* with an Army into *Aquitain* to drive the English from thence, and then provided a great Fleet, which he fill'd with Land Soldiers, to invade the Coasts; and that the Scots, his inseparable Confederates, might be able to make the stronger Opposition on their part, and divert the English the more, he sent his Admiral *John de Vienne* into Scotland with a thousand Men at Arms, besides Cross Bows, to strengthen them against the English. The Scots were not at all pleas'd at their Arrival, because they thought themselves strong enough to encounter the English alone, and chiefly because their Country being barren, could not afford Forage for Strangers, without some Prejudice to the Inhabitants: But the French Admiral promising the King of Scots a large Sum of Money for the Damages they should sustain, and for their Assistance, encourag'd him to raise an Army of thirty thousand Men, to joyn with his Master. The King of England and his Council were not ignorant of these joyn't Proceedings against the Nation; and to provide against both, not only fitted out a strong Navy, under the Command of the Lord *S. John* and *Sir Thomas Peirey*, but sent into all Parts of the Kingdom to summon together an Army against the common Enemy. The general

* The Duke spent fifty thousand Marks in this Embassy.

^b Whom he called his Lord. This Man was thought to favour *Wickliffe's* Opinions.

A. D. 1337. Fear of an Invasion stirred up so many to stand up in the publick defence, that the King in a short time had an Army of three hundred thousand Men to attend him. With a part of these, viz. sixty thousand the Duke of Lancaster was immediately sent towards Scotland, the King himself resolving to follow as fast as he could with the rest. The Scots and French had been very busie in plundering, burning and killing, before they had the news of the Duke of Lancaster's approach; but as soon as they heard of that, they retreated home, and with their Cattel withdrew themselves into the Mountains: So that the Duke found no opposition. The King being come to York, heard of the Scots retiring, yet proceeded in his Journey, and joyning with the Duke destroy'd the Country of Scotland as far as *Edinburgh*, which City also they burnt, all but the Abby of *Holy-rood*, which was spared by the Intercession of the Duke of Lancaster, because he had been civilly entertain'd in that Convent in the time of the late Rebellion. The French were very desirous to have stopp'd the progress of the English Army, by giving them Battel; but the Scots shewing them from the Hills the Numbers and Strength of the English, prevail'd with them to wait for a more probable way of revenging themselves by an Invasion of England on another side. So they passing over the Hills, fell into *Cumberland*, and did much mischief there to countervail their own Losses. The King of England and his Army remain'd but five days about *Edinburgh*, and then return'd, and by the way heard of the Scots Inroads. The Duke of Lancaster advised the King to stop up the Passes strongly, that they might all fall into his power, which they could not have avoided, had it been done; but the Earl of Oxford, who was most in favour, and whose advice the King principally follow'd, suggested to him, that the Duke of Lancaster designed to bring his Person into danger: Whereupon the King neglected the advantage, and departed home. In his return, a great trouble happen'd to the Army by the Murther of the Earl of Stafford's eldest Son, slain by the Lord John Holland, the King's half Brother. The Murther was so foul, being without any provocation on the Lord Stafford's part, that the King resolv'd to punish his Death by Law, and so much the more, because he was the Queen's Favourite. The King's Mother was very importunate with him to pardon the Lord John Holland her Son, who was fled to Sanctuary at *Beverley*, but not obtaining, she fell sick with the violence of the discontent, dy'd within four or five days, and was bury'd at *Wallingford*. The Scots being return'd home, found their Country so miserably harassed and wasted, that they turn'd their Fury upon the French, who had been the Movers of them to this War, and spoiling them of all they had, sent them home.

Nor was the French Navy more successful against the English, than their Land Army had been. The English Fleet indeed, through negligence of the Commanders, did not act its part so well as it might have done; but yet it kept them from landing, and the People of *Callis*, *Portsmouth*, and *Dartmouth*, with the Ships belonging to their Ports, took about thirty Ships at several times from them, which with eleven that they lost by Storms, much lessen'd the Fleet, and depriv'd them of the Triumph they dream'd of. And thus ended the French Expedition.

On the Monday after *S. Luke's-day* a Parliament met at *Westminster*, wherein though little publick Business was done, yet there happen'd a signal

Contest about the raising of a Subsidy then granted to the King; for after the Laity had granted him a fifteenth and an half, the Clergy refused to bear their proportion of a tenth and an half, according to the usual manner, and Archbishop Courtney boldly deny'd the Payment of it. The Commons being incensed at this Refusal of the Clergy, petition'd the King, that he would seize upon their Temporalities. But the King, who was always a great favourer of the Church answer'd, That he would continue the Patronage which he had always shew'd to the Church so long as he liv'd, and would rather gratifie the Clergy's Humour, than offer any Injury to their Function. This mild and pious Answer so prevail'd upon the Clergy, when the Archbishop related it to them, that they voluntary gave the King a tenth part of their Benefices; which being so freely done, and beyond the King's expectation, the King told them, That it was more pleasing to him than if he had received four times as much by Compulsion; and upon the Petition of the Bishops, who came to make the Tenders of this Subsidy, he restor'd the Bishop of *Norwich* to his Temporalities, which he had kept some Years in his hands. In this Session of Parliament the King made several Promotions, creating several new Dukes and Earls. Edmund Earl of Cambridge he made Duke of York; Thomas Earl of Buckingham, Duke of Gloucester; Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, Marquis of Dublin; Henry of Ealingbrooke, eldest Son of the Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Derby; Edward Plantagenet, the eldest Son of the Duke of York, Earl of Rutland; Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor; Thomas Mowbrey, Earl of Nottingham, Earl Marshal; and by the Authority of this Parliament Roger Mortimer Earl of March was publickly proclaim'd Heir apparent to the Crown of England. And then the Session ended by reason of the approach of Christmas.

The King and Queen kept their Christmas at *Eltham* this Year, according to Custom of these times, which was at the three great Festivals of the Year to keep open Court, and in a most magnificent and princely State to feast and entertain all the Nobility of the Nation, and foreign Princes or their Ministers. To the King at this time came Leo King of Armenia, who had been expell'd out of his Dominions by the Turks, endeavouring to make a Peace between the Kings of England and France, that he might engage them both against the common Enemy of Christianity. He had no success in his Proposals of Peace, because both Nations hated each other too much to hearken to any moderate terms of Agreement; but he was nobly entertain'd for two Months by the King and Nobility, and presented with many rich Gifts, and at his departure the King, by the Advice of his Council, settled a yearly Pension of a thousand Pound for his Life upon him. A little after Christmas, the Earl of Derby marry'd the only Daughter and Heiress of Humphry Bohun Earl of Hereford, in whose Right he was a little after made Duke of Hereford. A Peace also was now concluded between the Citizens of *Gunt*, who had by the assistance of the English held out a War with the late Earl of Flanders all his Life-time, and the Duke of Burgundy their new Lord; whereupon Sir John Bouchier the Captain of the English, and Peter de Bois one of the chief Captains of the Gauntiners, were sent over into England from *Callis*, and King Richard allow'd De Bois a hundred Pound a Year Sterling out of his Customs upon Wools. About the same time also Roger Earl of March having re-

A. D.
1387.

The King's
Justice in
punishing
Murther.

Leo King of
Armenia
came over to
K. Richard.

Twelfth Par-
liament, its
Acts and
Excesses.

^a This Tax was granted for the Duke of Lancaster's Expedition into Spain.

^b With this Title he had all the Revenues of Ireland given him, paying five thousand Marks a Year into the Exchequer.

ceived

A. D. 1386. received fresh news, that the wild Irish had done much Injury to his Estate in *Ulster*, which was defended to him by his Mother, he undertook a Voyage into *Ireland* to appease them, and rescue his Lands from their Depredations, but was very unfortunate in this Attempt; for not long after his Arrival, the Irish being assembled in a great Company, assaulted and took his Cattle, slaying him and almost all his Retinue. He left behind him a numerous Offspring, viz. two Sons and three Daughters. His two Sons, *Edmund* and *Roger*, dy'd Childless; Ann his eldest Daughter was marry'd to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, then eldest Son to the Duke of *Tork*, by whom she had *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Father to *Edward* IV. Of the other two, *Eleanor* was a Nun, and *Alice* left no Children, if she were Marry'd.

The King of *Spain* pretending a Right to the Crown of *Portugal* by his Wife, made War this Spring upon that King, and besieged *Lisbon*, the Metropolis of his Country. The *Portuguese* had twice encounter'd the *Spaniards*, and had by the help of some *English* as often foil'd them, but yet could not raise the Siege of *Lisbon*. Wherefore the King of *Portugal* being sensible that the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was King of *Spain* in Title, would be glad of any opportunity to make himself so indeed, and that there could not be a better way to secure himself, than by a Conjunction of their Arms together, sends an Embally into *England* to the Duke, to beg his speedy assistance, and promise him an easie recovery of his Right, because he had already foil'd the *Spaniards* twice alone, and their united Arms would infallibly effect a Conquest. The Duke, who had been for some time making Preparations for this Expedition, and was much encouraged to it by the King and his Friends, who long'd to have him out of their way, was ready to embrace so likely an Offer; and therefore, that he might lose no time, muster'd up his Forces with all speed, and began his Voyage thither in the beginning of *May*. His Fleet was eighteen Ships, and seven Gallies, of which Sir *Thomas Percy* was Admiral; and his Army, of which the Lord *John Holland*, who marry'd his Daughter, was Constable, and Sir *Thomas Moreaux* one of his Marshals, consisted of twenty thousand Men, viz. two thousand Men of Arms, eight thousand Archers, and ten thousand others. Many Noblemen accompany'd the Duke to share in his Fortunes, as the Lords *Lucy*, *Talbot*, *Basset*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz Water*, *Poynings*, *Bradston*, *Fitz Warren*, *Beauchamp*, and *Beaumont*, besides many Knights and Gentlemen. He carry'd a long with him his Wife, the Lady *Constance* Princess of *Spain*, and *Katherine* her Daughter, with *Philippa* his other Daughter. Just before his departure, he and his Dutcheß took their leave of the King and Queen, and the King gave the Duke a Silver Crown, and commanded that his Men should obey him as King of *Spain*; and the Queen gave the Dutcheß another Crown of Silver, with many good Wishes of Success in obtaining their Right. As the Duke pass'd by *Brest* with his Army, he called upon Sir *John Roche* then Governour of the Town, who complaining that he was much infested by two Forts lately built by the *French* to annoy his Garrison, the Duke sent out a strong Force under the Lord *Fitz Water* to assault and demolish them, which they at length did; but they were so well defended by the *French*, that it cost them many Lives of valiant Men, as Sir *Robert Swinerton*, *John Bolton*, Esq; and others, and was gained by them at last by Capitulation, the *French* Governour the Lord *Maletret* being wound-

ed, and most of the Men in the Fort slain. From *Brest*, after this brave Expedition, the Duke pass'd along the Coasts of *Galicia*, and landed at the Groin with all his Army upon *S. Lawrence's Eve*, Aug. 9. Here they tarry'd a Month, and then the Duke went to *Compostella*. While the Duke winter'd at *Compostella*, the Lord *John Holland* kept the Army in Action, and won many small Garrisons in the neighbouring Country, and others willingly submitted to the Duke, because his Dutcheß, the right Heir of the *Spanish* Crown, was with them. The Duke in this Season, which was not fit for Action, consulted with the King of *Portugal* about their Expedition in the Spring at *Mouzon*, and it was agreed that they would with their united Forces invade *Spain*; and to confirm their Alliance, the Duke affianced his Daughter *Philippa* to the King of *Portugal*.

While the Duke of *Lancaster* was in his passage towards *Portugal* with a numerous Army, the King of *France*, who had for some Years past resolv'd upon an Invasion of *England*, resum'd his Thoughts afresh, and as if he had now met with an opportunity, wherein he could not miss of the Success he desired, because he thought the Duke of *Lancaster* had empty'd the Nation both of Soldiers and Commanders, gather'd such a mighty Army and Fleet, as if he intended to conquer and people *England* at once with his *French*. He is said to have had fifteen hundred Ships, and a numberless Army, in which were twenty thousand Noblemen, with a proportionable number of Commons. The news of these mighty Preparations not only struck a terror into the *English*, but put a stand to all the important Affairs of *Christendom*. The King of *England*, to secure his Nation, gather'd an Army of two hundred thousand Men, and with part of them fortify'd all the Sea-port Towns, and with another part defended the naked Shores in the places where they were most likely to Land. The City of *London* also was in such fear, that they guarded their Walls, pulling down many Houses to make their defence the easier from them. Publick Fasts were appointed to lament the Dangers, and implore the Protection of God from their Enemies. All good Men bewail'd the approaching Invasion, as an unavoidable Scourge for the Nation's Sin, and could think upon nothing but Servitude or Death. The only Remedy and Defence against this Calamity was a Parliament, which upon that account was call'd together about *Michaelmas*, and accordingly met; but the Nobles brought such numbers of Men along with them, to be ready for their defence against the *French* if they should land, that all Towns within twenty Miles round about *London*, as well as that City and Suburbs, were filled with armed Men, who for want of pay were a great damage to the Inhabitants. At the opening of this Parliament, the King, as the occasion requir'd, demanded a present Subsidy to pay those Armies, which he had already got for the defence of the Nation, and make such other Provisions against the Enemy as the state of Affairs required. The Parliament were sensible of the danger the Kingdom was in, and easily consented to the King's desires, but thought it unreasonable to put any great Sums into his power, so long as he was so pliable to the covetous Humours of his Favourites, who made his Revenues but a Prey to enrich themselves. For *Michael de la Poole* the Chancellor, had, in less than a Year's time, by farming the King's Customs, and other Incomes, and waisting his Treasure, purchased a thousand Pounds a Year Land, and gather'd great Sums of Money which he kept in bank,

A. D. 1386.

French K. intends to invade and conquer England.

Thirteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

Mich. Pool the Chancellor accused, and brought to account for his Office.

^a Henry Knighton says, they were Crowns of Gold.

^b They were killed accidentally by the fall of a Tower. He

A. D. 1386. He was generally reputed guilty of Bribery in his Office, and indeed it could not be thought he could grow so suddenly rich, but by the Abuse of the King's Favours: Wherefore the Parliament unanimously resolved to have him removed with the rest of his Associates, or to give the King no Tax. This they signified to him by a Petition, wherein they not only represented the Misdemeanours of the Chancellor in his Office, and abusing the King's Favours to his own Gain; but the Poverty of the People, which ought much to be consider'd, and not further pressed than Necessity requir'd, which they humbly conceiv'd was not so great; but if the Chancellor were brought to a just Account, the King's Revenues, and the great Debts in the Chancellor's hands would be sufficient to defray them*. The King receiv'd the Petition very ill, and that he might avoid an Answer to it, withdrew to *Eltham*, leaving the Chancellor to press them to grant a Tax, and to demand four fifteenths in his Name. The Lords and Commons seeing the Cause of the King's Retreat, plainly told him, That they would give no Answer to his Demand, unless the King himself were present, and he was removed from his Office. The King had Intelligence soon of these Proceedings, and immediately sent up to the Parliament to order, that forty of their wisest Members should come down to him at *Eltham*, to declare to him the Reasons and Grounds of their Actions. The Parliament were in a great Dispute about this Message, because it was said, that the King had a Design to destroy and ensnare them; but at length it was agreed upon by both Houses, That the Duke of *Glocester*, and *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, should be sent to the King in the Name of the whole Parliament, and the King was contented to have it so. When they came into his Presence, after all due Reverence paid to him, they submissively declar'd their Message to this effect, 'That the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, desir'd nothing more than to live in Peace and Quietness like good Subjects under his Government; That as he might lawfully once a Year summon a Parliament, and require the Presence of the Lords and Commons at it, that by mutual Advice and Consent, they might reform all Oppressions, Wrongs, Extortions, and other grievous Enormities in the Realm, and enact such wholesome Laws as were for the Peace and Welfare of the King's Subjects, so they were met according to their Duty, and had no other Design than to pursue those Ends; That his late absence was a great Discomfort to them, and since there was an old Statute, whereby it was enacted, That if the King not hinder'd by Sickness or necessary Business did absent himself forty days from his Parliament, they might return home, they should be oblig'd to leave him, if he still deny'd them his Presence. The King remaining yet in his Discontent and Anger reply'd, That he perceiv'd his People went about to rebel against him, and that he thought it better to desire the Assistance of the King of *France*, than submit to his own Subjects. The Lords reply'd, That the *French* King was the ancient and most inveterate Enemy of the Nation; who as he usurped his Do-

minions in *France*, so gaped after the *English* Throne, and therefore no Assistance was further to be expected from him, than such as might be a fair Pretence for him to get the Possession of his Right: That such Resolutions could proceed from nothing but the desperate Advice of his evil Counsellors, who by their Policy sought to uphold a Breach between him and his Parliament, which would end in his and his Peoples Ruine; wherefore they besought him to lay aside all Prejudice against his good Subjects, and to return to his Parliament, which no less sought and desir'd his Felicity than Presence. These, and other Arguments, which these wise Peers urged to the same Purpose, had so good an Effect upon the King, that he promis'd them to follow them, and accordingly came to the House soon after them. And here, in the midst of his Nobles and People, he immediately shewed how wise and good a Prince he was in himself, being separated from the bad Company and ill Counsellors that were about him; for he without much Reluctancy granted a Commission to the Duke of *Glocester*, Earl of *Arundel*, and certain other Bishops and Noblemen, to survey and examine the Estate of his House and Courts, all his Officers and Ministers, Rents, Profits, and Revenues; to correct and amend any Defaults and Offences prejudicial to his Person or Crown, and particularly to call *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Chancellor, to an account about the Management of his Office. *John Ford*, or *Fordham*, Bishop of *Durham*, also was removed from his Place of Treasurer, and *John Gilbert*, Bishop of *Hereford*, was put in his Place. And because the Realm had for some Years past been badly govern'd, the Administration of all publick Affairs was put into the hands of thirteen Persons chosen by the Parliament, viz. *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, the Treasurer; *Nicholas Abbot* of *Waltham*, Lord Keeper; *William Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Archbishop* of *Tork*, *Edmund Duke* of *Tork*, *Thomas Duke* of *Glocester*, *William Bishop* of *Winchester*, *Thomas Bishop* of *Exeter*, *Richard Earl* of *Arundel*, *Richard Lord Scroop*, and *John Lord Devereux*, *Richard Earl* of *Arundel*, and *Thomas Mowbray Earl* of *Nottingham*, were made Admirals, and sent to Sea with a strong Navy to defend the Shore, and hinder the Passage of the Enemy. *Robert de Vere* Marquis of *Dublin*, created Duke of *Ireland* in this Parliament, was at the Petition of the Lords and Commons, order'd to be sent to *Ireland* before *Easter* next; and that the Nation might be rid of so dangerous a Person, and ill Counsellor, they consented that he should have thirty thousand Marks, which were shortly to be paid the King for the Heirs of the Lord *Charles de Blois* by the *French*, to provide him with an Equipage, and support his Charge there. While these things were thus order'd by the main Body of the Parliament, the Duke of *Glocester*, and Earl of *Arundel*, with the other Lords in Commission with them, had examin'd and try'd the Chancellor; whom having found guilty of many high Crimes, Frauds and Treasons, they not only deposed him from his Office, but confiscated his Estate of a 1000*l.* a Year, and fined him twenty thousand Marks. Thus did the Parliament not only pro-

* They remonstrated farther, That the Chancellor and Treasurer ought to be removed from their Offices. He answer'd them, They should not mention that, but proceed to Business; For he would not on their Account, or at their Request, remove the meanest Scullion Boy in his Kitchen.

^b *Thomas Arundel*, Bishop of *Ely*, was made Chancellor. *Henry Knighton*. There were but eleven Commissioners appointed to have the Inspection of Affairs. These eleven were *William Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Archbishop* of *Tork*, *Edmund Duke* of *Tork*, *Thomas Duke* of *Glocester*, the King's Uncles; *William Bishop* of *Winchester*, *Thomas Bishop* of *Exeter*, *Nicholas Abbot* of *Waltham*, Lord Privy-Seal; *Richard Earl* of *Arundel*, *John Lord Cobham*, the Lord *Scroop*, and the Lord *Devereux*.

^c It appears by the Parliament Rolls 10. *Richard II.* No 13. that there was no Fine, and that the Lands taken from him were only such as he had procur'd Grants off from the King which were now resum'd. When *K. Richard* heard the Articles against his Bribery, and Male-administration, he blush'd for him and shook his Head, saying, *Alas, alas, Michael, See what thou hast done.*

A. D. 1386. vide effectually for the Security of the Nation, from its foreign Enemy both by Sea and Land (to support the Charge of which, they gave the King half a Tenth and half a Fifteenth) but also for the Happiness and Peace of the King and People, had the King been so resolute as to maintain their Orders and Decisions when it was dissolved.

The French Invasion hinder'd by cross Winds.

Notwithstanding these Preparations in England for its Defence, the French King held on his purpose to invade it with no less hopes of Success; and having all things ready for that Enterprize, waited at *Sluice* for nothing but the coming of the Duke of Berry, and a fair Wind^a. On *All Saints* Even a fair Gale blew, and the French King set Sail for England, tho' the Duke of Berry was not arrived, chusing rather that the Duke should follow them than lose so fair an Opportunity; but when they had passed about seven Leagues the Wind unexpectedly and suddenly turned, and brought them back again with much Loss. Before the Wind favour'd their Design again, the Duke of Berry, who was always averse to the Attempt, and delay'd his coming on purpose to prevent or discourage it, was arriv'd; and because the Winter was pretty well advanc'd, it being *December*, he very much dissuaded the King and Council from proceeding in it, as being both unsafe to his Kingdom and Army^b. This Advice was thought so reasonable, that the farther proceeding was laid aside till the Spring, and so that chargeable Design in the end came to nothing. But a clear different Account was carry'd of these Affairs into Spain; for there it was given out, that the French Army was landed in England, and therefore the King of Portugal's Council gave him Advice, That he should defer his Marriage with the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, till they should know the Event of the French Expedition into England; because if that proved successful, as 'twas probable, an Alliance with the Duke would be of no Worth, which occasion'd some Coldness in the Duke's Affairs in Portugal, tho' the Reasons were kept from him for the present.

Michael Pool's Fine forgiven, and he receiv'd into Favour.

1387. The Duke of Ireland restored to Favour.

The Parliament being broken up, and returned home, the King was left again to his own unsteady Resolutions and partial Affections, which being so fast link'd to his old Companions, easily made way for their Reconciliation, or rather for fresh Engagements of his Favour: For as if their Sufferings had been immerited, or inflicted against his Will, he received them again with wonderful Expressions of Love. The Fine which had been impos'd upon the Earl Suffolk, *Michael de la Pool*, he immediately released; and as if he had intended to make him Satisfaction for what he had suffer'd by redoubling his Honour, he caused him to be cloathed in Royal Robes, and to sit at Table with him, and that in publick upon *Christmas* Festivals, to the no small Grief and Trouble of the Nobility. The Duke of Ireland, and Archbishop of York, he admitted into greater Intimacy than ever, and they became again the three only Persons in the Nation, which the King shewed any particular Delight in. This doting Humour of the King they were not sluggish to improve, as they thought for their own Advantage, which they imagin'd would be best promoted by a sharp Revenge upon the chief Instruments of it, whom they look'd upon as the only Obsta-

cles of their ambitious Arms and design'd Happiness. They easily persuaded the King, That all they suffer'd was for his Sake; That their Crimes were forged to make him odious to the People; and that if he could not protect them, who did nothing but by his Command, and for his Interest, it would not be long but he would be too weak to defend himself; That the main Aim of those ambitious Nobles, their Enemies, was to dethrone him by disgracing his Ministers. For 'tis an easie and popular Inference, That the King is not fit to rule, who knows not whom to trust: He must be a bad Prince, that hath bad Officers. By these and such like Arguments, the King was wrought to so great an Hatred of those they accounted their Enemies, that he readily concurr'd with them to put in Execution any Contrivance for their Deduction. The Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Arundel were the most eminent, being the Earl of Suffolk's Judges; and therefore the first Plot was to take off the Duke, and then proceed to the rest, as they had Success in their first Attempt. This they contriv'd to do under the fair Pretence of Friendship, inviting the Duke to a Feast at Sir Nicholas Bramber's House in the City, where the Mayor, Sir Nicholas Exton, an Aldermen, had made a Treat for several Peers and great Men; and having resolv'd, that while the Duke was in his Mirth, and not suspecting any ill Design, he should be either poison'd or assassinated. This base Action was so much abhorr'd by the Mayor, Sir Nicholas Exton^c, that he privately gave the Duke notice of it, and desir'd him to take care of his present and future Safety, which he did by not going to the Feast: And so this their first wicked Purpose was defeated.

A. D. 1387.

The Duke of Gloucester and other Lords to be poison'd.

The English Fleet does great Service against the French under the Earl of Arundel.

The Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, who were appointed Admirals of the Navy, which by Order of Parliament was to defend the Nation and annoy the French, did all the Winter following use their utmost diligence to furnish themselves with able Ships and stout Men, that the Noblemen who were to see them muster'd before they embarked, might give a good Account of them to the Governours; for they had spar'd no Cost nor Charges to gather up the bravest and strongest Men in the Nation for this special Service. In the Spring they were all ready to embark, and having receiv'd Information that the French, Flemish, and Spanish Fleet laden with Wine, lay at *Rockell* waiting for a fair Wind, to sail to their several Ports for which they were bound, the Earls put to Sea with all speed to intercept them in their Passage. On *Lady-day* they met them, and after a short Engagement took an hundred Sail of them richly fraught, with nineteen thousand Tun of Wine, besides other Commodities^e. The Citizens of *Middleburgh* offer'd the Earls to buy all their Wines at 5 l. a Tun, but they refusing so good a Market told them, That they would let none but the People of England whom they served, to have the Use and Advantage of them; and bringing them into divers Ports of the Nation, caused so great a Plenty, that Wine were sold generally for a Mark a Tun, and the best not above 20s. Their own Shares they generously gave among their Friends, and having refitted their Ships, went out to Sea again. The Success of their first Achievement

^a He waited at *Sluice* from the middle of *August* to the middle of *November*. *Mez.*

^b The Army consisted of no less than sixty thousand fighting Men, and the Fleet of near thirteen hundred Sail; on board which, besides the King himself, there were forty Dukes and Earls, and a vast Number of Knights and Esquires. *Foissard.*

^c *Walsingham* writes only, That he suffered him to sit down at his Table, and does not mention his cloathing him in Royal Robes, which indeed is improbable.

^d Who said, *Walsingham* writes only, That he suffered him to sit down at his Table, and does not mention his cloathing him in Royal Robes, which indeed is improbable.

A. D. 1387. had much terrify'd the Enemy, and therefore in this second they met with but faint opposition; for they landed in many places on the Coasts of Flanders, and burnt or plunder'd the Country as they pleas'd; and at length arriving at *Ereft*, they took a new Fort which the French had lately erected to annoy the Castle, mann'd it, and supplying it with plenty of Provision and Ammunition, return'd home. Success always raises Men's Reputation with the Commons; but these Earls having added to their courageous and brave Actions a generous Contempt of their own Advantage, and a signal Zeal for the common Good and publick Safety, begot so high an opinion of their Worth in the Minds of all Men, that they became a Subject of publick Praise and Admiration. But this happen'd very unluckily for the Designs that were managing at Court against the Earl of *Arundel*, and those of his Party, that he whom they had decreed to Destruction should be thought most worthy of Life by all Men; and least the King himself should conceive a more favourable Opinion of them for these Actions, they endeavour'd by all their Artifices to blast the Reputation of them, telling the King, 'That though the Vulgar cry'd up the late Action of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, in taking the *Flemish* Fleet, as a brave and glorious Achievement, yet to such as could see farther into things it was really far otherwise; for by thus robbing the Merchants, all our foreign Trade would be spoil'd, and no Nation would care to Trade with us, who liv'd so much upon the ruin of them. So that tho' a small Gain did redound to the Nation by their Piracy for the present, it would prove an inestimable Damage in the end. The King's Mind being thus byass'd by their Calumnies, look'd upon his Admirals great Service as demerit; and when they came to Court, gave them such a cold Reception, that they could easily see their Enemies had been with the King before them, and their good Actions were made their Crime; at which they took so great a disgust, that they resign'd their Office^b and retired to their private Mansions, choosing rather to live in Obscurity, than to serve that King who would not thank them for their most faithful Labours, but counted their Merits little better than Faults.

The Duke of Ireland puts away his Wife, the Duke of Gloucester's Neice.

The late disappointment which the King's Favourites had met with in acting against the Duke of *Glocester's* Life, did not so discourage them from farther attempts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of *Ireland*, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Blood, put away his Wife to anger and affront him, without any just cause for a Divorce, and marry'd a *Bohemian*, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour. The injur'd Lady, being so nearly related to the King himself, (for she was the Daughter of *Isabel* his Father's Sister^c, and so Cousin-German to the King, and Neice to the Duke of *Glocester*) hoped to find some redress of her Wrong by appealing to the King, but petition'd him often in vain: Her Husband was too deep in the King's Favour for her to obtain any Justice against him. But the Duke of *Glocester* could not forbear to shew his Resentments of the Wrong done to his Family, and to the King himself (if he would have impartially consider'd it) and told him plainly, That he would revenge the Wrong done to his Kinswoman. This Threat from a Man of such Power and rough Disposition as the Duke of

Glocester was, put Spurs to the wicked Contrivances of the three Favourites and their Friends, as fearing, that if the Duke were not suddenly taken off, their own Lives were in manifest danger.

A. D. 1387.

Easter now drawing nigh, at which time the Duke of *Ireland* was to go into that Kingdom, great Preparations were made for his departure, as if he had been in earnest. And not long after that Feast, he began his Journey into *Wales*, in order to his passage thither; the King himself, with the Earl of *Suffolk*, Judge *Tresilian*, and some others, accompanying him in State, stay'd some time there with him, till they thought the Expectations of the Nation being satisfied, he might return again without much notice. In this Progress, or rather Retirement, for the safety of their mischievous Consultations, they set all their Wits on work by various methods to compass the destruction of their Enemies; and being come to *Nottingham* in their return, which is near the heart of the Nation, they began to make some Essays how their Devices would succeed. The first thing they had contrived, was to suppress them by force; and to effect this, they summon'd all the Sheriffs of the adjoining Counties to the King at *Nottingham*, and demanded of them what Forces they were able to raise to assist the King against the Lords, if they were required to do it? They answer'd, 'That the People were generally persuaded that the Lords were the King's Friends, and that they sought the good of the Nation in all they did, and therefore they believed that they should get very few to oppose them. This disappointment was the less, because they knew that the Lords were very popular, and they had still other Plots which they hoped would prove effectual, tho' this had miscarry'd. Wherefore they next mov'd it to the Sheriffs and Gentlemen, then attending on the King, whether they could not by their Interests and Power choose such Men for the next Parliament as the King should nominate to them, and approve as most faithful to him? They reply'd, 'That the People would be very hardly depriv'd of their ancient Privilege of choosing their Members of Parliament, and that if there were a true freedom observed in choosing, it would be almost impossible to impose any Persons against the People's liking, especially since they would easily guess at the design, and the more resolutely stand upon their Right. The Sheriffs answer'd a little startled them, because they confided much in this Invention; for what was done by a Parliament would, as they imagin'd, carry a face of Justice, and their private Revenge would be turn'd into publick Punishment; but losing their point, they dismissed the Sheriffs and Gentlemen, and fell upon their last, but most desperate Stratagem, to ruin them by Law. And to this end the King sent his Summons to all the Judges to attend him. Sir *Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was one of the Cabal, and being present with the King, had drawn up several Articles for that purpose, to have the Opinions of the rest of his Brethren upon. Sir *Robert Belknap* Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, with Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, and Sir *William Burgh*, Judges of the same Bench, and *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant, *Robert Bramble*, and the other Judges of the King's Bench, obey'd the Summons, and went to *Nottingham* according to appointment. Soon after their arrival, a solemn Council was called, Aug. 11. and the King, in the presence of many Nobles, demanded of them the Judgment of the Law upon these following Que-

Duke of Ireland's pretended Voyage into that Nation.

Reg. 11. Several Protests to destroy the Lords.

The meeting of the Judges at Nottingham, and their Resolution of certain Questions.

^a And burnt and destroyed another.

^c *Walsingham* calls her *Lancerana*, a mean *Bohemian*.

^b And the King made the Lord *Henry Percy*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, Admiral.

^d By *Ingelram Seignuer de Coucy*.

A. D.
1387.

tions, which had relation most of them to the Actions of the last Parliament, and chiefly to their dealings with the Earl of Suffolk, and required them by their Faith and Allegiance which they ow'd him, to deliver the true Sense of the Law upon them, viz.

1. *Whether the Statute and Commission made the last Parliament were prejudicial to the King's Prerogative?* They all unanimously answered *Yes*, because it was obtain'd against his Will.

2. and 3. *How those Persons ought to be punished, who were either eager to procure it, or mov'd the King to consent to it, and grant it?* They said, With Death, unless the King would pardon them.

4. *How they were to be punished, who forced the King to grant it?* They said, As Traitors.

5. *How they ought to be punished, that restrained the King so far from exercising his Prerogative, that he might not remit Penalties or Debts owing to him?* They reply'd, As Traitors.

6. *Whether, when the King hath order'd the Parliament to proceed upon certain Articles, the Lords and Commons may refuse, till the King shall grant what they please to demand of him?* They answer'd, That to resist the King's Commands in such Cases was High-Treason.

7. *Whether the King may not dissolve the Parliament when he pleases?* They resolv'd he might.

8. *Whether, since it was a Prerogative of the Crown to punish the Offences of, or remove all publick Officers or Judges, the Lords and Commons, without the King's permission or order, might impeach such Officers and Judges in Parliament?* They determined, That they might not, and it was Treason in any or all the Members of Parliament to attempt it.

9. *What Punishment they deserv'd, who mov'd or brought in the Statute, by which Edward II. was deposed to be a President for the above-mentioned Commission?* They defined, As Traitors.

10. *Whether the Judgement given against Michael de la Pool Earl of Suffolk were erroneous, and revocable?* They said, That it was erroneous and revocable in every part, and that if it were again to be done they would not pass it.

These Resolutions being given, the King required them to subscribe them, and set their Seals to them, in the Presence of the Lords and other great Persons there assembled. Tresilian and his Judges readily comply'd, but Belknap with his Brethren, well knowing the drift of what was done, was not willing to leave any such Marks of his Opinion behind him, and therefore refused to subscribe them, till the Duke of Ireland and Earl of Suffolk by severe Menaces forced him to sign them, contrary to his Conscience, as may be justly thought from his words which he then spake,

'That he wanted only an Hurdle, an Horse, and an Halter, to compleat the Reward of that Action, by which he had betray'd the Lords. The Opinions of the Judges being thus known, a Jury of Londoners summon'd to Nottingham for that purpose were ready to indict the Duke of Gloucester, Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Darby, and Nottingham, of High-Treason for what they did in the last Parliament, and upon a full and formal hearing before the Judges they were condemned to Death, and their Lands being forfeited to the King were disposed to and among his Favourites.

great multitudes not knowing the Design in Hand, readily yielded their Assistance, as their Duty to their King in their opinion obliged them.

While these things were transacting against the Lords at Nottingham, there happen'd a very great disturbance in the Church upon this occasion. One *Walter Disse*, a Carmelite Fryar, and formerly Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster, having obtained of Pope *Urban*, in favour of his old Master, a liberty of conferring the Honour and Privileges of the Pope's Chaplains on such as would purchase them for their Money, *Peter Pateshull* an *Austin*-Fryar, and a Favourer of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, being desirous of liberty and freedom from his Monkish Confinement, and the Society of those vile Persons he lived with, procured himself to be admitted the Pope's Chaplain, and immediately left his Monastery. He was a Person pious and learned, and spent his time much in Preaching after his Release. His abhorrence of the wicked Lives of the Monks, which he had with great Sorrow observ'd while he liv'd among them, made him very zealous in blaming their Hypocrisie and wicked Actions, so unbecoming their strict Profession of Religion. The People much applauded his Discourses, being generally disaffected to the Monks, and addicted to *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, which his Invectives favour'd of. The Monks, impatient of Reproof, shew'd great displeasure against him and his Sermons, and so frequently disturb'd his Preaching, that partly through the Contests between his Hearers and the Monks, who sometimes would come to Blows even in the Churches, and partly through fear of them, he was forced to give over publick Preaching, and by the advice of his Friends (of whom some were very considerable, viz. *Sir William Nevill*, *Sir Richard Sturmy*, and *Sir John Montacute*) betake himself to Writing; in which he accused the Monks of many horrid Crimes, as Murther, Sodomy, and Treason, of which he gave such convincing proofs, by naming the Person, both Actors and Patients, that all People credited his Relations, and believed the Monasteries no better than what he term'd that from whence he came, *The Devil's Dungeon*. But these Books angered the Bishops, being look'd upon as the Disgrace of the Clergy, who thereupon were very zealous to suppress them; and to that end obtain'd of the King a Commission directed to all Sheriffs and Justices, commanding them to search for, and seize all Heretical Books, and suppress Lollardy in the whole Kingdom; which tho' it took no great effect, yet allay'd the present Heat and Contest between the Monks and their Enemies.

The Judgment which the King and his Favourites, through the compliance of the Judges, had passed upon the Lords, tho' absent, was no sooner given, but the Lords themselves had a full account of all the proceedings of it to their great amazement; and tho' the Duke of Gloucester was an hot and cholerick Man, yet the sense of his Duty to his Prince taught him a more submissive way of providing for his own defence than to run presently to Arms, which he knew would embroil the Nation, and hazard many Lives. Wherefore

A. D.
1387.

Monkish Hypocrisie discover'd by one of their Brethren.

The Bishops Zeal for the Monks.

The Lords clear themselves.

The Lords condemned by a Jury of Londoners.

A. D. 1387. Prosperity of the King's Person and Realm, and never had entertained so much as any undutiful Thought against him, much less had done any thing which might deserve so severe a Sentence as was pass'd upon him, unless the Revenge which he had threaten'd the Duke of *Ireland* with for doing so great an Injury to his Kinswoman, and did not yet recede from, might be interpreted for such; and desired him to wait on the King to mediate a Reconciliation between himself, and the Lords and King. The Bishop did not unwillingly undertake so good an Office, and being a Person both prudent, learned and eloquent, prov'd so good an Advocate, that the King seem'd satisfy'd with his Uncle; and because the Bishop had fully satisfy'd him, that a Quarrel between him and his Uncle would ruin them both, he desired a Reconciliation. But the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was by, knowing that if it were compleated 'twould prove fatal to him, interpos'd, and with a virulent Charge of Popularity and Rebellion laid upon the Lords, alter'd the King's good Inclinations to Peace, and the Bishop was commanded out of his Presence; tho' he with undaunted Courage maintain'd his first Arguments, and told the Earl, That he being a Person condemn'd by Parliament, had no other way to be safe, and revenge himself of his Adversaries, (as he accounted all the chief Members of it) but to set all things in a Combustion, and therefore was not to be allow'd to speak, who was a Party; yet he return'd, without success in his Negotiations, to the Lords. The Duke of *Glocester* and the condemn'd Peers in the mean time were not unmindful of their own safety, but had conferr'd together to secure themselves in case their submissive Address to the King for Peace should prove ineffectual, which they had reason to fear, so long as the Authors of those violent Courses were about his Person, and could so easily byass him against them. Wherefore when the Bishop return'd with the news of his ill success, they resolv'd immediately to raise what Force they could, and standing up in their own defence to expostulate with the King, why he sought their Death, and suffer'd himself to be govern'd by such Traitors. The King and his Friends easily foreseeing the effects of this fresh Provocation, thought to prevent any opposition from them by seizing them singly before they could get together, and for that purpose sends the Earl of *Northumberland* to apprehend the Earl of *Arundel* at his Castle of *Rygate*; but he found him so well guarded, that he was forced to dissemble the Reason of his coming, and let it pass for a Visit. This disappointment the King thought to amend by surprise, and therefore sent a strong force the same night to arrest him; but the Earl suspecting what after happen'd, had made his escape to the Duke of *Glocester* at *Harringey-Park*, near *Highbgate*, and there they join'd their Forces ^a with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Darby*^b. The news of the Lords being united much disturb'd the King and his Friends, who could now expect no easie terms from those whom their own ill dealings had made desperate, and who were too powerful to be readily master'd. Wherefore a great Council was call'd to debate and consult what was best to be done in so difficult a Juncture. *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *York* would have had the King to send his Commissioners to the City of *London*, and into all parts of the Nation, to raise a Royal Army, and repress those his Rebellious Subjects by main force; but this being found upon tryal a thing not feasible, (for tho' the City

could raise an Army of fifty thousand Men soon, yet very few of them would fight against the Lords) the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Suffolk*, and two or three more, who perswaded the King that the Lords intended to bring him under their Government, and make themselves absolute, advised him to make the King of *France* his Friend, by resigning *Callis* and all his other Dominions beyond Sea to him. These three Favourites counsell'd thus, because nothing but Arms could secure them from the Lords Fury. Whereas those whose Guilt and Fears were less offer'd quite different Proposals. *Ralph Lord Bassett* told the King plainly, That he was his true Subject, and so would ever continue, and if the Quarrel had been his own, he would venture all he had in the defence of his Right, but would not have his Head broke in the Duke of *Ireland's* Cause. The Earl of *Northumberland* assured the King, That the Lords, tho' now in Arms, were his true and faithful Subjects, and would not attempt any thing against his Crown and Dignity; but all they aim'd at was to ease themselves and the Nation of those ill Persons about him, who sought to oppress and destroy them, and many of his good Subjects; and therefore humbly begg'd of the King, that he would send to them, and require the Reasons of their assembling with so many People, and he doubted not but they would give him just Satisfaction. The greatest part of the Council approv'd of this Proposition, and the King himself assented to it. Whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Ely* were sent immediately to the Lords, who were advanced near *London*, to inform them, That the King had no mind to commence a War with his Subjects, but was willing to know the Cause of their Discontents, that he might relieve them; for which end he desired the Lords to meet him in *Westminster-Hall* on *Sunday* next, and exhibit their Complaints to him. The Lords were not unwilling to meet the King, but were jealous of the treacherous designs of such as were about him, and told the Bishops, That they would certainly attend his pleasure upon promise of Protection. The Bishop of *Ely*, being very zealous to make up the Breach between the King and his Nobles, engag'd himself upon Oath, that if there were any dangerous Designs laid against them, he would give them timely notice of it; and so got their promise to meet the King that day. The time of Meeting approaching, and the Lords being ready to attend the King, a Message came the night before from the Bishop of *Ely* to them, giving them Information, That an Ambush of a thousand Men, commanded by Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*^c, was laid in the *Mews* to surprize them; and advising them either to delay their coming, or if they adventured to come, to guard themselves with a sufficient Force for Security. But the Lords thought the first least hazardous, and so appear'd not. The King, as had been agreed upon came to *Westminster*, expecting to have met the Lords; but seeing himself disappointed, demanded with some warmth of the Bishop of *Ely* why the Lords did not appear according to their promise sent by him? The Bishop as boldly and plainly reply'd, that the Lords had certain Information of a Plot against their Lives laid in the *Mews*, which being so contrary to the Faith of a Prince, they thought it in vain to treat with him. The King startled at this reply, as if he had no ways been privy to it, swore that he knew nothing of it; and immediately gave the Sheriffs of *London* order

A. D. 1387.

The Lords provide an Army for their own Safety, and unite.

A meeting agreed upon between the King and Lords.

^a Which were forty thousand strong. *Henry de Knighton*. King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry IV.*

^b Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and afterwards
^c An Alderman of *London*.

A. D. 1387. to search the place mention'd, and if they found any such thing, to kill or take them; but before it could be done, the chief Actors in it had notice of the Discovery, and had dispers'd themselves. This Action of the King's, confirm'd by his Oath, seem'd such a Proof to the Lords, that that base Contrivance was carry'd on purely by their Enemies without the King's Approbation, tho' not without a full Confidence of his Pardon, if it had been effected; that upon his fresh Promise of their Security, they soon after attended upon him at *Westminster*, yet with such strong Guards, as shew'd that they came not to submit or petition, but to demand or capitulate. On the day of their meeting the King being set on his Throne in his Robes, and the Nobles present and kneeling before him, the Chancellor, who was the Bishop of *Ely*, deliver'd the King's Mind to them in a short Speech, telling them, 'That the King hearing of their riotous assembling in *Hareney-Park*, tho' he was advis'd to have repress'd them by force, which he could easily have done; yet out of his Princely Clemency, had chosen to put gentler Methods first in Execution, to avoid the Effusion of his Subjects' Blood if possible; and therefore had sent for them to discourse with them, and know the Reasons and Causes of their Discontents, and why they in so tumultuous a manner had drawn together such a number of People. The Lords made answer, 'That it was not out of any ambitious or turbulent Humour, that they had taken Arms; for they neither affected his Crown, nor envy'd his Peace but through an unavoidable Necessity of preserving his Person and Realm, and securing their own Lives from the impending Dangers, which were falling upon them by such Persons, as were Enemies to both, and shrowded their ill Actions under his Favour; That the Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Archbishop of *York*, Sir Robert *Tresilian*, Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, and some others, were those Traytors to the King and Realm, which they were afraid of, and sought to remove; because so long as they were in Place and Favour, the Nation must be miserable, nor could any Man be safe; and that they had not brought any false Accusation against them, they declared themselves ready (if his Majesty would yield to it) to justify what they had alledg'd by single Combat (and then threw down their Gloves at the Challengers). The King having heard them with much Calmness, gave them this moderate and rational Reply; 'That supposing it were true which they had alledged, yet they had taken a very improper Method to rectify their Grievances, which ought to be done by Rules of Justice, not Acts of Rebellion; That their present Tumults were of very ill Consequence, and would encourage the Multitude to make use of the like Methods, which would be difficult to repress; That he would speedily call a Parliament, wherein the Persons accused should appear and all Matters of Difference should be adjusted, and all true Causes of Trouble or Fears to themselves or the Nation be remov'd; and in the mean time, would pardon all that was past, and take them into his Protection. The King having thus finish'd his Speech, took the Duke of *Glocester* by the hand, raised him from his Knees, and bid the rest arise; and retreating with them into a private Chamber, gave them a Treat, and licens'd them to depart. The Lords were greatly satisfied with this Behaviour to them, and after the King had put forth his Proclamation of Pardon, looked upon all things in a certain way of Settlement at the next Parliament.

The Duke of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Persons accused, were not present at this Meeting of the King and Lords; and therefore tho' the Lords were in good hopes of a fair Conclusion; yet they thought it not safe, lest there should lurk some secret Contrivance against them, to dismiss their Army. Which Resolution taken up merely from Suspicion, or upon Information, proved very fortunate to them; for while Affairs looked so well at *London*, the Duke of *Ireland* had a private Commission from the King to gather an Army of such as were his Friends about *Chester*, and to come to *London*; in which they hoped to find so many Assistants, as to make up their Forces collected from the Western Parts to become invincible, and so able without great Difficulty to subdue the Lords. This tho' acted with great Privacy, and at a mighty Distance, was not hidden from the Lords and their Friends; who therefore contrived to intercept the Duke in his Passage, by sending the Earl of *Darby* with a strong Party to lie in those Countries through which he was to pass. The Duke of *Ireland* having by the Interest and Assistance of Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Constable of the Castle of *Chester*, Sir *Ralph Vernon*, Sir *Richard Ratliffe*, the Sheriffs of *Chester*, and others, gather'd a good Body of six thousand Men out of *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, stout and well armed, marched according to the King's Order towards *London*; but at *Radcott-Bridge* near *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, they were met by the Earl of *Darby* and his Men, who to prevent their Progress and force them to fight, had broken down the Bridge. The Duke was surprized at their approach, and being fearful of his own Fate, perswaded the Gentlemen to retreat; but Sir *Thomas Molineux* being a Man of great Courage said, 'That it was but a Party of the Lords Army, and that commanded by the Earl of *Darby*, a Man famous neither for Courage nor Conduct; and if they should give ground to these, they could not hope to effect any thing against the whole Power of the Lords; and therefore encourag'd them to prepare for a Fight. The *Cheshire* Gentlemen were easily won, and the Duke himself yielded, tho' his Guilt and Fears would not suffer him to consent, and so a Fight was begun the next day. The Battel was very sharp, and lasted long; Sir *Thomas Molineux* was slain, and most of his Army either kill'd or taken. The Duke saw the beginning of the Engagement, but fled long before the Victory shew'd it self, swimming over the River *Thames* to make his escape; but was forc'd to quit his Horse, because he could not make the farther Bank, and get away on foot. His Horse and Baggage, with his Armour, were all taken, and brought to the Earl of *Darby*. In his Trunks was found a Letter sent to him by the King himself, wherein he commands him to hasten to *London* with what speed he could, and promises him to live and die with him. The Duke of *Ireland* was suppos'd to have been drown'd, because his Horse was found in the River; but afterwards he was discover'd to have fled into *Holland*, and from thence into *France*. The News of this lucky Victory, tho' over but a small Party, was not better receiv'd by the Lords than it deserv'd; for it proved in a manner the utter Overthrow of their Enemies. For the Duke of *Ireland* never return'd, the Earl of *Suffolk* fled to *Calis* to his Brother, who was Captain of that Fortress; the King betook himself to the Tower; and *Tresilian* and the Archbishop of *York*, with all the rest of the Party, withdrew from *London*, and concealed themselves. The Enemies of the Confederate Lords all disappear'd, and no Opposition was

A. D. 1387.

The King encourages his Favourites privately to arm against the Lords.

The Earl of Darby vanquishes the Duke of Ireland's Army.

1388.

A. D.
1388.

The King
and Lords
again meet,
and the King
confesses his
faulty Ma-
nagement.

was visible: Whereupon the Lords being again united, marched with their Army of forty thousand Men to London, and muster'd at Clerkenwell within the Prospect of the Tower. The Archbishop, and some others of the Peers, who were desirous to end this Quarrel, pray'd the King to condescend to a peaceable Composition of Affairs, but he made slight of the Proposal, and told them, 'That they would soon dissolve of themselves without any Treaty, their Multitude would in a short time consume all their Provision, and then they must break in pieces of course. The Lords had notice of these words, and being incens'd a little at them swore, That they would not depart from London (which by this time had open'd her Gates to them) till they had spoken with him; and having given him notice of it, set a strong Guard about the Tower, that he might not elude them by a private escape. The King being thus beset, and having no way to avoid a Treaty condescended, and sent the Archbishop to acquaint them with it. The Lords accepted the News joyfully, but fearing some Treachery might be laid for them in the Tower, if they should attend him there, as he had appointed, they begg'd that the King would meet them at Westminster, but at length receded from that Desire, because the King dealt so candidly with them, that he sent them the Keys of the Gates, Turrets, and strong Chambers, and gave them leave with two hundred Men to search all Places, and clear up their Suspicions. The Duke of Gloucester and Earls of Warwick, Arundel, Darby, and Nottingham, were the chief who manag'd this Treaty with the King, who receiv'd them in a Pavilion of State, and after retir'd with them into his Chamber. Here they charg'd him with many dishonourable and unjust Actions against themselves, and the Nation, viz. 'That he had by forg'd Crimes and an unjust Sentence, conspired with his Favourites at Nottingham, to take away their Lives; which tho' they had at their meeting at Westminster been sparing to upbraid him with, out of respect to his Honour, because they saw an amicable Agreement likely to go forward, yet now they could not but lay before him, because they had since found Letters from him to the Duke of Ireland, to raise Forces in Cheshire against them, even at the time of their former Treaty; by which Action he added Perfidiousness to Cruelty, and plainly shew'd that his Favour and Grace then pretended, was but a Vail to his ill Designs against them. That he had made an Agreement with the French King (as by some Letters which they had intercepted, and then shewed, they made it appear) to resign Callis, and his other Dominions on that side to him, upon condition he might enjoy them, as an Homager to his Crown, and that Letters of safe Conduct were sent to him to compleat this Agreement, which was indeed to betray the English Possessions, purchased with some Blood, into their Enemies hands. Many other lesser Grievances they also mention'd, which they were plentifully furnish'd with from the ill Conduct of the Ministers of State, employ'd by him. The King had little to say in his own Defence, because their Accusation was so plainly proved; but falling into an ingenious Confession of his Errors and Misgovernment, with Tears, agreed to meet them the next day at Westminster, to rectifie whatsoever was amiss by their Advice and Consent. The Lords upon this Promise departed, all but the Earl of Darby, whom the

King invited to Supper with him, and detained, as an Instance of his Resolution to joyn with them in settling all Disorders of the Nation, which he expressed much Satisfaction in, so long as the Earl was present. But when the Earl was departed, the King fell into Consultation with such as were about him; who tho' not so obnoxious as those that were fled, yet being either their Friends, or exacting by their Measures, soon turn'd his Mind from his former purpose; and because they had buzz'd it into his Head, that that Meeting tended much to the Hazard of his Person, and would end with a great Diminution of his Authority, he fully resolv'd against it. The Lords, according to Appointment met the next day at Westminster, and expected the King, but in vain, for he would not leave the Tower; which when they understood, they grew impatient at his Inconstancy, and sent him word plainly, 'That if he would not meet them according to his Promise, they would certainly chuse another King, who should have more regard to the faithful Advices and Services of his Lords than he had. This Message being smart and unexpected, wrought the King into Compliance; so that he met them on the Morrow in Westminster-Hall. The main thing that the Lords insisted upon, and the King tho' not very freely agreed to, was, That several traiterous and wicked Persons, should for the Honour of the King's Person and the Good of the Nation, be removed from Court; and accordingly Alexander Archbishop of York, John Bishop of Durham, and Fryar Rustock, the King's Confessor, John Bishop of Chichester (the two first of which were fled) were strictly forbidden to come into the King's Palace or Presence. The Lords Zouch, Burnell and Beaumont also, Sir Albericke de Vere, Sir Baldwin Beresford, Sir Richard Adderbury, Sir John Worth, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Sir John Lovell, suffer'd the like Banishment from Court, but with a farther Imposition, That they should give Sureties for their Appearance at the next Parliament, which was to meet shortly. Some Ladies also of no very good Reputation were expelled the Court, and forced to give Sureties for their Appearance the next Parliament, viz. the Ladies Mohun, Molings, Poynings, and Worth^b. Others whose Crimes were greater, or at least more open and prejudicial to the Nation, were imprison'd, viz. Sir Simon Barly, Sir William Ellingham, Sir John Salesbury, Sir Thomas Trevit, Sir James Barnish, Sir Nicholas Dagworth, and Sir Nicholas Bramber, Knights; Richard Clifford, John Lincoln, and John Motford, Clerks; Sir John Beauchamp, Keeper of the King's Privy-purse, Nicholas Lake, Dean of the Chapel, and John Blake, Barrister of Law, to be tried the next Parliament.

The time drawing very near, when the Parliament was to meet by the unanimous Agreement of the King and Lords, the King, who knew very well that it would prove fatal to his Friends, sought all means to prorogue it; but not daring to stand upon his Prerogative at this time, lest they should raise as great a Mischief to himself, permitted them to meet on Feb. 3. The Lords came to it with such Attendance, as seem'd necessary for their Safety. The Commons resorted to it with great Diligence, because of the general Expectation there was of a compleat Reformation of all Disorders by this Session; which it so well effected, that it was thought to deserve the Name of *The Wonder-working Parliament*. After the usual Forms of opening the Parliament,

A. D.
1388.

^a The 26th of December, 1388.

^b The Lady Poynings was Sir John Worth's Wife. Sir John Hayward, Richard II.

A. D.
1388.

The Judges
arrested.

they entred upon Action, and on the first day of their meeting arrested all the Judges that were sitting in *Westminster-Hall* upon the Bench, except *Tresilian*, who concealed himself in disguise, and *Sir William Shipworth*^a, and sent them to the Tower, viz. *Sir Robert Belknap*, *Sir Roger Fulthorp*, *Sir John Cary*, *Sir John Holt*, *Sir William Brooke*, and *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant at Law. Their Crime was, 'That in the last Parliament they had over-ruled the Actions and Determinations of the Lords with their Advice and Directions, and had assured them that all was done according to Law, but afterwards had given the King a contrary Judgment at *Nottingham*, and had deliver'd it as their Opinion, that the Actions of the said Parliament was illegal and traitorous. The Judges had nothing to plead in excuse of this base Action but their Fears of the Duke of *Ireland*, who threaten'd their ruin, unless they made such Answers to the Questions as he expected and desired, and therefore left themselves to the Judgment of the Parliament; who considering that the whole matter was managed by *Tresilian*, and that the rest of the Judges were surprized, and forced to give their Sentence, laid the milder Punishment upon them^b, and only confiscated their Goods, and banished them for their Lives, having resolved to deal the more severely with the Author of that illegal Judgment when they could apprehend him. The next thing that they entred upon was to proceed against *Robert Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *York*, *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Sir Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and *Nicholas Bramber* Lord Mayor of *London*, who being fled from Justice were summon'd only, and not appearing were sentenced to perpetual Banishment, and their Estates confiscated. Not long after *Sir Robert Tresilian* was discover'd by one of his own Servants, and seized upon in disguise at an Apothecary's in *Westminster*, where he lay to observe the Transactions of Parliament. He was carry'd first to the Duke of *Glocester*, who secured him in the Tower, and in the Afternoon he was brought before the Parliament, by whom he was sentenced to be drawn to *Tyburn*, and to have his Throat cut^c, which Judgment was immediately executed upon him. For what Reasons that Punishment, never used before or since, was inflicted upon him, is hard to know, unless the greatness of his Crimes was signalized by so remarkable a Punishment. The Parliament having thus dealt with the greater Offenders, descended to the lesser, and having taken *Sir Nicholas Bramber*, a Person who to serve the Court-designs against the Lords had been several times made Lord Mayor of *London*, and in that Office by his illegal Cruelties had ruin'd and murder'd many of the Lord's Friends, for which Services he was to be made Duke of *Troy*, the ancient Name, as some have written, of that City, they condemn'd him for those and others his wicked Actions to be beheaded with that very Ax^e (as some write) which he had made to inflict the same punishment on others. *Sir John Salisbury*, *Sir James Barnish*, *John Beauchamp*, *John*

Blake, and *Thomas Uske*, were all drawn and hang'd for the same Crimes. *Sir Simon Burley*, Lord Chamberlain, and Constable of *Dover-Castle*, being accused of conspiring to deliver up that Castle to the *French*, was also beheaded; tho' the Earl of *Darby* interceded much to save his Life, because it was not prov'd against him; but the Duke of *Glocester*, whose severe disposition made every one a Criminal that he did not love, would hearken neither to Reason nor Importunity, and so this poor Gentleman fell a Sacrifice to the Duke's Anger and Moroseness. With these Men the Parliament hoped that the Disorders of the Nation would be removed, the chief Causes of them taken away, and their Sufferings terrifie all that were like affected; and therefore, as if all things were to begin a new, the King and Parliament agreed to ratifie their Resolutions of doing their Duty to each other by Oath. The King promised to stand by the Lords in governing the Realm, and took his Coronation-Oath again, and the Houses swore Homage and Fealty to the King, as if both had vy'd together whether should be the better, the King or his Subjects. This Pacification was so well resented by the Parliament, that they granted the King half a tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, 12d. in the Pound for all Merchandises, except Wines, upon which they laid 3s. a Tun, and 53s. for every Sack of Wool, and then was dissolved; but the King was discontented, and angry at what he had done in it. Just at the rising of this Parliament, the Lord *John Holland* was created Earl of *Huntington*.

A. D.
1388.

Sir Simon
Burley un-
justly put to
Death.

The King and
Parliament
renew their
Oaths of
Coronation
and Fealty.

The Earl of *Arundel* being made Admiral again Reg. 12. by the Parliament, put forth to Sea with a great Navy, well stored with Land-Forces and several Noblemen to assist the Duke of *Brittain*, who being under the King of *France*'s displeasure, because he had imprison'd the Lord *Guesclin* Constable of *France*, fear'd an Invasion from thence. The *English Fleet* arriv'd at *Rochele*, and landing some Men, began to spoil the Country about *Marrant*; but a Peace being suddenly concluded between the Duke and the *French King*, the Earl return'd, and in his way meeting the *French Fleet*, took eighty of them, and invaded the Isle of *Beas*, and burnt it. He also took the Isle of *Oleron*.

Earl of A-
rundel sent
to assist the
Duke of Bri-
tain.

The Truce between the *Scots* and *English* being expired about this time, the *Scots* looking upon the Dissention of *England* to be an advantageous Juncture for them to invade it, made great Preparations for that end, and entred the bordering Countries, burning, killing, and plundering all places they came in. *Gillesland* in *Cumberland*, which belong'd to the Lord *Dacres*, felt their Fury first, whose Inhabitants they shut up in their Houses by two hundred in a Company, and set them on Fire. They then invaded the North with the like Barbarity, and came as far as *New-Castle*, where they met with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Sons, *Henry Lord Percy*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, and *Ralph*, with a small Force to oppose them, as Guardians of those parts, and sworn Enemies of the *Scots*. The young Noblemen desirous to gain Honour, were eager to engage them; and

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

^a *Sir William Skipwith* was not with his Brethren the Judges at *Nottingham* when they answered the King's Queries. He was absent by reason of Sickness.

^b They were all of them that were in Custody condemned by the Lords Temporal, with the assent of the King, to be drawn and hang'd as Traytors, their Heirs disinherited, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels to be forfeited to the King; which Sentence past upon *Sir Robert Belknap*, *Sir Roger Fulthorp*, *Sir John Holt*, *Sir William Burgh*, *Sir John Cary*, Judges; *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant, and *Thomas Uske* Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who pack'd the Jury that found the Bill against the Lords. The Bishops, just as Sentence had past, came in and interceded for their Lives, which the King granted them; but their Estates were seized, and their Persons imprisoned. Rot. Parl. 11 Richard 2.

^c He had been Lord Mayor, but was not so at this time.

^d His Throat was not cut; the Sentence given by the Lords against him was, That he should be drawn on a Hurdle through the City of *London* to *Tyburn*, and there be hang'd by the Neck. *Walsingham* and *Caston*, and after them *Hollingshead* affirm he was Hang'd. Rot. Parl. 11 Richard 2.

^e It appears by the same Rolls, Par. 3. No. 15. that *Sir Nicholas Bramber* was condemned and executed in the same manner as *Tresilian*.

A. D. 1288. Earl Dowglasse, who commanded that Party of the Scots, and env'y'd Hotspur's Fame, was as forward to joyn the Battel. They came to a fight at Otterborn, and Earl Dowglasse encounter'd the Lord Peirce singly, seeking by force to extort his Name from him; but being equall'd in Courage, and overmatch'd with Strength, he was slain, and became a Monument of his Enemy's Valour. This Victory was hardly obtain'd before the Earl of Dunbar came upon the English with a much greater Force, having slain the greatest part of them, took the Lord Peirce and his Brother Prisoners.

Fifteenth
Parliament,
its Acts and
Taxes.

The Parliament was again summon'd to meet in September, and accordingly assembled at Cambridge (as our Historians unanimously agree, but our Statute-Book say at Canterbury) on the morrow after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Sep. 9. This Parliament seems to have met to settle several Disorders and Irregularities of the Nation, not sufficiently provided for by Law before; and to that end enacted, 'That no Offices under the King, or Ministers of Justice, as Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, or any other Officers in any of the King's Courts, should be ordain'd or made for any Gift or Brocade, Favour or Affection, but for their known Abilities and Deserts only; it being but reasonable to suppose, as it is usually found, that they who buy such Places make no Conscience of doing Justice, but by Exactions, Delays, and unreasonable Fees, make the Administration of Judgment a Grievance, instead of a Relief to Subjects. That Servants shall not pass from one Hundred to another without a Testimonial under the King's Seal; and if any Servant be taken up without such Testimonial, he shall be put in the Stocks. This Law was made to keep Servants to their good Behaviour, and secure Masters from retaining idle and false Persons in their Services; and because Servants grew too exacting for their Wages, therefore a Law was made, 'That no Person should give or receive more Wages for the Service of Men or Women, than what was limited by the Statute under several Penalties. It was also enacted, 'That all sturdy Beggars, who were able to serve, should be punished, and the ancient Statute of Labourers should be put in execution; so that the want of Men to work in Husbandry might be no plea to enhance their Wages. A Statute also was framed to forbid Servants to wear a Sword, Buckler, or Dagger: Another to prohibit all Persons using any unlawful Games; Another to punish any scandalous Abuses of the Peers and great Men of the Kingdom; Another to prohibit the making of Dung-hills, and casting of Carrion into Ditches near great Towns to infect the Air, by which Diseases were created among the Inhabitants; Another to make it a Præmunire for any Person to go to Rome to procure any Benefice of the Pope; and lastly, A Statute was made to remove the Staple of Wool from Middleburgh to Calis. The King had a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity granted him by this Parliament. During this Session, Sir Thomas Trivet, a Favourite of the King's, riding to Barnwell with the King to his Lodgings, was thrown by his Horse, and dy'd of the Bruise receiv'd by the Fall. His Death was not much lamented by the People, because he was accounted an Enemy to the Lords, and the common Good.

Soon after the rising of this Parliament a Treaty

of Peace was set on foot between England, France, and Scotland. The Commissioners for England were Walter Sbirlow Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Beauchamp, Sir John Clanbow, and Sir Nicholas Dagworth; for France, the Bishop of Baieux, the Lord Valeran Earl of St. Paul, Sir Guiliam Melin, Sir Nich. Bracque, and Sir John Mercier; and for the Scots, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Sir James and Sir David Lyndsey, and Sir Walter Smecler, four for each Nation. They met at Balingham, a small Town between Calis and Bulloigne, and after many Debates with much difficulty, came at length to agree upon a Truce between the three Nations for three Years, to commence from Midsummer next ensuing. While it was in agitation the Scots had made several Incursions into Northumberland, and carry'd away great Booties, which Thomas Mowbrey Earl of Nottingham was not able to prevent, tho' he was sent against them with five hundred Archers, because his Force was too weak to withstand their much greater numbers. The Scots were so well pleased with their Robberies, that they gave the news of Peace no kind welcome, and were hardly persuaded to accept it by the Lord Valeran, and some others of the French, who came over to see it establish'd and confirm'd in these Nations; and so at length the Truce began on August 1. on the Borders, and on Aug. 15. in other parts of both Nations, and all Hostilities ceased on both sides.

In Lent this Year was a memorable Contest between the Oxford-Scholars. The Welsh, who were always quarrelsome and proud, having firmly united the Scholars of the Southern parts to their side, began to abuse the Scholars of the North, who being very numerous, stood up together in their own defence; and so by the opposition much mischief was done on both sides. At length they came to an agreement, to determine all by a pitch Fight; but the Duke of Gloucester hearing of it, and being much concern'd not only at the ill Example, but bad Consequences of it, found means to prevent it, and caused several of the Welsh, who were the Authors of this unhandsome Broil, to be expell'd the University, and others to be punish'd with the usual Academick Mulcts, and so put the whole Body into good order again.

Peace being thus every ways established at home and abroad, the King and his Friends, on whose Councils he chiefly confided, thought this the best opportunity to assume to himself the Government of the Nation out of the Lords Hands, in which it had been put for some Years. He was now full one and twenty Years of Age, and was undeniable capacitated to be master of his own Dominions; which because the Lords, either not sensible of his being of Age, or not willing to take notice of it, did not resign, he resolv'd to claim; and to that end calling a great Council of his Nobles and great Men to attend him at Westminster. As soon as they were all seated, and the King himself at the head of them, he demanded of them, 'What Age they supposed him to be of now? They answer'd, 'That they thought him to be something above one and twenty. The King then reply'd, 'That it was unreasonable that he should be deny'd what his meanest Subjects enjoy'd, who at that Age came into the management and full possession of their Birthrights, and were no longer under Guardians and Tutors; and therefore he challeng'd the Government of his Kingdoms out of their hands. The Lords, tho' fearing the ill Consequence of his Rule,

^a This Truce was but for one Year. T. Walsingham.

^b Henry de Knighton and Thomas Walsingham says, He came to the Council-Chamber, the Privy-Council being then sitting; and do not mention the Summoning any Assembly of the Nobility who were not Privy-Counsellors.

A. D.
1389.

yet did not deny what he required, but readily yielded up their Power entirely to him; in which Act the King was not so well contented, but that he declared publickly, 'That he renounced their Rule, and from thenceforth did assume to himself as full a Power of governing, disposing Affairs, and administering Justice in his Realm, as any of his Predecessors, the Kings of England, did and might lawfully use and exercise. And that he might give an Instance of his Power and try their Submission, he like a new King made an Alteration among the great Officers of State; for he took the great Seal from *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, and gave it to *William of Wickham*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, who very unwillingly accepted of it; *John Fordham* ^a also Bishop of *Exeter*, then Treasurer, he remov'd from that Office and put in another, which also he did to *Edmund Stafford*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; and the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord Admiral, he also deprived of his Command ^b and gave it to the Earl of *Huntington*; the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and Duke of *Glocester*, he put out of his Privy-Council, and made five new Judges in the room of those that were hang'd and imprison'd. Many other Alterations he made in the Court, which was look'd upon as a new Model of a worse Management than had been before settled, and for some time so well carried on by the Lords.

The Bishops concerned at the spreading of Wickliffe's Doctrine.

The State being thus at Peace for the present, Matters of Religion began to be look'd into, which in the late Troubles had been neglected. The Followers of *Wickliffe* were not insensible how happy a Juncture it was for them to promote their Doctrines, while their Enemies Heads were otherwise employ'd, and accordingly had so bestir'd themselves, that they were become a form'd Church, and in many Parts of the Nation had regular Congregations, with Pastors well qualified and chosen to administer Sacraments, and preach to the People. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, *John Waltham*, had gotten a very particular Account of all their Party, and their present Condition, by one that had been of their Society; and tho' he acquainted his Brethren with the great Increase of them, yet neither himself, nor any of the Bishops rais'd any Persecution against them. The Bishop of *Norwich*, *Henry Spencer*, threaten'd them loudly, That if any were found in his Diocese, he would make them, as he term'd it, *Hop headless, or fry a Faggot*; and 'tis very probable, that he being a rough and Warlike Prelate, would have made good his Words, but they had Wit enough to keep out of his way. One *John Swinderby*, a Priest, was punish'd as an Heretick in the Diocese of *Hereford*; but because we read of no other that suffer'd, it may be suppos'd, that some Imprudence in himself brought him into Troubles. The chief Popish Doctrine that they oppos'd was, their Pilgrimages to Images, especially the *Rood* and *Lady of Walsingham*; which being so profitable a Storm to the Priests, would have brought a Custom upon them, as soon as an Opposition to any other Doctrine; but it was carried so privately, that tho' many were averse to it, yet few would expose themselves for it.

The Duke of Glocester justly accused of Treason.

The Duke of *Glocester* being thought under some Displeasure with the King, because he was not of his Council, it gave Encouragement to some Court Pharasites to seek his Ruine, and forge a Crime against him to endanger his Life, viz. That

he was about to raise an Army, and depose the King. The Duke was thereupon called into Examination privately, and charged with the Accusation; but he cleared himself so well, that it was judg'd a Forgery both by the King himself and his Council. The Duke having escap'd the Danger, begg'd of the King, that the Authors of such false Crimes should be punish'd; but the King, either desirous to incense the Duke, or out of a Love to Flattery, enjoyn'd his Uncle neither to expostulate the Matter, nor question his Accusers.

A. D.
1389.

In November, this Year, the Duke of *Lancaster* returned out of *Spain* into *England*. He had for almost three Years undergone a various Fortune, and tho' he had pass'd through many Troubles, at last made an honourable Conclusion, and came home with Joy and Triumph: He had met with as good Success at his first Entrance into *Spain*, as he could have desir'd. Many *Spaniards* came over to assist him in recovering his Wife's Right against the Usurper, and his Arms were every where victorious. The *Spanish* Army under *Don Alvercz de Perez* was totally routed, and the *Spaniards* terrified with the Loss, kept themselves close in their walled Towns, which were also many of them taken by the *English* and *Portuguese*. The *French* indeed promised them Assistance to drive out the *English*, after the intended Expedition into *England* was over; but a more kind Fate so befriended them, that the *English* were conquer'd without Weapons: For the Heat and Unkindness of the Climate so afflicted with mortal Diseases his whole Army, that he lost many of his best Men, as the Lord *Fitzwater*, and others, and the rest were made unfit for any Warlike Action. The *Spaniards* also, who had sided with the Duke, being angry with the *English* for making such havock of their Country without Cause, deserted him and went home; by which means the Duke and his Friends were left so naked and open to the Enemy, that in great Sorrow and Anguish of Mind he lamented his Misfortune, and begg'd of God, who judges of every Man's Right, to interpose on his behalf, and make an honourable Conclusion of that Expedition for him; which Prayer the Event so well answer'd, that God may well be judg'd to have heard him in his Troubles. He indeed endeavour'd to retrieve his Loss, by sending into *England* for a Recruit of his Forces; but the Troubles there would not allow the King to spare him any, which farther encreased his Grief. The Duke then having obtain'd leave of the King of *Spain*, that his sick Soldiers should remain in his Country till they were recover'd, departed in Sorrow to *Baion*, a City in *Gascoigne*, and there remained in much Melancholy for his ill Luck. Here Providence made way for that happy Conclusion, which the Duke had desired: For the Duke of *Berry*, the *French* King's Uncle, making a Proposition of a Marriage with *Katharine* the Duke's Daughter, and Heiress to the Crown of *Spain* after her Mother's Death, so roused the Thoughts of the King of *Castile* and *Leon*, left that Match should by the Union of two such potent Interests in *France* and *England*, bring greater danger to his Throne than her Mother's had; that he by the Advice of his Council, became an earnest Suiter to the Duke of *Lancaster* for a Match between his Daughter and his eldest Son *Henry*. Some Propositions tending to a Conclusion with the Duke of *Berry* had been made,

The Duke of Lancaster returns out of Spain, and his Success there.

The Duke of Lancaster marries the eldest King of Spain

^a John Fordham was Bishop of *Durham*, Favourite, to King *Richard* and Lord Treasurer, was removed in a turn of State three Years before; into his Place the King put the Bishop of *Hereford*, a Friend to the Lords, and now he turn'd him out of his Office, to give it to one of his own.

^b Though he had been entrusted by the Parliament.

^c He swore, &c.

A. D. 1289. but the King of Spain's Offers being more agreeable to the Wilhes, and making more for the Honour of both the Lady and her Parents were greedily embraced, and the Marriage soon concluded upon these following Conditions advantageous to all sides, 1. That *Henry* Prince of Spain should marry the Lady *Katharine* eldest Daughter of *John* Duke of Lancaster, and *Constantia* his Wife, and that they should be call'd after Marriage Prince and Princess of *Austria*, so long as the present King lived. 2. That the Kingdom of Spain, after the present King's Death, should descend to the said Prince and Princess, and the Heirs of their Bodies; and for want of such Heirs to *Edmund* Duke of York, who had marry'd King *Peter*'s other Daughter, and his Heirs. 3. That the King of Spain should pay the Duke of Lancaster 200000*l.* towards the Charges of the Expedition, and 10000*l.* a Year during his and his Dutcheß's Life at *Baion*. The Conclusion anger'd the French King, and produc'd some Threats of a War for the Wrong done the Duke of Berry. But the King of Spain valu'd not his Menaces so long as he was sure of the Assistance of the English, and the Duke of Lancaster return'd with Joy into England. Just at his landing the King had summon'd a great Council of his Peers to meet at *Reading*, whereupon the Duke immediately hasten'd thither; not only to meet the King and pay his Duty to him, but to reconcile the Difference which he had heard began to arise between the King and his Nobles. This Act of Piety he happily effected, and made them all Friends. The King kept his Christmas at *Woodstock*, and the Duke of Lancaster at *Hartford* Castle, and the Nobles in their Countries.

1290. The young Earl of Pembroke kills at Jests.

While the Christmas Carnivals continu'd at Court, *John Hastings* Earl of Pembroke, an hopeful young Nobleman, learning to Joust (which was an Exercise much used in those times) with one Sir *John St. John*, receiv'd an unlucky Blow on the bottom of his Belly; and died of the Bruise. He was much lamented, because he was a generous and affable Person; but it seems it was a Fate entail'd upon his Family, to meet with an untimely Death: For it was observ'd, that from the time of *Anmer de Valence*, Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the Peers that condemn'd *Thomas* Earl of Lancaster at *Pomfret*, about eighty Years before, none ever lived to see his Son, tho' the Descent in the whole Blood lasted all the while, which was thought a just Punishment of their Ancestors Sin against that great Peer, whom the Pope canonized for his Vertues as a State Martyr.

Sixteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

A little after the Feast of St. Hilary a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, and divers things were enacted for the common Good, concerning the Officers of the Court, as Constable, Steward, Marshal, Clerk of the Market, Admirals, Serjeants at Arms, and Justices of the Peace, concerning Weights and Measures, and several other Matters; but the most remarkable Acts that were made this Parliament were, 1. That against the Procurement of Pardons for those Peccantial Crimes of all Societies, Murders, Treasons, and Rapes. The Commons having observed that the King's Pardons were an Encouragement of such Facts, petition'd, that the King would oblige himself not to grant any Pardons for those Crimes. This the King refused to do, because he would not deprive his Crown of a Branch of his Prerogative, which his Ancestors ever enjoy'd,

but yet he pass'd an Act in effect the same; for he enacted, That in all Pardons which he granted the Crime should be specified, and the Person at whose Suit it was granted endors'd; and that all Persons who procured a Pardon for any guilty of the said Crimes, should be fined according to their Quality, an Archbishop or Duke a 1000*l.* a Bishop or Earl a thousand Marks, an Abbot, Prior, Baron or Baronet, five hundred Marks, and inferior Ranks two hundred Marks, and a Year's Imprisonment; by which means, tho' the King had still his Power to pardon, yet Suiters were so discourag'd, that the Multitude of Pardons much abated: For Kings seldom grant but with importunate asking. 2. That it should be Treason to purchase or bring any Provisions from the Pope for any Ecclesiastical Benefice in England; which tho' it had been before enacted by King *Edward* III. was not observed, and so it was enforced again to be put in Execution better. These Acts being pass'd, to the great Satisfaction of the Commons, they granted the King several Subsidies, viz. 40*s.* a Sack for Wool, whereof 10*s.* to be paid to the King for his own Expences at Pleasure, and 30*s.* to be put into the Treasury for the Defence of the Nation; and a Tax of 6*d.* by the Pound, 4*d.* to the Treasury, and 2*d.* to the King, and then they were dismiss'd home. At the rising of this Parliament, the King made *John* of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Duke of Aquitaine, and had him enstall'd by the Cap and Bonnet, and *Edward* the eldest Son of the Duke of York Earl of Rutland.

In the beginning of the Spring several unlucky Accidents befel the Nation together: Such a tempestuous Wind arose in *March*, that blew down many Houses, and did much other harm in several Parts. The Plague raged much, especially in the North, where many thousands died of it; but it was particularly observed to have the most malignant Effects upon young Men, who very rarely escaped, and were most easily infected with it. At the same time there was a great Scarcity of Corn, so that a Bushel of Wheat was sold for 13*d.* which was thought a great Price in those days. Thus by a Concurrence of Evils, did Divine Providence punish the Irregularities of the People of this Nation.

These Calamities at home made the English more ready to pity and relieve the Afflictions of others abroad; and for that end, two Parties were sent into foreign Countries. The one to *Genoa*, under the Command of *John Beaufort*, Natural Son of the Duke of Lancaster, Sir *John Russel*, Sir *John Butler*, and others; and the other to *Prussia*, under the Command of *Henry* of Lancaster Earl of Darby. The Occasion was this; the *Sarazens* of *Barbary* being very troublesome to the Citizens of *Genoa*, and by their Numbers threatening the Ruine of their Territories, had no way to secure themselves but by begging the Assistance of the French and English; who looking upon it as the common Interest of *Christendom* to keep out those Barbarians from Europe, gladly embrac'd the Request of the *Genoefes*, and sent a choice Army of valiant Men thither. The English pass'd over into France and joyn'd with the Forces, intended for the same Expedition by the French King, with whom they marched to *Genoa*, and there took Ship to assault the Infidels in *Africk*. The *Sarazens* were prepar'd to oppose their landing, and stood on the Shore ready to

A. D. 1290.

^a Austria.

^b To the Son of the Duke of York, by the Dutcheß of Lancaster's Sister, younger Daughter of *Peter* the Cruel.

^c Baronets were not known in England till the Reign of *James* I. It should be Bannierets.

A. D. 1390. engage them at their first entrance. The *English* and *French* Archers being commanded to attack them, soon made room with their Arrows for their safe footing on the shore, and having slain many of them, put the rest to flight. The Christians went forward to *Tunis* directly and besieged it, which not being able to withstand their Arms, was soon taken, with the slaughter of the King's Brother, divers great Men, and above four thousand others of the Barbarians. The King himself with a sufficient strength fled into the Castle, and held it out against the Christians six weeks; at the end of which for want of Provision he was obliged to desire Peace, and offer'd them a great Sum of Money to depart his Country. The Christians being much disabled by Sickness in their Camp, did not unwillingly hearken to the Proposals; yet pressing for other Conditions, obtain'd farther that they should carry away with them their Prey, and have such Christian Prisoners as they had taken deliver'd to them, and that the Barbarians should from thenceforth oblige themselves to cease from pillaging the Coasts of *Italy* and *France*, and then return'd home, laden with Riches and Honour. This was the only Voyage wherein the *English* and *French* prov'd successful in their Union, who formerly were us'd by mutual Dissentions to defeat the design of their Arms. Nor was the Earl of *Derby* less fortunate in his Achievements. The *Lithuanians* had by their Incursions much afflicted *Prussia*, and reduced the Inhabitants to great Miseries. But the coming of the *English* under so brave and daring a Captain soon brought them relief; for they not only drove out the *Lithuanians*, but invaded their Country, and took one of their Cities, the Earl himself being one of the first that scaled the Walls, and set up the *English* Banners, to the great Honour of himself and his Nation. And thus having restored the People of that Country to their Peace and Safety, he return'd home with an addition of Fame and Honour. While these things were done abroad, the King diverted himself with Feats of Arms at a solemn Juſts, at which twenty-four *Englishmen* challeng'd all Comers, and were encounter'd by as many Foreigners with much Art and Valour. The Earls of *S. Paul* and *Ostronant* came over to be Spectators of this honourable Tryal of Courage and Skill, which was deservedly admired. The King gave the Strangers Gold-Chains as Badges of his Favour, and feasted them royally at *Kensington* several days, till they departed with content. A Parliament met about *S. Martin's-day*, but gave no Tax, nor did any thing extraordinary.

Seventeenth Parliament.

1391. King of France desires Peace with England.

The King of *France* considering the detriment that redounded to his Country by continual Dissentions with *England*, sent over an Embassage about *Christmas* to make Proposals of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations. King *Richard* having taken advice with his Council about it, was much encouraged to compliance, and dismissed them with Promises of a speedy Treaty about it. Soon after their departure, the King by the like advice put out a Proclamation, pursuant to the Statute of *Provisors* made the last Parliament, and had it publish'd in *London*, commanding all beneficed Clergymen, who were *Englishmen* by Birth, and then resided in the Court of *Rome*, to return home within a Year, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Benefices; and if they were not beneficed, under certain other Punishments therein mentioned. This Proclamation

startled the Pope, and made him think that now the *English* began to be in earnest, and the Laws made against his profit would lie no longer dormant, as they had formerly done. Whereupon the Pope in anger sends his Nuncio over to the King, requiring him to abolish and repeal the said Statutes and Proclamation, so far as they tended to the derogation of the Church's Liberties; otherwise declaring, that he thought himself in Conscience obliged to proceed against all such Persons as had been instrumental in making those Laws according to the severity of the Canons. Moreover he insinuated to the King, that the late Propositions of Peace made by the *French* King were only intended to farther a design which he had contrived with the Antipope to make himself Emperor, and his Brothers the Dukes of *Turin* and *Anjou*, the one King of *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*, and the other King of *Sicily*; which Plot, if he could lull *England* asleep with hopes of a Peace till he could effect, he should then be in a capacity of making himself absolute Master of all; which it concern'd *England* most to prevent, and therefore besought him to assist his Master against the *French* King, if he invaded *Italy* as he threaten'd to do. The King seem'd to give a favourable Ear to the Nuncio's words, and having communicated them to his Council, appointed him to stay till the Parliament met, which should be about *Michaelmas*, and then he should receive a full answer to all his Demands.

A. D. 1391.

The Pope sends a Nuncio into England.

The Duke of *Glocester* went this Spring into *Prussia*, to the no small trouble of the People. He was always accounted the People's Darling, but it could not be imagined how much he had of the People's Affections before this Voyage; for his departure was as heavily taken as if the Sun had fallen from the Firmament, or the Happiness of the Nation were quite vanish'd with him. His Voyage was very rough and dangerous, as if Providence had been as much against it as the People; for he was carry'd by a violent Tempest upon the Coasts of *Norway* and *Denmark*, in his return, and at last with much difficulty arrived at *Tinmouth*, where he tarry'd a short time to refresh himself; and then return'd to his Mansion-house at *Pleshey*, receiving infinite Expressions of Joy for his safe arrival all along his Journey thither.

The Duke of Glocester's Voyage into Prussia.

This Summer many great Calamities afflicted the Nation, which seem'd to be presaged by some strange Clouds which cover'd the Sun for six weeks together, and much darken'd the Light of it. They first appear'd red and bloody, and remain'd all day upon the face of it; but at length they turn'd black, and remov'd at noon. Immediately upon the ceasing of this Prodigy follow'd both Pestilence and Famine. The Plague break out in several parts of the Nation, but rag'd most in *Norfolk*, and about *York*. In that City there are said to have dy'd ten thousand, and in *Norfolk* a greater number. The Famine afflicted *London*, and the adjoining Countries chiefly, which were not so deeply infected with the Plague, but labour'd under so great a scarcity of Corn, that the Poor of the City were fed at the City charge, two thousand Marks being taken out of the Orphan's Stock to buy Corn, and the twenty-four Aldermen being forced to joyn twenty Pounds a-piece for the same purpose, that the Wants of the Poor might not create them Troubles and Disturbances. They sold the Corn to such as had Money at a moderate price, and to such as lacked upon trust to be paid the next Year; and so not only preserved the

The Nation variously afflicted.

a This is *Polydore Virgil's* Account, but he is not to be believ'd; and besides it appears by *Proissard's* Relation, that the Town was not taken. b The great Chamberlain of *France*. c *Boniface* the Ninth. d The Account of the Duke of *Glocester's* Voyage to *Prussia* is taken from *Holinshed*, but we do not find it in any authentic Author of those times.

A. D. 1391. Peace of the City, but obtained a good Opinion of all Men for their Charity and Care of the common Good. The Harvest brought an end of these Evils by its plenty; yet the unwholesome Food, which many had liv'd upon in the time of the Famine, cast them into Fluxes and other Distempers, whereof they dy'd in great multitudes. About this time *Henry Hotspur* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been some time Governour of *Callis*, was call'd home and made Warden of the *Marches* of *Scotland*, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham* was made Lieutenant in his place.

Eighteenth
Parliament,
its Acts and
Taxes.

The Parliament, according to the King's promise to the Pope's Nuncio, met on the day after the Feast of all *All-Souls* at *Westminster*. Several things were enacted in this Session to regulate Abuses about the Measures of Corn, the Jurisdiction of the Admiral, Encroachments of the Lords of Mannours upon Freeholders, and other matters of like nature. But the Law which was thought of greatest benefit at that time, and since hath done great service to the Church, was the Act then made about *Appropriations*. It seems that before this Parliament it was lawful to appropriate the whole Fruits and Profits of any Benefice to a Religious House, upon condition that the Abbot or Prior took care to have the Cure tolerably supply'd by his Monks or Fryars of the House. This bred many Inconveniences. viz, in that Hospitality was neglected, the Churches and Rectories delapidated, and Ministers were often wanting: Whereupon the Commons complain'd, and procur'd this Act, 'That in every License to be made hereafter in Chancery for the appropriation of any Church the Bishop of the Diocese should have power to reserve a convenient Sum of Money out of the Fruits and Profits of it to sustain the poor Parishioners of the said Church, and to endow a perpetual Vicar sufficiently to supply the Cure of Souls constantly. This Act was the original of most of our Vicarages, which tho' they are a contemptible maintenance for the Clergy, especially since the Obventions of the Altar are removed, yet have proved a very great support to the Church, the poorest Livings often producing the most painful and laborious Ministers. So that the Nation hath a great Reason to applaud this Act, because our Governours ever since have been so negligent in providing a better; for had we not had this, 'tis to be feared the Church would have had no provision at all in abundance of places where Vicarages now are. The Pope's Complaint against the Statute of Provisors was prefer'd to the Lords and Commons, and the King and Duke of *Lancaster* laboured all they could to have it repealed; but by all their Interest and Intercession could not obtain it, the Provisions of the Pope being accounted an intolerable grievance to the Nation, yet by much Importunity it was allow'd, that the King by his Proclamation should have power to dispence with the Execution of the Statute till the next Parliament; by which Concession, tho' the Pope granted not so much as he desired, yet he had his ends, it being not very material whether the Lion be dead or no, if his Claws be cut off, and his Teeth knock'd out; for 'tis all one for a Law not to be at all, and not be executed. This Parliament granted the King a tenth from the Clergy, and a fifteenth from the Laity to support the Charges of the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was in the Lent following to go over to *Amiens* to treat of a final Peace with the King of *France* in person; and 'twas

The Pope's
Nuncio an-
swer'd by Par-
liament.

A. D. 1391. thought necessary that he should be attended with a princely Equipage for the Honour of the Nation, and in respect to the King. And because an Invasion was fear'd from *Scotland*, therefore another tenth and fifteenth was granted, upon condition that it should not be gather'd, unless the Scots were so troublesome that an Expedition against them were judged necessary. And then the Parliament was dissolv'd, and sent home.

The King and Queen, with a great Concourse of the Bishops, Nobles and Ladies, kept their *Christmas* at *Langley* with mighty Magnificence and Splendour. On *Christmas*-day a large Dolphin of ten Foot long, and of a great bigness, was taken about *London*-Bridge; his coming so far up to land-ward was look'd upon as a Preffage of that tempestuous and stormy Weather which follow'd in a few days. Soon after *Christmas* the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Bishop of *Durham*, and several others of the Nobility, having with them a train of a thousand Horsemen, set forward towards *France*, to the place of Treaty at *Amiens*. The King of *France* having heard a great Character of him for his Wisdom and Prudence (and indeed he was one of the wisest and greatest Peers of those days) made as magnificent Preparations for his Reception, as if he had been the greatest Emperor in the World, and met him himself at *Amiens*, with his Brother the Duke of *Touraine*, and his Uncles the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourbon*, and *Burgoyne*, and many other Peers of *France*. The Charges of the *English* Ambassadors and their Retinue was born by the *French* King from their coming from *Callis* till they return'd thither again. At the Treaty divers Propositions for Peace were made on each side, but both Parties were so cautious to settle an advantageous Peace to themselves, especially since it was to continue so long by agreement, that nothing was concluded farther, than that the Truce which was then on Foot, and to end at *Midsummer*, should continue another Year, and in the mean time more effectual Counsels should be taken at the meeting of the next Parliament for the conclusion of the intended Peace; and so the Duke of *Lancaster* and his Retinue return'd home again. In the absence of the Duke, the King having expended his Treasure for this Embassy, was in want of Money, and sent to the Citizens of *London* to borrow of them One (or, as others say, Ten) thousand Pounds. The *Londoners*, unmindful of their Duty to their Prince, flatly deny'd to answer his Request themselves; and when they understood that an *Italian* Lombard, or Banker, had undertaken to furnish the King with the desired Sum, they beat and abused him so grossly that he was in danger of Death. The King was so displeas'd with this insolent and rude answer, that he propounded it to his Council, and desired their Advice how he should deal with them, and was encouraged to repress their disloyal and impudent Behaviour with Severity and Arms. But the King himself considering that the Denial it self was lawful (for 'twas not reasonable for him to force their Estates from them) tho' the manner of doing it was very unbecoming Subjects, wisely wav'd his Resentments till a fitter opportunity should offer it self to retaliate their Unkindness more deservedly upon them, which his watchful Eye soon found out.

A. D.
1391

1392.

Duke of Lan-
caster went
to Amiens to
make a Peace
with France.

Londoners
refuse to lend
the King Money.

* *Profferd*, who was about that time in *England*, writes, That the Duke of *York* was joyn'd in this Commission with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and not the Bishop of *Durham*, as *Walsingham* relates; the former Account is most probable, considering the high Quality of those they were to treat with.

A. D.
1392.

some of the chief Men for Wisdom and Experience in most of the Towns of *England*, to consult about the Peace to be concluded with *France*, or resolve upon a War as soon as the current Truce was expired. The Duke of *Lancaster* put the King upon this Determination, because the King of *France* had engag'd him to hasten the Peace, that he might restore *Leo* King of *Armenia*, and subdue the other *Barbarians*, who were troublesome to *Christendom*. This Council had long and hot Debates among themselves about the Expediency and Conditions of the Peace propounded, but came to no Resolution; and so much the rather, because at that time the Duke of *Gelderland*, the King's Cofin, a valiant and stout Prince, came over; and advised the King to make no Agreement of Peace with the King of *France*, but upon such Conditions as were both advantageous and honourable to himself and Realm; promising him an Assistance of a considerable Body of Men, if he had occasion to make War either against the *French* or *Scots*. This Offer made the King, and whole Assembly, more indifferent to the Peace, and more resolute to obtain good Conditions if it went on.

Reg. 16.
A great Tumult in the City, and the Bishop of Salisbury's Palace assaulted.

While these things were transacting for the publick Good, an unhappy Accident fell out at *London*; which from an inconsiderable beginning proceeded so far, as to make the Citizens as much stand in need of the King's Favour, as he did a little before of their Money. The Occasion was this: A Baker's Man carrying a Basket of Bread thro' *Fleet-street* to his Master's Customers, as he pass'd by the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Palace, had a Loaf taken out of his Basket by one *Walter Roman* the Bishop's Servant*. The Baker concern'd at the Loss, endeavour'd to take it from the Man by force, but was worsted by the Servant, and wounded in the Scuffle. The People of the Street knowing that the Baker had received the Wrong, as well as the Abuse, gather'd together to apprehend the Bishop's Servant, and have him punished for the Breach of the Peace; but his Fellow Servants seeing him in danger, got him into the Palace, and secur'd him against them. The People without, being enrag'd more by this Rescue, first peaceably, by the Constable, demand'd the Servant that had thus wronged the Baker's Man; but they denying to resign him, the unruly Rabble, who loved not the Bishop, nor much feared him, tho' at that time Lord Treasurer, began to be very outrageous, endeavouring to force open the Gates, and because they had Resistance that they could not, threaten'd to fire them. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, had Information of this Tumult, and with all Care and Speed fought to repress it; but the Commons were grown so numerous, and so justly provok'd, that neither Force nor Persuasions would prevail a long time: But at last, by much Intreaty, they appeased them, and sent them quietly home. The Bishop himself was then with the King at *Windfor*, and soon receiv'd an Account of his Servants about this Tumult; which that it might not seem foul on their side, represented the Citizens as spitefully as they could. The Bishop, who hated them in general, because they were commonly reputed Favourers of *Wickliffe*, and so Enemies to the Church, entertain'd the Relation with much Passion; and having acquainted *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *York*, and then Lord Chancellor, with it, immediately preferred a grievous Com-

plaint of the City to the King, as if the Tumult had been encourag'd by the Heads of it, and was a malicious Out-rage not only against the Church but State, he being both Treasurer and Bishop. The King, who kept his former Displeasure in his Breast, needed no Instigations upon so good an Occasion; but being farther incens'd by the Aggravations they made use of, was most furiously enrag'd and threaten'd to raze the City: But his Heat being allay'd by the Mediation of some of the Nobility, he sent for the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other chief Citizens to Court, and objected many Crimes and Disorders against them. They made a modest and plain Defence, but nothing would be accepted as sufficient; wherefore the Mayor was imprison'd at *Windfor*, and the rest of them sent to other Goals, and all the Liberties and Privileges of the City seized into his own hands. The Authority of the Mayor was wholly removed, and the King put in a Governour under the Name of the Warden of the City. This Office was first conferred on Sir *Edward Darlingrig*, or as others say, *Beleringge*, on June 21. but he being thought to be too great a Friend to the Citizens, was in less than a Fortnight removed, and Sir *Baldwin Radington* placed in his room. He was a very prudent Man, and carry'd himself with such Austerity and Care, that he pleased both the King and City, and gave them some hopes, that by their contented Obedience to him and Submission to the King, they might in a little time obtain his Favour again. The Citizens, in this Condition, were very much discontented; and made humble Suit by the Queen, the Duke of *Glocester*, the Bishop of *London*, and other noble Personages, to the King to be restored again to their ancient Liberties and Immunities. Who so far prevailed at length with him by the Remembrance of their former good Services and rich Presents, that he sent for their Charter, and other Grants of Liberties to their City, which he caused to be diligently perused; and allowing some, and cancelling others, restored the City again to their ancient State and Favour, excepting their Government by a Mayor, which they could not obtain, till at several times they presented the King with two thousand Marks of Gold, and ten thousand Pounds in Silver: So that in the end, the Denial of lending

A. D.
1392.

The King incensed against the City, seized on their Charter, and took away their Liberties.

The City restored to their ancient Privileges.

The *Irish* about this time revolted from their Subjection, and the Duke of *Glocester* being first made Duke of *Ireland*, was furnish'd with Money to raise an Army for an Expedition thither; which he did with all imaginable Care, and had gotten a very great Force ready to pass thither. His great Name had almost subdu'd all the Re-

The Duke of Glocester ready to go into Ireland is forbidden

* In *Caxton's Chronicle*, 'tis one of the Bishop of *London's* Servants. Sir *John Heyward*, in his Life of *Henry IV.* agrees with *Holinshed*, that 'twas the Bishop of *Salisbury's*.

^b *John Waltham*.

^c Which was then at *Nottingham*.

^d *Walsingham* says it was but one.

A. D. 1392. **bels**, before his Passage over thither, for the chief Leaders of the Revolters had determin'd to submit themselves to him as soon as he arriv'd. But the Enemies of the Duke envying him the Honour of being so great a Benefactor to the common Good, prevail'd with the King so that he was countermanded, to the great Grief of the Commons, and Dammage of both Kingdoms.

1393.
Nineteenth
Parliament,
its Acts and
Taxes.

A little after *Christmas* the Parliament met at *Winchester*, and divers good Acts for the publick Benefit were made; as concerning Merchant-Strangers, Weights, and Measures; Freedom of Freeholders from Suit and Service in the Lords Courts, and the Acts to punish such as obtained Pardons for Murther, Treasons, and Rapes, repealed. But the Act of greatest Fame, was the Statute called the Statute of *Præmunire*, made this Session, by and in which it was enacted, 'That whereas the Bishop of Rome, under a Pretence of an absolute Supremacy over the Church, took upon him to dispose by his Mandates of most of the Bishopricks, Abbacies, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices of Worth in England; and if the Bishops did, upon the Legal Presentments of the Patrons of such Benefices, institute any Clerks to them, they were thereupon excommunicated by the Pope, to the great Damage and unjust Wrong of the King's good Subjects. And whereas the Bishop of Rome took upon him to translate and remove the said Bishops either out of the Realm, or from one See to another within the Realm, without the Knowledge of the King, or Consent of the Bishops themselves. If any Persons shall purchase, or cause to be purchased in the Court of Rome, any such Translations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Instruments, to the Detriment of the King and his Realm, both they, and such as bring, receive, notifie, or put them in Execution, shall be put out of the King's Protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels forfeited to the King, and their Bodies attach'd, if they can be found, Process being made out against them by the Writ called *Præmunire facias*, as is ordain'd in other former Statutes of Provisors. This Statute was badly resented at Rome by the Pope, who was very peevish for the Statute of Mortmain, and other less severe Acts against his Incroachment made a little before; but this put him into such a Fury, that he immediately sent a Letter to the Duke of Bedford, wherein he calls the Act it self *Execrabile Statutum*, a cursed Statute, and the passing of it, *Fœdum & turpe facinus*, a wicked and base Act. In this Parliament the Laity gave the King no Tax, but the Clergy yielded him half a Tenth to furnish out the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester for their Negotiation into France, to compleat the Peace between the two Kingdoms, by which they shewed their Duty to their Prince and Zeal for Peace.

The Duke of
Ireland died
at Lovain.

In the time of this Session Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, and Duke of Ireland, died at Lovain in Brabant in great Anguish of Mind and Poverty, and the King conferred his Honour of Earl of Oxford upon his Uncle, the Lord Aubery de Vere. By the Death also of John Eures, Con-

stable of Dover Castle, and Lord Steward of the King's House, several Promotions were made at Court: For the Lord Thomas Peirce, who was Vice-Chamberlain, was raised to be the Lord High Steward; the Lord Thomas Beaumont was made Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and the Lord William Scroop was made Vice-Chamberlain, and soon after brought the Regality of the Isle of Man (for that Isle was reputed a Kingdom, and the Lords of it are crown'd with a Crown of Gold) of the Lord William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, but he only held it for his own Life.

A. D.
1393.

In the Spring of this Year the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, and the Earl of Darby, and several other Peers, passed over to Calis in order to finish the Treaty then in hand. They had a full Commission to conclude a Peace both by Sea and Land between the Kingdoms of England and France and their Allies. The Commissioners for the King of France were the Dukes of Burgogne and Berry: The Place of Treaty was Balingham, where were stately Tents erected for their meeting. Here they met several Days together, and after their Commissions were looked into, Proposals were laid down and argu'd on both sides. The Frenchmen required to have Calis razed, but the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester answer'd, That they had no Power to treat in that Matter, and that they knew that their Master would hold it in Demesne and Inheritance; and if they intended to conclude the Peace, they must not mention it any farther, which smart Reply put an end to that Demand. Then the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester insisted, That the Countries on that side, which had of late been either in the Possession of King Edward III. or King Richard their Master, should be restored, and the Florens which were left unpaid by reason of the War, should now be paid; which the English Lawyers proved to be agreeable to Reason and Equity. But the Frenchmen argu'd much against it, and would by no means yield to neither: So that their Debates were adjourned for nine Days, that the Kings on both sides might be acquainted with what they had done. The Duke of Gloucester, who was for no Peace with France, but upon very good Terms; for which Reason the People desired that he might be a Commissioner, was very resolute to have no Peace, unless the former Conditions were granted. But the French King, and Nobles, as well as King Richard and the Duke of Lancaster, were very desirous to bring it to an end, and so a Truce at their next meeting was made for four Years; and had not the King of France fallen suddenly into his old Disease of the Frenzy, it is thought a longer and firmer Peace had been concluded, tho' without the Consent of the Duke of Gloucester, who in his heart was wholly for War with France; which having brought so much advantage to the Nation formerly, was most desir'd by the People, whom the Duke sought to please above all things.

Another Treat-
ty of Peace
with France.

Reg. 17.

A Peace for
four Years
made with
France.

After the Conclusion of this Truce, the King made Sir Thomas Peirce, the younger, Lord Warden of Bourdeaux and Aquitain, and sent him thither: The Nation also suffer'd much by Tempests and excessive Rains. There were such vio-

Several cal-
amitous Ac-
cidents befall
the Nation.

* Holinshead, from whom our Author has taken this Event, says, the Duke of Gloucester was created Duke of Ireland; but that is very much to be doubted; the rather, for that the Earl of Oxford, on whom King Richard had bestowed that Title, was not then dead; and though he was attainted, yet King Richard lov'd him still too well to give his Honour to his Enemy: Besides, that Title was so odious, that the Duke of Gloucester would hardly have accepted of it; and no good Author, except Holinshead, has taken Notice of it.

b There was no Duke of Bedford at that time, the first that bore that Title was John Brother to Henry V. and after his Death Regent of France.

c Neither the House of Mountacute, nor that of Stanly, were permitted to wear a Crown of Gold; the Regalia being only a Leaden Crown, and the Robes that belong to them as Peers of England.

d The Archbishop of York and Bishop of London.

e Leulingham between Calis and Bologre.

A. D. 1393. lent Thunders and Lightnings in many parts, especially about *Cambridgehire*, that many Houses and Stacks of Corn (for the Harvest was but just past) were beat down, and burnt by them. In other parts such abundance of Rain fell, especially about *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and *New-Market*, that the Floods carry'd away many Bridges and Houses. The Pestilence raged in *Essex*, and swept away great Multitudes. Other things happen'd also concurrent with these accidents. The Lord *Ross* returning out of the *Holy-land* dy'd at *Paphos*. The Town of *Chierburg*, which was engaged to King *Richard* for the payment of two thousand Marks^a by the King of *Navarr*, was restored to the said King upon the payment of the said Sum. Three *Scotch* Gentlemen also challenged three *English* to fight at Jufts, viz. the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Nottingham*; Sir *William Darrell* the King of *Scots* Banner-bearer, Sir *Peirce Courtney* the King of *England*'s Standard-bearer; and one *Cockburn* Esq. Sir *Nicholas Hawkirke*. In this Tryal of Manhood the *English* were Victors, for the Earl of *Mar* and *Cockburn* were unhorsed by their Opponents, the former being so bruised and wounded by the fall, that he dy'd in his return home; *Darrell* ran five Courses, and was so equally match'd, that they neither were Victors.

1394. Twentieth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

A Parliament met at *Westminster* a little after the Feast of *St. Hilary*, and after some things of common concern were enacted, the King growing weary of the Charge which he was at to maintain his Dominions in *Ireland* against the rebellious Natives, desired a Tax to enable him to make an Expedition into that Nation to reduce it by force; for as it now stood, 'twas an insupportable Burthen to *England*, the King being yearly at thirty thousand Pounds charge to preserve the Dominion of that Island, which had brought formerly thirty thousand Pounds a Year into his Treasury. The Houses yielded to his desires, and the Clergy granted him a tenth if he went into *Ireland*, but half a tenth only if he went not. In this Parliament the Duke of *Lancaster* accused the Earl of *Arundel* of encouraging and assisting the Commons of *Chester* against him, lying in his Castle of *Holt* by *Chester* with a Body of Men, while the People under one *Nicholas Clifton* assaulted the Duke's House. But the Earl of *Arundel* flatly deny'd that he had the least Intention that way, and gave such probable Reasons in his own defence, that he was clear'd of any such design, and by the mediation of certain great Persons was perfectly reconcil'd to the Duke.

The King goes into Ireland.

Q. Ann dy'd.

Reg. 18.

The King immediately after the Dissolution of this Parliament made a speedy preparation for his Expedition into *Ireland*; but when he was almost ready his beloved Queen *Ann* dy'd at *Shene* near *Richmond* in *Surry*, which put a stop to his proceedings awhile; for as he was always fond of her while she liv'd, so he was passionately griev'd for her when she dy'd; of which he gave this memorable proof, 'That he curs'd the place of her Death, and so hated it ever after; that he would never come there, but commanded the Buildings to be demolished. And indeed she is said to be a Princess of so great Worth both for Virtue and Piety, that the greatest Love was but her due. In the blind Age she liv'd in, she enjoy'd Light, and could nor endure the implicit Devotion of the *Romish* Church. She had the Gospels in *English*, and several of the best Expositors upon them. She favour'd *Wickliffe*'s Doctrines,

and had several of his Books, which after her Death being carry'd by her Maids into *Bohemia*, were a means of promoting the Reformation there. She was bury'd at *Westminster*, and a Sermon preach'd at her Interment by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Tork*, in which he commends her for her great pains in the study of Scripture, and reading Godly Books, in which, said he, she was more diligent than the Prelates themselves, tho' their Office and Business required it. Her Funerals being celebrated, the King, tho' full of Sorrow, went on in his design, which had been put off for some Months; and having by Proclamation commanded all *Irishmen* to depart the Kingdom before the Nativity of our Lady, Sept. 8. about *Michaelmas* he set forward for *Ireland*, attended by the Duke of *Glocester*, Earls of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, *Thomas Lord Peirce*, and divers others, his Army consisting of four thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot. The Duke of *Lancaster* was not with him, because the King had a little before given the Dukedom of *Aquitain* to him and his Heirs, and sent him with five hundred Men at Arms and a thousand Archers to take possession of it. The King landed at *Waterford* in the beginning of *October*, and encamped his Army^b very warily, expecting a vigorous assault from the Enemy at first; but they perceiving themselves too weak to oppose so strong an Army in a pitch'd Battle, did nothing against him but by surprise, falling suddenly upon some part of their Camp, or upon straggling Forragers, and lurking in their boggy Woods and Mountains when they advanced against them; by which, tho' they sav'd their Persons, yet they left their Estates and Towns expos'd to the Mercy of the *English*; who so well used the advantage, that the *Irish* were forced to come in and submit themselves to the King to save their Estates. The chief of them were four Kings, viz. *O-neal* the Great, King of *Meath*, *Brine* King of *Thomond*, *Arthur Macmur* King of *Lempster*, and *Conbur* King of *Cheveno* and *Darp*, whom he courteously entertain'd and kept with him, lest they should relapse into their former disobedience, if they return'd to their People again. He kept his *Christmas* at *Dublin*, and at the end of that Feast held a Parliament there, calling all his Subjects to it, as well those who had lately submitted, as those who had continu'd in their Loyalty, that by his impartial favour he might equally oblige them to Fidelity for the future.

A. D. 1394.

Ireland submit.

A Parliament in Ireland.

About the Feast of *Epiphany*, the Duke of *Tork* the King's Uncle, who was Lord Warden of *England*, called a Parliament by the King's Order to provide him farther Supplies to carry on his Expedition, and the Duke of *Glocester* was sent over to represent to the Parliament the state of the King's Affairs, and desire another Tax. There needed little Rhetorick to persuade, when the Reason and Condition of things required it, and therefore they readily granted a tenth of the Clergy and a fifteenth of the Laity for the King's supply; yet humbly petitioning, that the Settlement of things in *Ireland* might be effected as soon as possible. Other matters were put off till the King's return, and so the Parliament was dismissed without making any Acts of publick concern. Yet while it sat, the Followers of *Wickliffe*, then call'd *Lollards*, being grown numerous among the common People, and having gotten some Friends in the Houses, by which they were encouraged to attempt a Reformation of the Dis-

Twenty first Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

Lollards endeavour a Reformation in Parliament.

^a Froissard tells us it was sixty thousand Nobles.

^b Consisting of thirty thousand Men.

A. D. 1395. orders of the Churchmen both in Doctrine and Manners, perferred several Conclusions to the Parliament in opposition to the present Orders and Tenets in the Church, not without some assurances of success. They were twelve in number, and delivered in Words to this effect:

1. That Pride, through the greatness of the Temporalities, daily increased in the Church, and Faith, Hope and Charity decayed.
2. That the present Priesthood was not the Priesthood of Christ's Institution.
3. That the Cœlebracy of the Priests was the cause of Sodomy, Whoredom, and other foul Sins.
4. That Transubstantiation engaged Christians in a brutish Idolatry.
5. That Exorcisms and Consecrations were not of divine Appointment, but magical Incantations.
6. That it was very unseemly for Prelates to be Justices of Peace, and Curates civil Officers.
7. That Prayers for the Dead were a bad motive of Almsh-giving.
8. That Pilgrimages to Crucifixes, to our Lady's Image, &c. were Idolatrous.
9. That Auricular Confession makes Priests arrogant and proud, and is an encouragement of Sin.
10. That Manslaughter and War for Temporal Gains, or Religion sake, is unlawful.
11. That Womens Vows of Chastity produced much Sin.
12. That multitudes of Arts and Trades which were not necessary, were a means of begetting much Pride and Vanity among Christians.

These Positions, which at the same time were fixed upon S. Paul's Church-doors, found a very favourable Reception in the Houses, and had so great a Party for them, that the Prelates were afraid all their gainful Doctrines and Practices, which were levell'd at in them, would not be long tolerated if the King did but consent to the Majority of the Members, as it was likely he would unless he could be otherwise engaged. This being the only way left, as they imagin'd, to support their tottering Church, Thomas Arundel Archbishop of York, and Robert Braybrooke Bishop of London, sent as was supposed by William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Clergy, made a Voyage into Ireland to the King, to complain of the Insolence and Prevalency of the Hereticks, as they call'd them, and to beseech him to engage his Power in the defence of the Church and Religion, which without his assistance was in great danger of being ruin'd. The King, who was always zealous for the Religion he had been train'd up in, gave much attention to the Bishop's Importunities, and promising them his Protection, compos'd his Affairs in Ireland as fast as he could, and return'd about Easter into England.

The King's
Actions a-
gainst the
Lollards.

Soon after his arrival he began to look into the Grounds of the Bishop's Complaint against the Lollards, and finding that some of his own Servants and Officers, viz. Sir Richard Story, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Thomas Latimer, and Sir John Montacute, had been most forward to encourage and uphold them, he called them before him, and made them severally sware, that they would not from thence forward hold or maintain any such erroneous Opinions; adding himself, that if they were found again to do it, they should certainly die for it. Having thus laid a restraint and check upon the chief Abettors of the Hereticks, he proceeded to suppress them, by giving the Bishops a Charge to execute their Offices diligently in their Diocesses, according to the Canon, to cor-

rect all Offenders, search out and examine all English Books, root out all erroneous Teachers and Doctrines with all their endeavours, and to bring all the People into the Unity of the Catholick Faith. And that the Laity as well as Clergy might advance this holy Design, as he accounted it, he sent out a Commission into all and every Shire of the Kingdom, appointing certain Persons zealous for the Church, to be Searchers out of the Lollards, their Favourers and Books, charging them to use their utmost diligence and care to find them; and when they have apprehended any, to commit them to the next Gaol till he should give farther Orders concerning them. The King was the more zealous in this matter, because Pope Boniface had by his Letters besought him to assist the Bishops in suppressing this Sect, and recommended it to him as a most meritorious Action; yet his Subjects did not shew as much Zeal in persecuting them, as the King did to excite them to it. The Archbishop indeed was active, and began immediately a metropolitan Visitation, in which he made a strict search for the Lollards and their Books, solemnly excommunicated all such Persons as maintained, or caused to be maintained, any of the Errors or Opinions of Mr. John Wickliffe at the Cathedral in Lincoln and Leicester-Abby, and made several to recant, and do penance for holding the said Opinions at Oxford and other places. But we do not find that there were any Prosecutions of them by the Laity, nor several of the Bishops; so that tho' the King had depriv'd them of his Protection, God may seem to have made their Enemies at peace with them.

A. D.
1395.

The Arch-
bishop visits to
suppress the
Lollards.

This Spring the French King being in some doubts which of the Antipopes was to be acknowledged for the Head of the Church, called a General Council of all his most able Divines at Paris, and required their Decision of the Dispute that was among the Christian Princes about it. The Divines, after much and serious Debate, determined, That Pope Clement was lawfully chosen, and ought to be accepted as the Head of the Church; and confirmed this their Judgment by the University of Paris Seal. The King of France having so good an Authority for adhering to Clement, sent a Copy of their Decision to King Richard, hoping to bring him over to acknowledge him; but King Richard would not subscribe to their Resolution till he had the Judgment of his own Divines upon it, of whom he summon'd immediately a Convocation of the ablest and most learned at Oxford. These, after mature Consideration of the Arguments of the contrary Party, made a contrary Determination for Urban and his Successors, and warranted their Judgment with the University-Seal; by which means the Breach in the Church was made more incurable than it was before, and the Schism much more justifiable.

Both the An-
tipopes con-
firm'd by Na-
tional Coun-
cils in Eng-
land and
France.

This Summer the Danish Rovers much infested Reg. 19. the British Seas, and did great mischief on the Coasts, plundering the Ships, and robbing the Sea-Towns. On the Coasts of Norfolk they set upon certain Ships belonging to the Merchants of Norwich, and took them, their Cargo being valu'd at twenty thousand Pounds. This Wrong so incensed the Inhabitants of those parts, that they mann'd out some Ships to fight them; but after a sharp Engagement were defeated, and many of them taken Prisoners, whom they re-

Danish Ro-
vers rob the
Coasts.

* Sir Richard Story and Sir Thomas Latimer were Members of Parliament, and deliver'd the Lollard's Address to the House of Commons.

A. D. 1395. *Archbishop Taxes the Clergy.* deemed at a dear rate; and so they returned home enriched by Ransoms, and laden with the plunder'd Goods of the *English*. *William Courtney* also Archbishop of *Canterbury*, purchased a Bull of the Pope to levy 4d. per Pound upon all the Spiritual Promotions and Benefices within his Province; which tho' it was generally disliked and disgusted by the Clergy, yet was paid by most of them thro' Fear, the Prebendaries of *Lincoln* being only excepted, who looking upon it as an unreasonable Exaction, utterly deny'd to pay it, and appealed to the Pope; but the Archbishop's Death prevented the farther Progress of the Controversie, which would have proved much more chargeable to them had it continu'd. His Death was esteem'd no small Security for the Followers of *Wickliffe*, to whom he was a bitter Enemy. *John Waltham* also Bishop of *Salisbury* and Lord Treasurer died, and was by the King's Order buried in *Westminster* among the Kings, and *Roger Walden* Secretary of State, and Treasurer of *Calis*, was put in his place. In the latter end of this Year, the King out of the Love he still retained to the Duke of *Ireland* after his decease, had his Corps fetch'd from *Brabant* where it lay ignobly interred, and brought into *England* for a more honourable Burial. It was first embalmed, and richly adorned with Robes, a Chain of Gold about his Neck, and rich Rings on his Fingers; and being put in a Cypress Coffin, the King himself came to view his Body, and to shew his Affection to him, looked on his bare Face and touched him. His Body, after some time, was interred at *Coln-Priory* in *Essex*; the King himself, with the Countess of *Oxford* his Mother, several Bishops and Abbots attending his Corps thither. Very few, or none of the Nobility, would shew any Respect to his Reliques, for the Hatred they bore to him when he was alive; the Memory of the Person being detestible, whom they found so great an Enemy to the common Good, so long as he was in Power and Favour.

The Duke of Lancaster went into Aquitaine, to take Possession of it. The Duke of *Lancaster* being arriv'd in *Aquitain*, summon'd the Lords and chief Inhabitants of the great Towns, and declar'd to them the Gift of the King of *England* to him, that their Country was given to him and his Heirs for an Inheritance, and desir'd their peaceable Submission to him as their Supreme Lord. But they returned him answer, That their Country was inseparably united to the Crown of *England*, and would never submit to him otherwise than as the King of *England*'s Lieutenant. The Duke insisted upon his Gift, but would use no force to compel them to Subjection, unless it were the more lasting ones of Kindness and Moderation; but they constantly stood upon it, that they had ever been govern'd by Kings, and could not be alienated from the Crown of *England* without a Violation of the King's Coronation Oath, and therefore would never submit to those Terms. At length an Embassy was sent to the King about the Controversie, and tho' the Duke of *Glocester* (more to keep his Brother out of the Nation, than out of Love to Justice or to his Brother's Interests) pressed the inviolable Na-

ture of the King's Grant to his Brother; yet the Arguments of the People of *Aquitain* were so prevalent with the King, that it was decreed, That the Country and Dutchy of *Aquitain* should always remain in the Demesne of the Crown of *England*, lest at length it should fall into the hand of some Stranger; but the Duke remain'd there governing as the King's Deputy, which Station he manag'd so well, that he gain'd the Love and willing Submission of all the People, being wise, liberal and moderate, so that left the Grant which the King had so lately recall'd should be obtain'd against his Will, he sent for him home, and eased himself of that Jealousie; for tho' the Duke had been at great Expence to purchase their Favour, yet he chose rather to lose his Money than Loyalty, and so returned to the King at *Langley*, where he kept his Christmas. He stay'd a little at Court, and then retreated to his own House at *Lincoln*, where he marry'd the Lady *Katharine Swinsford*, who had been his Concubine in his Wife's days, and born him two Sons *Thomas* and *Henry*, and one Daughter, whom he named *Beaufort*. This Match was much disliked by the Court Ladies, and the Dutches of *Glocester*, Countesses of *Warwick*, *Arundel* and *Darby*, particularly disdain'd her; but her prudent Behaviour conquer'd their Passions, and she became very grateful to them in a short time.

While these things were transacting abroad, the King's Mind inclin'd to a second Marriage; and because he very much desir'd a firm Peace with *France*, he determin'd to chuse a Wife in that Court, which was the likeliest way to effect his design; and to that end sent an Embassy by the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Marshall*, and the Lords *Beaumont*, *Spencer* and *Clifford*, to treat of a Marriage between himself and the Lady *Isabel* the French King's Daughter, who was then but eight Years old. The Proposition was very joyfully accepted, and tho' the Lady had been a little before promis'd to the Duke of *Brittain*'s Son in Marriage, yet because this was likely to prove a more advantageous and honourable Match, and would in all Probability settle that Peace, which was so earnestly desired by the *French* as well as *English*, an Expedient was resolv'd upon to dissolve the former Contract, and she was assured to the King of *England*. The Embassadors having been sumptuously entertain'd, and their Charges born by the *French* King, so long as they were in his Country, returned home with this favourable Answer and Promise, to the great Joy of their Master.

Pope *Boniface* the IX. who was some time since got into the Papal Chair at *Rome*, after Pope *Urban*'s decease, by which means the Schism was still upheld, having received Information of the Bishops of *England*, that the Followers of *Wickliffe*, notwithstanding all former Endeavours to suppress them, grew more numerous, and were spread almost into all parts of the Nation; the Bishops wanting Power to inflict what their Zeal was ready to do, wrote a second pathetic and earnest Letter to King *Richard* to assist the Bishops in the Cause of God;

* Froissard, Vol. IV. Chap. 61. writes, he was in the Court of *England* when these Deputies arrived from *Aquitain*, and that the reason of their desiring not to be alienated from the Crown was, because they depended chiefly upon it for Assistance and Protection.

b Henry Earl of *Darby*, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Son, was for granting the Petition of the Deputies of *Aquitain*, and annulling the Donation of that Dutchy to his Father.

c The Embassadors had no other Answer from the *French* King at this time, than that he thank'd his Brother of *England* for his good Will, but that the Lady was too young, and besides was affianc'd to the Duke of *Bretagne*, which former Agreement must be dissolv'd before another could be treated of. They carry'd this Answer to their Master, and being sent with new Proposals, concluded the Treaty of Marriage and Truce.

A. D. 1396. as he call'd it, against the Heretical Teachers of his Realm; and to take care, that the late Statutes of Provisors, called the *Præmunire* and *Quare impedit* Acts, should be taken away and abolish'd. But we do not find, that this Letter produced any of the desired Effects, the King being otherwise taken up with Matters of State, especially about his Marriage. The Pope at the same time sent over a Recovatory Bull to recall and confine all such Monks again to their several Orders, as had formerly purchased the Privileges of being his Chaplains, either of himself, or of his Nuncios, by which they were exempted from the Rules of their Profession. This was very ungrateful News to the Purchasers, but very acceptable to the Fryars, who were confin'd to their Cloysters: For they were forced with Shame and Loss to return to their Monasteries.

King Richard's Marriage, and the Peace between England and France settled.

Reg. 20.

The King having been encourag'd in his Proposals of a Marriage in the French Court, was not sluggish in the pursuit of it, but in the beginning of the Spring sent the former Embassadors to France to settle certain Points of Agreement necessary for the Completion of it; of which one was, That a Truce for thirty Years should be firmly enter'd into by both Nations. These Articles were easily assented to by both sides, and the Lady being Marry'd to the Earl Marshal in the Name of Richard King of England by Letters of Proxy, was from thenceforth called the *Queen of England*. Things being thus concluded in a manner, the King himself (now having enter'd the 20th Year of his Reign) took his Journey to *Callis* to perfect all things that had been assented to on both sides: He had with him his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, with a great number of Peers and Gentlemen. The Place appointed for the Treaty was between *Guisnes*, a Town on the Borders of the English Pale, and *Arde* which was on the Confines of the French Territories, rich Pavilions being there erected for the two Kings: The King of France came down with the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Berry*, *Britain*, and *Burbon*. About the end of *October*, the two Kings having first solemnly swore to observe the Laws of Amity at this Interview, came to a Conference about the Peace; and having at several Meetings concluded and agreed on a Peace for thirty Years^b, upon certain Conditions, they solemnly swore upon the Evangelists to observe and keep it faithfully. Then the King of France, with his own hands, deliver'd his Daughter to King Richard, who thankfully received her, protesting that he took her as the Token of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations; and then delivering her to the Dutchesses of *Lancaster*^c and *Glocester*, with other great Ladies, had her convey'd honourably to *Callis*. The two Kings remained certain days in their Pavilions feasting each other, and then with solemn leave taken departed home. King Richard returned to *Callis*, where he staid a few days, till he was marry'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in *St. Nicholas's Church*, and then sailed with his Queen to *Dover*, and so went forward to *London*. The Mayor and Aldermen

of that City having notice of the King's Arrival with his new Queen, met them at *Blackheath* in their Robes, with a select number of Citizens in rich embroidered Liveries, and conducted him to *Kensington*, where he lodg'd that Night, and continu'd some time. About *Christmas* the Queen passed by Water to the *Tower*, and on the sixth of *January* was crown'd at *Westminster* with all the State and Magnificence that could be devised suitable for so great an Occasion. The Marriage and Coronation being thus compleated, there appeared a general Satisfaction in all Persons, unless in the Duke of *Glocester*, who shewed much Discontent in his Words and Actions, both at the King's Marriage and Settlement of Peace, which displeased the King; and so much the more, because he advised the *Londoners* not to pay the Tax granted for a War with *France*, because there was Peace; which they had follow'd, had not the Duke of *Lancaster* assur'd them that the Peace was settled at great Expence^d.

A. D. 1396.

1397.

Soon after *Christmas*, on the Feast of *St. Vincent*, a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and enacted several things necessary for the common Good, viz. That forasmuch as many Mischiefs were done by Persons, who rode armed, it was forbidden all Persons as well Lords as Commons to go or ride by Night or Day armed, except the King's Officers in doing their Duty. And that Justice might be administer'd without Favour and Affection, it was enacted, That no Lord, or other Person, should sit upon the Bench with the Judges of Assize under great Penalties, lest their Presence should influence or byass them in their Office. And because the Commons had been much oppressed by certain Persons, who pretended themselves to be the King's Messengers, and took their Horses out of their Carts to ride about their own Business; therefore it was enacted, that none should take any such Horse without the Consent of the Owner: And lastly, That it should be lawful for the Judges of *Belknap*, *Holt*, and *Burgh*, to return from their Exile into *England*, notwithstanding the Statute made in the eleventh Year of this King; which being contrary to his Oath, made to the Lords in that Parliament, begat some Discontents among his Subjects. In this Parliament the Duke of *Lancaster* obtain'd a private Act, to legitimate the Children which he had begotten on the Lady *Katharine Swinford* before his Marriage with her, and his eldest Son by her, *Thomas Beaufort*, was made Duke of *Somerset*^e. In the Parliament Rolls of this Session there is also recorded a Declaration of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, for themselves and the Clergy of their Provinces, That forasmuch as at their Enstalmment they were sworn to be obedient and faithful to the Pope and See of *Rome*, if any thing were attempted in Parliament in prejudice or restraint of the same, they would not assent to it, but withstand it with all their force: And this Protestation they desired might be enrolled, which was done accordingly. Some things that concern'd the Church were enacted by this Parliament, viz. At the Petition of the Begging Fryars it was ordain'd, That none of

Twenty Se. cond Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

For. ex Rot. Parl. in Tur. Lond. Tit. 22. 32, 36.

^a Thomas de Mowbray Earl of Nottingham.

^b The Truce formerly mention'd to be for thirty Years was but for twenty eight, and that Truce was only continu'd now two Years longer, and it was no Peace but a Cessation of Arms. *Froissard*.

^c Katherine Swinford.

^d No less than three hundred thousand Pounds much more than her Portion. *Sir John Hayward, Hen. IV.*

^e He was only created Earl of *Somerset*, and *Camden* in his *Brit. Tit. Somersetshire*, says his Name was *John de Beaufort*; *Thomas de Beaufort*, as the same Author writes, *sub Tit. Dorsetshire*, was younger Brother to *John de Beaufort*, and was first created Earl of *Dorset*, and afterwards Duke of *Exeter*.

A. D. 1397. their Order should pass over the Sea, to Rome or elsewhere, without a special License from their Sovereign; nor take upon them the Degree or Title of Master in Divinity without being first posed and examined in a Provincial Chapter, upon pain of being put out of the King's Protection. As also that the King's Officers for making Arrests or Attachments in Church-Yards should be excommunicated. For these Acts the Clergy gave the King a tenth alone, and so the Parliament was sent home.

Brest restored to the Duke of Britain, for which the Duke of Gloucester reproach'd the King.
The Duke of Britain, a little after the Dissolution of the Parliament, whether upon any private Agreement made at the Treaty at Arras, or merely according to the first Condition, sent over to King Richard a certain Sum of Money, for the payment of which he had engaged the Haven of Brest, and delivered it up to him, to discharge that Debt, and recover the Town to himself again; King Richard accordingly received the Money, and resigned it to him. The Duke of Gloucester knowing the place to be an Haven of Importance to the English, was very angry at this unusual piece of Justice among Princes; and being at Court one day, where he saw many of the Soldiers that were lately come from Brest, and had no way to live, crowding into the Hall, told the King, 'That those poor Men had been ill paid, and now having no Employment, knew not how to live. The King reply'd, 'That it was not his fault, but he would take care they should be paid. The Duke answer'd, 'That it had been better they had continued where they were; he should first have taken a Town by his own Valour and Conduct, before he had resigned what his Ancestors had left to him. This Reflection fell sharply upon the King, who changing Countenance immediately, said, *What is it you say, Uncle?* The Duke then repeated the same words again; whereupon the King in a great Passion, reply'd, 'Think you that I am a Fool, or Merchant, to sell my Land? No; By St. John Baptists, no: But our Cousin the Duke of Britain having paid the Sums for which the Town and Haven of Brest were engaged to me, Reason and good Conscience required that I should restore it. This answer, tho' reasonable, did not take away the Resentment of the Affront which the Duke's Words made upon the King's Spirit; but he hated him ever after for the Brand of Cowardise he had laid upon him.

Earl of S. Paul comes into England, and advised the King against the Duke of Gloucester.
Before the King's Passions were cool'd thoroughly, Guido Earl of S. Paul, who was sent by Charles the French King to visit and compliment King Richard and his Queen, arriv'd at the Court, and after a short time was admitted into great Familiarity with the King, partly through his own Officiousness, and partly by the Troubles of the King's Mind, which made him not very choice to whom he unburthen'd his Discontents. With this Earl the King being one day discoursing, complained to him of the mutinous and factious Behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester towards him, viz. 'That he openly disliked his Marriage, and used his utmost Endeavours to break the Peace so happily concluded between France and England, by stirring up a Rebellion among his Subjects. The Earl knowing that generally nothing is so pleasant to rooted Passions as Revenge, which would be sweeten'd in this Case by necessary Policy,

gave the King this Advice, 'That he had no way to secure himself, and the Peace of his Kingdom, but by taking away his Life; for when a Subject is grown so Great and Popular, it is impossible for a King to be safe so long as he is alive. The King easily assented to this Counsel, and that he might not want Pleas enough to justify what he had in a manner fully resolv'd to execute, he observ'd every word and action of the Duke more narrowly than formerly; and taking every thing in the worst sense, as Jealousie and desire of revenge suggested, thought him such a diseas'd Member as could not be cur'd but by cutting off. To make way for this he complain'd very grievously of him to his Brethren, the Dukes of Lancaster and York, with others of the Nobility; but as in all of them he found a good Opinion of the Duke, so his Brethren told him, 'That tho' their Brother Gloucester was somewhat rash in his Words, yet they knew him to be of truly loyal Principles, really studious of his Majesty's and Realm's Happiness, and that he would not act any thing prejudicial to either. These words so much allay'd the King's Anger, that had not ill Instruments apply'd themselves to blow the Coals afresh, all Animosities had been quite bury'd. But a little after, being inform'd by the Earls of Nottingham and Huntington, that the Duke of Gloucester was much dissatisfied that his own Counsels were not follow'd, and had utter'd many seditious Speeches, as, 'That the King was misled by evil Counsellors, which he daily had about him; That he was not fit to govern, and therefore ought to be remov'd from his Throne; That he would undertake a Reformation of things; and to that end had conspir'd with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Darby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of S. Albans, and Prior of Westminster, (which two last had encourag'd him in the Attempt, by pretending that it was reveal'd to them by a Vision, that King Richard should destroy the Kingdom by his misgovernment) to take him and his whole Council, and punish them according to their demerits. Whether this were really so or not, our Historians are in doubt; yet 'tis certain, this Accusation sharpen'd the King's Anger so much against the Duke, that he entred immediately into a Contrivance with the said Earls of Huntington, Nottingham, and others, to apprehend the Duke and his Confederates suddenly; and put them to Death. The Duke of Gloucester was then at his House at Pleshey in Essex, and suspected nothing of what was resolv'd against him, and therefore was easily apprehended in this manner. The King himself with the abovesaid Earls having laid an Ambush of arm'd Men in Epping-Forest, went with a small Retinue to Pleshey to the Duke of Gloucester, whom finding in his Bed early in the Morning they raised, and pretending earnest Business of State, drew him with them to London. The Duke in haste posted along with the King, and took only a Servant or two with him. When they came at the place of the Ambush, the King riding before, the Earl Marshal arrested him, and the Soldiers immediately seizing him, carry'd him blindfold to a Barge, put him on Shipboard, and convey'd him to Calais. He was either too Popular, or else too Innocent to be brought to a publick Tryal in England, and therefore he was

A. D. 1397.

* This Story is in Grafton, but is not very probable; for Froissard affirms, the Duke of Gloucester was one of the Commissioners who concluded the last Treaty; by the Articles of which he had consented, that the Castle and the Town of Chierburgh in Normandy should be restor'd to the King of Navarre and the Duke of Bretagne their Owners.

A. D.
1397.

The Earls of
Warwick
and Arundel
imprison'd in
the Tower.

remov'd to *Callis*; and after a formal or pretended Tryal before Judge *Rikell*, an *Irishman*, who sent the King word, that upon his Examination he confessed all that was alledg'd against him, he was order'd to be executed by *Thomas Mombrey* Earl Marshal, who is said to have been so unwilling to put him to Death, tho' he was assistant in apprehending him, that he would not do it till the King threaten'd him with Death if he did not execute his Orders. Whereupon he caus'd him to be smothered or strangled privately, as if he were ashamed to be seen an Instrument of such a base Act. The seizure of the Duke of *Glocester* was carry'd so secretly, that there was no noise of it; and the King shew'd such an even Countenance towards the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, that he invited them to Dinner with him as his greatest Favourites; but while they were in their Mirth, he caus'd them to be arrested, and carry'd immediately to the Tower to be kept close Prisoners; the Lord *Cobham* also and Sir *John Cheyney* were at the same time apprehended, and sent to the Isle of *Wight*. These Actions much amazed the People; and lest they should rise for the Lords rescue, a Proclamation was put out to assure the Nation, that they were seized for new Crimes which they had been found guilty of, and which should be prov'd against them at the sitting of the next Parliament, in which the Commons hoped they would have such fair dealings, that every Man rested contented, and did not doubt but if they were innocent they would be clear'd, and if guilty of any Crimes deserving Death, 'twas fit they should have their deserts.

In the Interval, before the Parliament met, the King and his Friends were very busie to lay a sure train for the ruin of their Enemies, whom they had now got in their power; and to this end, first, certain of the Nobility, whom the King could best trust, were suborn'd to impeach them of High-Treason, viz. *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Earl Marshal, *Thomas* Holland Earl of *Kent*, *John* Holland Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas* Earl of *Somerset*, *John* Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lords *Spenser*, and *Scroop* Vice-Chamberlain, whose Honour and Greatness was thought enough alone almost to justify a false Accusation. Next, All Endeavours were used to procure such a Parliament as might be ready to concur with the King's designs; and lest the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* should attempt any thing for the defence of their Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, whom they knew to be a Prisoner at *Callis*, or the Friends of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* should undertake their Rescue, the King provided a strong Guard of *Cheshire*-Men, and four thousand Archers, besides the Forces which he had order'd the Lords of his Party to bring with them, to attend and guard the Parliament, which might at the same time be an awe upon any refractory Members.

Twenty third
Parliament,
its Acts.

These things being thus prepared, the Parliament was summon'd to meet at *Westminster* about the middle of September, which it did accordingly. The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester* doubting of their own safety, because their Brother was imprison'd, brought along with them a strong Body of Men to defend themselves, and were received into *London*, tho' the King before had forbidden the Citizens to entertain them; but certain of the Nobility, who were sent to them from the King, giving them Assurances that there was no ill intended against them, and that nothing should be done against the Lords but with their Advice and Concurrence, so pre-

vail'd with them that they dismissed their Forces home. The Lords of the King's Party, viz. the Earls of *Darby*, *Marshall*, *Rutland*, and *Northumberland*, the Lords *Spenser*, *Henry* and *Thomas Peircys*, and *Scroop*, brought great Troops of arm'd Attendants, which they kept and lodg'd in the Towns about *London* all the Session. It was open'd by *Edward* Stafford Bishop of *Exeter*, then Lord Chancellor, who in a grave Speech deliver'd, 'That the King was of absolute and uncontrollable Authority, inferiour to none but God; and that all Persons that shall dare to lessen or limit his Power, upon any pretences whatsoever, are worthy of Death, as wicked Traitors. These Words within the House, being seconded with the Guards without, were thought a manifest Indication, that not Law but arbitrary Power was to order matters that Session. In the lower House, Sir *John Busby*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, the King's Creatures, had a strong party, so that they could carry all things as they pleased. Sir *John Busby* was chosen the Speaker of the Commons, and a Vote pass presently, 'That any one that should be convicted of opposing the King's Power and Regality should suffer as a Traitor. These Foundations of Action being laid, the King by his Attorney prefer'd his Complaint of Rebellion and Treason against *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several others, submitting the Judgment of them, to the Parliament. Sir *John Busby* having aggravated the Crimes and Ingratitude of the said Peers, first required, That since the former Grace and Favour had wrought so little upon them, their Pardons might be revoked; which was accordingly done: And then he demanded Judgment upon them for their late Crimes, and particularly for Treason, in compelling the King to grant them a Commission to govern the Realm; and upon the Archbishop for procuring the said Commissions, and granting their Pardons. The Archbishop rose up to make his Defence, but the King enjoyn'd him Silence till the next day, and then upon his Appearance in the House he commanded him by the Bishop of *Carlisle* to go home; and so he came to the House no more. After his departure, the King having order'd the Bishops to choose themselves a Procurator, because it was not lawful for them to be present in cases of Blood, (whereupon they chose Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and departed the House) he granted a Commission to several Peers, of which the Duke of *Lancaster* was High-Steward, to examine and try them for all Crimes and Treasons laid against them. The King had a little before prepared a large Building, like an Hall, open on all sides but the Roof, for their Tryal, with Seats for himself, the Parliament, the Appellants and Defendants. When the Day of their Arraignment was come, and the Earls were brought out to their Examination, the Appellant Lords accused them as Traitors, for

1. Forcing the King to grant them a Commission for the Government of his Realm.
2. For usurping the Regal Authority in holding a Parliament in prejudice of the King's Royal Dignity, under pretence of that traiterous Commission.
3. For traiterously murdering Sir *Simon Burley* and Sir *James Barnish*, two of the King's faithful Leige-Subjects, without the King's consent: And,
4. For raising a traiterous Insurrection at *Haringey-Park*, and entering arm'd with the Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Warwick* into the King's presence; and then

A.
1397.

A. D.
1397.

Earl of Arundel try'd and condemn'd.

then severally flung down their Gloves, offering to justifie their Accusation by Fight. The Earl of *Arundel*, *Richard Fitz-Allen*, first answer'd, and boldly deny'd their Charge, saying, 'That he was not a Traitor in Thought, Word or Deed; and that what he had acted, either by Virtue of the aforesaid Commission, or while he was in Arms with the Duke of *Glocester* and the Earl of *Warwick*, was not done with any ill Intention against the King's Person, but for the good of the King and his Realm, which he did not doubt but he could make good against any or all the Appellants by fight, if it would please the King to permit him so to vindicate his Innocency against their false Accusations. But because his Enemies had him now in their power, and his most innocent Actions would (as he very well knew) be construed in the worst sense; and what they had alledged as Treasons, they would make such, he added, as his firmest Plea, which he would abide by; that those very Acts, if Treasonable, were pardon'd to him by the King's Grace, and that not only more publicly with the Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Warwick*, but he had a special and a particuler Pardon for himself. The Duke of *Lancaster* and Sir *John Busby* immediately reply'd, 'That both those Pardons were revoked by the King, his Lords, and his faithful People assembled in Parliament, and therefore could not avail him in this Case. The Earl reply'd, 'That the Revocation of his Pardon was not done by the People, for they lamented him, but by him and his Company, who love no faithful dealings. Then the Duke of *Lancaster* asked him if he had any thing farther to alledge for himself? But he said, 'The King's Pardon was freely granted him, and the benefit of it he hoped would not be deny'd him, for he insisted upon it. But that being over-ruled, they proceeded to give Sentence upon him in this form: *I John, Steward of England, judge thee, Richard, to be a Traitor; and I condemn thee to be drawn and hang'd, beheaded and quarter'd; and thy Land, entail'd and not entail'd, from thee and from thine Heirs of thy Body descending to be confiscated.* This usual Sentence in Treason was, according to the Custom, by the King's Grace released to him in respect to his Blood, and he was commanded to be beheaded according to his Condemnation; which was executed upon him the same Afternoon upon *Tower-hill*, and his Body was interr'd in the *Austin-Fryars* Church in *Broad-street*, *London*. This Noble Earl behav'd himself with much Courage and Calmness in his Sufferings. In his passage to his Execution he gave all the Money he had to the Poor, that he might carry their Prayers with him to his Grave. Several Lords attended him to his Execution, and among them three that were nearly related to him, the Earl of *Nottingham* that marry'd his Daughter, the Earl of *Kent* his Sisters Son, and the Earl of *Huntington*. These Men's forwardness he could

not but take notice of, and therefore told them, 'It had been more decent for them to have been absent; but since they pleased themselves in his Misfortunes, he could foretell them, that their Miseries in a short time would be as remarkable as his then were. Then turning to the Executioner, he felt the Sword, and desired him to do his Office as carefully and speedily as he could; and kneeling down, his Head was separated from his Body at one Blow. His Lands, which were Confiscated to the King, were annexed to the Earldom of *Cheshire*, which thereupon was advanced to a Duchy. His Death was much lamented by the Commons, among whom he was in very great esteem for Valour, and his Love of the common Good. Divers Reports were carry'd about, that Miracles were done by his Reliques, and that his Head was again miraculously cemented to his Body; which meeting with a good Opinion of him in Men's Minds, caused him to be honoured as a Martyr.

The Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas Beauchamp*, was next brought to his Tryal, and accused of the same Heads of Treason. He answer'd for himself, 'That he never knew that it was Treason to ride so arm'd, as he confess'd he had done in *Haringey Park*; but since the Judges had declared it to be so, he begg'd the King's Pardon; and with many effeminate Tears besought the Nobles to intercede for him to his Majesty. The King asked him, 'Whether he acknowledged himself guilty of the Treason charged on him? The Earl answered, 'That he could not deny it, and wished he had never seen the Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Arundel*, by whom he was led into it. Then the King having conferr'd a little while with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and received the Requests of several Peers to save his Life, told the Earl, 'That the ingenious Confession of his Fault had more pleased him then all the profit of their Lands could, and therefore he would pardon his Life. But his Estate was seiz'd upon for the King's use, and the Earl was banish'd into the Isle of *Man*, with an Allowance of four thousand Nobles a Year for his own and Lady's Maintenance; but it was so badly paid, that they are said to have liv'd there in great Poverty, which was so much the heavier to them, because of their old Age. The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheyney* were indicted, and condemned for the same Treasons; but by the Intercession of some of the Peers, their Lives were spared, and they were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been summon'd to answer for the said Treasons, but was excused by the King, and pardon'd, with the Archbishop of *Tork*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and some others, was at the earnest Importunity of Sir *John Busby*, and the Commons of his party, banished, and his Temporalities seized into the King's hands, having six Weeks limited for his departure. While these Tryals of the Peers were carrying on, a Certi-

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The Earl of Warwick try'd and banish'd.

Beheaded on Tower-hill.

a The King was present at his Execution. *Froissard*.
b This Earldom was never advanc'd into a Duchy. See *Camb. sub. Tit. Cheshire*.
c The People, who always pretend to be the best Judges of their Interest, and can distinguish their Friends from their Enemies, were ever ready to venerate the Memory of Patriots; and as they formerly reckon'd the Earl of *Lancaster* a Saint, so now they esteem'd the Earl of *Arundel* as a Martyr. Pilgrimages were daily made to the Place of his Burial in *Austin-Fryars*, *London*. A Rumour was spread about in those superstitious Times, that his Head was miraculously fix'd to his Body. The King knowing such Reports were design'd to reflect on his Justice, caus'd the Corps to be taken up and view'd ten Days after its Interment. He commanded the Ground where it lay to be pay'd in, and no mention to be made of the place; forbidding any Discourses in his favour. However, 'twas constantly averr'd for a Truth, that the King's Mind was disturb'd with the Horror of this Murder, and that he was haunted with an Apparition of his Ghost. 'Tis certainly true, that the Proceedings of this pack'd Parliament hasten'd the end of this King's Arbitrary Power in his Dethronement and Death.

A. D. 1397. *Duke of Gloucester, tho' Dead, condemn'd.* ficate came from the Earl of Nottingham then Captain of *Calis*, that the Duke of Gloucester was Dead, and Judge *Rikell* read a Confession of several Treasons owned and acknowledged by the Duke of Gloucester under his own hand; whereupon at the Petition of the Appellants, the same Sentence was pronounc'd against him, tho' Dead, which was pass'd upon the Earl of Arundel, but his Body was allow'd to be deliver'd to his Friends, by whose care it was convey'd to *Pleshey*, and honourably interr'd in the Tomb which he had there prepar'd for himself in his Life-time in the Church.

After these Judgments pass'd on the Peers, the Parliament sat some time, till near *Christmas*, and pass'd several Acts relating to the present State of Affairs, viz. That all Benefices or Gifts granted or alienated by those that were already condemn'd, or should be hereafter condemn'd by this Parliament, granted since the tenth Year of this King, should be revoked and made void. That all such as gave either Counsel, Aid, or Favour, to the Children of such as were or should hereafter be condemn'd in this Parliament, should be punish'd as Traitors. That all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal should swear inviolably to observe whatsoever in this Parliament was enacted, and that the Censures of the Church should be pronounced by the Prelates, against all those that should oppose or violate them. That all such Persons as ow'd any Moneys to *Rocheſter Bridge*, should be restrain'd for the Payment of it for the use of the said Bridge. In the time of this Session, the King being desirous to see the Forces of the City of *London*, caus'd them to muster before him upon *Blackheath*. He also order'd, that the Arms of King *Edward the Confessor* should be added to his own, and bare them together *parte per pale*. And then the Parliament was prorogued till after *Christmas*, and appointed to meet at *Shrewsbury* on the *Quindene* of *S. Hilary*, Jan. 28.

1398. *Twenty-fourth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.*

The King having thus removed his Enemies, either by Death or Banishment, kept a triumphant and magnificent *Christmas* at *Litchfield*, and at the time perfixed went to *Shrewsbury* to meet his Parliament. At his first Arrival he held a great Feast for all his Nobility and Commons, at which he created five Dukes, a Dutchess, a Marquess, and four Earls, viz. *Henry Bul- lingbrooke* Earl of *Darby* he made Duke of *Hereford*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Aumerle*, and of *Corke* in *Ireland*; *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington* Duke of *Exeter*; *Thomas Mowbreys* Earl of *Nottingham* and Marshal Duke of *Norfolk*; the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Norfolk*, Dutchess of *Norfolk*; *John* Earl of *Somerset* Marquiss of *Dorset*; *Thomas* Lord *Spenser* Earl of *Gloceſter*; *Ralph* Lord *Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland*; *William* Lord *Scroop* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Peirce* Vice-Chamberlain Earl of *Worceſter*; to and among whom he dispos'd of the greatest part of the Estates of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, thinking thereby to oblige them more firmly to be his Friends. At this time he made the Earldom of Chester a Principality, and assum'd to himself

the Name and Title of the Prince of Chester to grace that Honour the more. And as the King sought all means to strengthen himself, and greaten his Power, so also did the Parliament; for they enacted, That the Commissions granted by the King to certain Noblemen to inquire into and reform Abuses in the Realm, Anno 10. of his Reign, should be repealed as extorted from the King by Threats, and that no such Commission should be granted for the future; and that the Heirs of such Persons as had been sentenc'd by the said Commission should be restored to their Inheritances, Lands and Possessions, but should not exact the Revenues of the Possessors from that time. 1. That it should be high Treason for any Person whatsoever to compass or imagine the King's Death; 2. To contrive his Deposition; 3. To ride armed, or make War against the King in his Realm; Or 4. to disclaim the Homage due to him; and that the Heirs of all Persons who were convicted of any of the said four Articles of Treason, should be for ever deprived of the Lands and Possessions of their Ancestors, and should not be allowed to have an Action of Claim for them. The King also obtained, that the whole Power of both Houses should for a time be put into the hands of certain Persons nominated by himself, viz. *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Duke of *Tork*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke of *Exeter*, *John* Marquiss of *Dorset*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *March*, *Gloceſter*, and *Wiltſhire*, Sir *John* *Husby*, and some others. These Men were enabled by Virtue of the said Grant to hear and determine all Matters and Petitions not ended in the last Session; and by Virtue of that Concession, proceeded to conclude and determine almost what they pleased. In the end of the Session the King had a Tenth and half of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth and a half of the Laity granted him, besides the Customs of Wool at 50s. a Sack of every *Englishman*, and 3l. of every Stranger, and so the Parliament broke up; and a general Pardon immediately follow'd their Dismission, of all Persons but fifty, not named, which was done to keep the Nobility in Awe, the King being at Liberty to except almost whom he pleased by that means.

A. D. 1398.

The King having thus establish'd his Power, and put himself beyond all Opposition and Contradiction, thought himself secure and an absolute Prince; but it being laid upon such a Foundation as begat many Discontents among the People, all the Fabrick proved weak, and was soon followed with lamentable Ruin. The Parliament was indeed dissolved, but there was strange murmuring about several things that attended it and were done by it, as 1. That it was a Parliament not freely chosen, but pack'd by the King's Interests, consisting of Men imposed on the Shires and Towns by the King's Authority. 2. That it was wholly managed by Court Favourites, and had bent all its Endeavours to destroy the Liberties and Privileges of the People. 3. That tho' the Duke of Gloucester was so illegally murder'd, they were so far from punishing the wicked Actors, that they

Discontents about the 1st Parliament.

* By this *Rocheſter Bridge*, I suppose the Author means a Petition of the Commons to the King, that he wou'd be pleas'd to order three or four thousand Marks to be distributed among those Persons that had been plunder'd at *Radcot Bridge*, when the Duke of *Ireland* was defeated by the Earl of *Darby*; for there is no mention of any Tax for *Rocheſter Bridge* in this Session.

b These Lords were created on *Saturday*, being *Michaelmas-Day*, Anno 1397. *Rot. Parl.* 21. *Rich.* II.

c Sir *John* *Hayward* in his *Hist. of Hen.* IV. says, the Earl of *Somerset* was created Marquiss of *Somerset*, which is most likely, because *Thomas de Beaufort* his younger Brother was afterwards in the thirteenth Year of *Hen.* IV. Anno 1412. made Earl of *Dorset*. This Nobleman was the first that ever bore the Title of Marquiss in *England*.

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approved their Deeds. 4. That the Lords, who had deserved well of the Nations, and were pardon'd all irregular Actions, were made guilty by an unpresidented Power of revoking their Pardons. 5. That by difannulling the Grants of the condemn'd Persons, made so many Years before, they had deprived many honest and good Men, both Menial Servants of the said Lords and others, of their lawful Inheritances and Estates. 6. That they had not only laid heavy Taxes upon the Nation themselves, but had exalted the King's Authority to such a pitch, and allow'd him such a Power of acting, that he need not observe any Laws but his Will. These things concurring with other Matters of Complaint in the King's Actions, partly grounded on the Grants of Parliament it self, as his imposing the Oaths so severely on all Persons to observe inviolably the Ordinances of it, and farming the Taxes to *Busby, Baggot, and Green*, who exacted them with the utmost Rigour and Severity; and partly on his own Management, as that he was prodigal in his Expences, lewd in his Behaviour, and partial in his Favours: That he discountenanc'd his ancient Nobility, and preferr'd such Persons to his nearest Attendance as were neither eminent for Birth nor Virtue, on whom he bestow'd the Revenues of the Crown, and impoverish'd the Nation by it: That he preferred such of the Clergy to Bishopricks and other Dignities of the Church, as either favour'd or joyn'd with him in his lewd Courses. These things alienated the Hearts of the People so much from him, that they lay expos'd to a Revolt upon the least Temptation; of which an Occasion shortly after happen'd after this manner, tho' it were some time before it was brought about.

Reg. 22.
The Conference between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.

The Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* riding between *Brainford* and *London*, and discoursing friendly among themselves about Affairs of State, the Duke of *Hereford* having observed how fast the People's Affections toward the King declined, freely deliver'd his Thoughts to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and told him, 'That the present Management and Ministers were very distasteful to the Nation in general; That the King was made odious by his mean and bad Counsellors, who not only rais'd the Envy of the Nobles by enjoying the Favours which was their due, but gain'd him the Hatred of the People by their Conduct, which manifestly tended to their own, nor the publick Interest; and therefore he advis'd the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was a Privy-Counsellor, and had an easie Access to the King's Ear to advertise the King of it, that he might by a prudent Alteration of things prevent the ill Consequences which would certainly follow; adding, That it was not out of any ill Will he bore to the King, or an Humour of finding

fault that he said this, but out of a pure desire of the Happiness of the King and his Government. The Duke of *Norfolk* seem'd to assent to the Duke *Hereford's* words, as very necessary and good Counsel, and promised to represent them so fairly to the King, that they might have the Effect he wish'd, and so they parted.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was not unmindful of his Promise, but being sensible how ungrateful a Message it was to the King, or perhaps designing to ingratiate himself by the Report, he gave

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a very invidious Relation of the Duke of *Hereford's* Words to him, adding such aggravating Expressions of his own inventing, as made them look like a Calumny both of his Majesty and Government. The King, who was ever very impatient of Reproof, was extremely enrag'd at the Duke of *Hereford*, and sends for him to appear before the Council to answer the Accusation brought against him by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Duke of *Hereford* appeared, and having heard what the Duke of *Norfolk* had alledg'd against him, thank'd the King for his Favour in giving him Liberty to answer for himself, and then ingenuously confess'd what he had said, and with what Intention; but accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of perverting and misrepresenting his Discourse, either out of Malice or Flattery, which he offer'd to justify against the Duke of *Norfolk* by Combat, if the King would permit him. The Duke of *Norfolk* unwilling to undergo the Disgrace either of recanting his words, or refusing a Defence of them, stoutly avouch'd the Truth of his Relation, and flinging down his Glove, accepted the Combat. The King was unwilling to grant their desire, and endeavour'd to pacify the Contention between them by interposing with his Authority; but when nothing would prevail with them, the King in his Passion swore by St. *John Baptist*, That he would never more concern himself to make them Friends, and granted them a Combat to be fought on Sept. 17. at *Coventry*. At the time appointed, the King order'd a strong Stage to be erected for the Combatants; but having receiv'd Information, that the People were much discontented that the Duke of *Hereford*, a Valiant and Heroick Nobleman, should be suffer'd to justify his Innocency by the Hazard of a Combat, who might be so serviceable to the Nation, he permitted them to meet and bid Defiance of each of other; but before they fought, by the Advice of his Council, put an end to the Quarrel by a Sentence of Banishment to the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years, as not wholly guiltless of the Calumny, and to the Duke of *Norfolk* for his Life, as having sown Discord by his false Information between the King and his Peers, which was executed within a few days. The Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Germany*; and from thence to *Venice*, where he

Both Dukes
Banished.

^a Sir John Hayward gives him his Character in little. In former Times he had taken part with the Lords, but afterwards was desirous to be accounted rather among the great Men than the good.

^b Polydore Virgil, the most unfaithful Historian that ever wrote of our English History, has drawn the Modern Authors into an Errour, by affirming, That the Duke of *Norfolk* accus'd the Duke *Hereford*; whereas it appears on the contrary, on Record, *Placit. Coron. in Parl.* 21. Richard II. That on the 30th of January, Henry of Lancaster came before the King with a Schedule in his hand and said thus, That having attended him before at Haywood, he there accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of slanderous Words, reflecting on his Majesty, and now by his Command he repeated the same; which Schedule is to be seen at large in the said Records.

^c 'Twas order'd by the King and the Dukes of Lancaster, York, Albemarle, Surrey and Exeter, the Marquess of Dorset, the Earls of March, Salisbury, Northumberland and Gloucester, the Earls of Worcester and Wiltshire, Sir John Busby, Sir Henry Green, Sir John Russell, Sir Robert Tey, Sir Richard Chelmswyche, and Sir John Golofor, Commissioners, appointed by the Parliament to decide the Dispute, that the Determination of this Difference shou'd be according to the Law of Chivalry. See the foremention'd Pleas of the Crown in Parliament, which Record fully confutes the Romantick Account of the Glove. The Order of the King and the Commissioners was made at Oswaldstree in Oswestre in Shropshire, on the 19th of March, and on Monday the 29th of April the two Dukes appear'd before the King at Windsor, where Battel or Duel was appointed between them, for want of other Proofs to determine the Difference.

^d In August. Sir John Hayward.

A. D. 1398. through Melancholly and Trouble dy'd. The Duke of *Hereford* at his departure had four Years of his Banishment released, when he took his leave of the King at *Eltham*; but being still forced to leave the Kingdom for six Years, he went into *France*, and was honourably received in that Court by *Charles the Sixth* then King there.

The King fined seven-
teen Coun-
ties.

The Departure of the Duke of *Hereford*, being the only surviving Person of the popular Lords who was likely to head a Faction against the Court, gave Encouragement to more arbitrary proceedings of the King and his Ministers than they had dared to attempt before. For soon after he was gone, the King imposed a great Fine upon all the chief Inhabitants of seventeen Counties in the East parts of the Nation, because they had sided with the Duke of *Glocester* and Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* against him; and having by his Agents induced the Noblemen and chief Gentry, as well Temporal as Spiritual, to acknowledge themselves Rebels and Traytors, upon assurances of Pardon, he compelled them to secure their Pardon and his Favour for the future by subscribing blank Charters, by which they obliged themselves to pay such Sums of Money to him as he should think fit to require, which prov'd very heavy to many; for some were forced to pay a thousand Pounds, and others a thousand Marks, with like insupportable Sums; commanding them also to take the Oath to maintain inviolable the Statutes of the last Parliament. This Oath, and these Charters were very offensive to the Citizens of *London*, and therefore they advised their Sheriffs, by whom they were order'd to be imposed upon them, to withstand them. The King was highly displeas'd with their refractory Opposition, and threaten'd a more then usual Severity against them. But the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roger Walden*, who was remov'd from being the King's Chaplain to that See about this time, and their old Friend *Robert Braybrooke* Bishop of *London* so effectually interceded for them to the King, that he promised to forgive them, but did not do it, till by his blank Bonds and Charters which he sent to all the richest Citizens, he had squeeze'd great Sums out of them, as he had done from the Clergy and Gentry of the seventeen Counties, and other places before.

And extorts
great Sums
from the
Londoners.

1399. On New-Years-Day the River near *Bedford*, which runs between *Swellstone* and *Harewood*, divided it self, and became dry for almost three Miles; and about the same time the Bay-trees, without any unusual or extraordinary Cold, dry'd up and wither'd; which tho' not so much taken notice of at present, yet were thought afterward to portend the Changes of State which happen'd the ensuing Year. About *Candlemas* dy'd that great and illustrious Prince, John of Gaunt Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son of *Edward the Third*, at the Bishop of *Ely's* House in *Holborn*, and was honourably interr'd in *St. Paul's Church* on the North-side of the High-Altar, by his first Wife *Blanch*, the Daughter of *Henry the First*, Duke of *Lancaster*. By his Death the Dukedom of *Lancaster* with all his other Honours and Lands descended to his

John of
Gaunt Duke
of Lancaster
dy'd.

eldest Son *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, who was then in *France*; and so not being present to take possession of his Inheritance, it was easily made a Prey to the Avarice of the Court Harpye. The King indeed had shew'd some Favour to the Duke of *Hereford* when he left his Country, and besides the Release of some of the Years of Banishment inflicted by the first Sentence, he granted to him by his Letters-Patents a power to sue out by his Attorney a Livery to any Lands or Possessions, holding of the King in Capite, which should or might befall him in his absence, and a respite of his Homage, till he should return, for a reasonable Fine. But the rich Booty which was expos'd to their Pleasure and Will by his absence, so allured their desires, that contrary to all Justice and Faith they persuaded the King to revoke his Grant, and seize upon the Duke of *Lancaster's* whole Estate for the time of his Son's Banishment, which he made perpetual by their Advice; and thereupon disposed of his personal Estate to and among his Favourites. This arbitrary and unkingly Action brought an Odium upon the King, not only from the Commons, who being factiously enamour'd with him, took every thing ill that was look'd upon as tending to his prejudice; but the Nobility themselves, who began to doubt of their security under so easie a King, and such covetous Counsellors. *Edmund* Duke of *Tork*, the only Uncle of the King that survived, who seem'd not much concern'd at the Death of his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, shew'd a great disgust at these Proceedings, and with his Son the Duke of *Anmerle* retired from Court to his Country-house at *Langley*, and others of the Nobility withdrew their Company from the King, because they found it ungrateful. But tho' the Duke of *Hereford's* Inheritance brought greater severity upon him in *England*, yet it was a cause of his greater Preferment and Favour in *France*; for being there reputed to be one of the Richest by his Father's Death, as well as Bravest Princes in the World for his Natural Courage, he was courted for a Match to the only Daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, the *French King's* Uncle, which was certainly a very great Honour to a banish'd Man. But King *Richard* having intelligence of the Design, and foreseeing how much such an increase of the Duke of *Hereford's* Interest might prove prejudicial to him, dispatched over the Earl of *Salisbury* immediately to hinder it by false Suggestions and a flattering Persuasion, that it would be a great Dishonour to a Lady of the Royal Blood of *France* to be marry'd to an English Rebel and notorious Traitor; and so prevented the *French King's* Kindness to him. So great an Enemy was King *Richard* to the prosperous Fortunes of the Duke of *Hereford* both at home and abroad.

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About the time of the Duke of *Lancaster's* Death happen'd several things of Importance; the Earl of *Arundel's* eldest Son, *Thomas Fitz-Allen*, who had been kept a close Prisoner in the Earl of *Exeter's* House ever since his Father's Death, made his escape from his Confinement, and by the help of one *William Scott* a Mercer, got over the Sea to his Uncle, the late Archbishop of *Arundel*, then sojourning at *Cullen*;

King's In-
justice to the
Duke of
Hereford
after his Fa-
ther's Death.

* The Pleas before cited report, That all this was done by the full Advice, Authority, and Assent of Parliament, (that is, the Committee) and not by his absolute Power, tho' he pretended to it, and was as fond of it as any of his Successors. Sir John Hayward observes, That the Sentence was given against the Duke of *Norfolk* the same Day of the Year wherein the Duke of *Glocester*, by his wicked means was strangled at *Callis*.

b Where his Tomb remain'd till the late general Conflagration, Anno 1666.

c He granted the same to the Duke of *Norfolk*.

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1399.

The Irish re-
volt, and the
King goes
over in Per-
son against
them.

the Bishop of *Chalcedon* also came into *England* out of *Greece* with Apostolical Letters from the Pope, exhorting all well-disposed Persons to assist the Emperor of *Constantinople* with a liberal Contribution of Money, that he might be able to defend *Christendom* against the Inroads of the *Tartars*, and encouraging them to so important a Work by a plenary Pardon of their Sins; but another Accident hinder'd his Success, and that was the Revolt of the *Irish*. For *Roger Mortimer* the Earl of *March* and *Ulster* (who was lately declared Heir Apparent to the Crown, and made Lieutenant of that Nation) being besieged at *Kenlis* by a very strong Body of the wild *Irish*, was there slain in a Sally with many of his Men, and the *English* Towns left as a Prey to the Natives, who under *Obrian*, *Mackmore*, and others, committed great Barbarity and Spoil upon the King's Subjects there. The news of this Rebellion much disturb'd the King and his Council, and put them into many Perplexities what to do; they had no Preparations for a War, and 'twould be a shame to the Nation to leave that Kingdom, which had cost so much to conquer, and had been held so long by the *English*, in the hands of the Enemy: Whereupon it was at last resolv'd, That the King should raise an Army; and go over himself in Person to subdue them to their Obedience. Money was wanting, which is the Sinew of War; and therefore the Ministers were forced to use many Exactions to raise a Sum to provide for the Expedition, partly borrowing upon the King's Letters-Patents of the Bishops and others, and partly extorting it from those that were unwilling to lend him; and tho' the Necessities of the Nation, and Interests of it might have been some excuse for his Actions, yet his extravagant Expences in Peace, when wise Princes are to provide a Treasure against War, were so good an Argument against his present Wants, that tho' he did indeed raise a considerable Army, yet it was with the extream Discontent of the whole Nation. In the Spring the King was ready to embark for *Ireland* with his Army, but lest he should leave his Queen in discontent for his departure, he celebrated solemn Jufts to divert her several Days; and about *Whitsuntide* set forward toward *Bristol*, and in two hundred Ships passed from *Milford-Haven* in *Wales* with his Army into *Ireland*, and landed safely at *Waterford* on the last Day of *May*, having with him the Duke of *Exeter*, the Duke of *Glocester's* and *Hereford's* Sons, several Bishops, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and many other Noblemen; and leaving his Uncle the Duke of *York* his Deputy in *England*, whom he had order'd to send *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle* with some Reinforcements to his Army; that he might not be too weak for the Enterprize, if the Troops he carry'd were not sufficient. While the King remain'd at *Bristol* he had some Information given him, that *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and some other Noblemen, were contriving an Insurrection in his absence: Whereupon the King by his Pursuivant sent to the said Earl and his Associates to attend him in this Expedition with all their Force they could gather together. The Earl of *Northumberland* return'd Answer, 'That it was not safe to draw away the Strength of the North to go against the *Irish*, whom a less Force than what he had with him was enough to subdue, because by that means he should expose those Countries to the Injuries of the *Scotish* Borderers, who waited all Opportunities, as the King well

The Earl of
Northum-
berland ac-
cused of Treason,
and his
Estate confisc-
ated.

knew, to make their Advantages of *England*, and were no longer Friends than they wanted a fair Occasion to shew their Enmity with gain to themselves; That since there was no Guard of those appointed in his absence, he hoped his Majesty would be better advis'd than to require his Attendance, which would be a greater disadvantage to him at Home than his Service could profit him Abroad. This modest Answer was look'd upon by the King as a crafty Evasion of his Command, and confirm'd him in his opinion that he was guilty of the Accusation brought against him: Wherefore to deter him from any farther Attempts, he seized upon his Estate, and proclaim'd him and his Associates Traitors, and so departed into *Ireland*.

The King being arriv'd in *Ireland*, stay'd some days at *Waterford* to refresh his Army; and then march'd forward to *Kilkenny*, where he resolv'd to stay some time for the arrival of the Duke of *Aumerle*, whom he daily expected. The King's Army struck such a Terror into the *Irish* Rebels that they dare not appear against him; but after their usual manner kept close in the Woods, and by Parties made their Assaults upon the *English*, as they happen'd to meet with Advantages. But the *English* being acquainted with their Artifices, went so well prepar'd for their Encounters, that they slew many of them. For *Jenico Dartois*, a valiant Captain under the King, in one Skirmish at *Ford* in *Kenlis*, slew two Hundred of them with the Soldiers under his Command; and the Citizens of *Dublin* invaded the Country of *Obrian*, and slew above thirty, with very little loss. When the King had stay'd about a Fortnight at *Kilkenny*, and saw the Duke of *Aumerle* not come, he set forward and invaded the Country of the Arch-rebel *Mackmore*, who keeping in the Woods with about three Thousand Men, little valued the King's Army. The King had two Thousand five Hundred Pioneers with him to grub up the Woods, and open Passages for his Army, who were set to work, but could not by Art and Diligence come at him; so that the *English* rather suffer'd than gain'd by this Attempt, because many of them were slain by *Mackmore's* Men when they were foraging. The Uncle of *Mackmore*, and several of the *Irish* of better Note, came to the King with Wythes about their Necks, submitted themselves to his Mercy, and were pardon'd. This the King thought would be a good Example for *Mackmore* himself to imitate, and therefore invited him to come and accept of the same Mercy. But *Mackmore* understanding that the *English* could not long subsist in those places for want of Provision, which could not be had by Force or Money, refused to submit, but offered to lay down his Arms upon assurance of Indemnity for his past Offences, and to have his Liberty for the future. This Answer much enraged the King, so that he swore he would not leave *Ireland* till he had *Mackmore* dead or alive; and being forced to retreat to *Dublin* to refresh and victual his Army, took such Courses as he thought most effectual to obtain his ends. For first he published a Proclamation, wherein he promised a great Reward to any Person that should bring *Mackmore* to him alive or dead; and after he had rested and refreshed his Army fifteen days, he divided it into three parts, and sent them out to besiege the Enemy on all sides, and reduce them if possible. Just as the King had thus sent out his Army, the Duke of *Aumerle* arrived with a great Inforcement in an hundred Ships; and tho' his delay was blame-
worthy,

A. D.
1399.

The King's
arrival in
Ireland, and
Action there.

A. D. 1399. worthy, yet the King received him with much Joy, and by the Conjunction of his Forces brought so many of the *Irish* into subjection, that had he not been call'd home, he had reduced *Ireland* into as intire Obedience as ever. But his Fate was now to rule no longer, and the Period of his Dignity came thus.

The Conspiracy to depose King Richard, with the Reasons and Causes of it.

The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Nation having for several Years past been intolerably oppressed and slighted by the King and his Favourites, and now at the King's departure into *Ireland* vexed with unjust Exactions, began to long for Relief, and having an opportunity by the King's absence to put their Designs in Execution, contriv'd to settle the Crown on another Head, which might govern them with greater Prudence as well as Mercy. The Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends, who had suffer'd lately so deeply for suspicion, were among the forwardest in this Action, hoping to regain their Losses by a real, which they had undergone for a supposed Insurrection. The Person whom they thought fittest to wield a Scepter, tho' he had none, was *Henry of Bullingbroke* Duke of *Lancaster* and *Hereford*. He had all the Qualifications fit to make an excellent King, as well as a Lineal Title to it. For he was the Son of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son of *Edward III.* and after the Death of *Roger Mortimer* lately kill'd in *Ireland*, next allied to the Crown*. He was a Prince of great Wisdom, Courage and Experience, a Lover of the Commons, and a Friend to the Nobles, and having smarted so severely by the Injustice and Cruelty of a bad King, was most likely to make a good one, by not laying those unjust Impositions upon others Shoulders, when he found so heavy on his own. He was indeed in *France*, but would gladly have return'd home, if he safely might have done it before; how much more now, being invited by the People, and allured by a Crown: Wherefore they took up a general Resolution to send for him with all the privacy and speed possible, assuring him of their hearty assistance in settling upon him what they so much desired he would accept. These their Requests and Desires they drew up into a Letter, and sent it over by faithful Messengers to Archbishop *Arundel*, who was then in *Britain*, whom by Letters they also importun'd to be their Advocate with the Duke to comply with them. The Archbishop, being a Fellow-sufferer, gladly accepted the Office, and went with the Messengers to the Duke of *Hereford* at *Paris*, where having obtained a Secrecy fit for a matter of such Importance, they delivered their Letters from the Nobles and Commons of *England*, and the Archbishop seconded them with the best Persuasions which Reason could invent, or Rhetorick urge. He represented to him the Misery of the present State of the *English* Nation, That they were utterly ruined and destroyed by the ill Management of the publick Affairs; in which tho' the King himself were not actually concerned, yet so long as he employed and upheld such unfit Ministers, he

could not be thought fit to govern; That it is far more intolerable to be Slaves to mean Persons than to the King himself, and therefore so long as the King could not be won from maintaining their Pride and Tyranny over his Subjects, it was hardly any Crime to depose that Person, who left his Power in such base Hands; That the present Condition of the Nation was so low and distracted, that nothing but a present Remedy can save it from utter Ruine; for the ancient Honour of the Nation for Chivalry was degenerated into Effeminacy, and the Men who were famous for their Courage and Conduct, either put to death or banished, the Nobility is contemned and slighted, the Gentry abused, and the Commons miserably polled and taxed, and that not to support the Government, but the Pride and Avarice of their Fellow-Subjects; That the Relief of these Grievances could not be expected from any Hands but his reasonably, not only because he was so eminent for all warlike Atchievements, but because he had so near a Relation to the Crown; and therefore the Nation had devolv'd their Hopes of Ease entirely upon him, which he in Honour and Duty ought to endeavour, especially since they had resolv'd to stand by him in the Attempt, and it could hardly prove unfortunate to him, where so much Love, Power, and Interest were united. The Duke, who had all the Reason in the World to hearken to these Proposals, because 'twas the only way left him to revenge the barbarous Death of his Uncle, recover his own Honour and his Estate, free himself of an uneasie Banishment, and restore his Family and Children to their Natural Rights, yet was not so much enamour'd with so fair an Offer of a Crown, but he was very cautious of the Acceptance, and told them, That tho' he was sensible of the bad state of things in *England*, which stood in great need of a present Redress, and was much obliged to his Countrymen for their good Opinion of him, yet he was not unsensible of the great danger in attempting the deposing of a King, and the fickleness of People's Affections; which tho' they might lead Men into hazardous Attempts, yet seldom held up to carry them through, and therefore could hardly think it prudent to trust to them. He declared himself free from all ambitious and aspiring Thoughts, being now of more staid Years and Consideration; and if he should engage in so difficult an Action, 'twould be more for the Love of his Country than his own Honour; That tho' 'twas some motive to rescue himself and Family from ruine, yet it was much greater to retrieve an whole Nation; and therefore since the Nobles and Gentry had gone too far to retreat with safety, he would rather run the hazard of his own Life than desert them; and so dismissed the Messengers with promises of Acceptance if the Nobles and People of *England* would hold to their Petition^b. This Answer, which was carry'd back with as great secrecy

A. D. 1399.

The Duke of Lancaster and Hereford solicited to take the Crown.

* He could not be ally'd to the Crown the nearer for *Mortimer's* Death, that Lord having left a Son, *Edmund Mortimer*, who possess'd his Right.

^b He objected to the Archbishop the Unlawfulness of the Design, to whom the Bishop thus reply'd: Examples of casting a King out of his State are not rare (as you affirm) nor long since put in practice, nor far hence to be fetch'd. The Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* are oftentimes banish'd by their Subjects, oftentimes imprison'd and put to their Fine. The Princes of *Germany*, about an hundred Years past, depos'd *Adolphus* the Emperor, and are now in hand to depose their Emperor *Wenceslaus*. The Earl of *Flanders* was a while since driven out of his Dominions by his own People, for usurping greater Power than appertain'd to his Estate. The ancient *Britains* chas'd away their own King *Caractacus*, for the Lewdness of his Life, and Cruelty of his Rule. In the time of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, *Bernardus* King of *Mercia*, for his Pride and Stentness towards his People was by them depos'd. Likewise *Alfredus* and *Ethelbertus*, Kings of *Northumberland*, were for their Disorders expell'd by their Subjects. Since the Victory of the Normans the Lords endeavour'd to expel King *Henry the Third*, but they were not able; yet were they able to depose King *Edward the Second*, &c. Sir John Hayward, *Henry IV.* p. 67.

A. D. 1399. as Haste, set the Nobles of *England* on work to raise what Men they could ready to receive him; and the Duke himself carrying the Matter very closely, obtain'd Leave of the *French King* to go and visit the Duke of *Britain* his Kinsman, that he might pass the more unsuspected into *England*. Archbishop *Arundel*, and his Nephew *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, lately escap'd out of Prison in *England*, the Lord *Cobham*, and some other Gentlemen of Note attended him. The Duke of *Britain* accommodated them with some Ships and Men for his design; but the Duke had so great Confidence in the *English Nobles*, that he would carry no Force along with him, but a small Guard of thirty Lances ^a. From Port Blanc in *Britain* they set sail for *England*, and being arriv'd, hover'd a while upon the Coasts to observe in what Forwardness the Nobles were for his Reception, and where he might most safely Land. The Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends, whose fresh Injuries had made them most zealous Enemies to King *Richard*, had so well dispos'd the People of the North to the Duke of *Lancaster*, that he easily found their Kindness to him; and thereupon Landed ^b at *Ravon Spurr* in *Holderness* in *Yorkshire*. The News of his Arrival was no sooner spread Abroad, but the common People flocked in to his Assistance, and the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Son *Henry Hotspur* ^c, the Earl of *Westmorland*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Darcy*, *Beaumont*, and many other Persons of Honour, with a considerable Body of Men, came to him; insomuch, that in a very few Days his Army was grown to near sixty Thousand well accouter'd and able Men.

The Duke of *York*, who was the Governour of the Nation in the King's absence, had Intelligence of these things, and like a Person faithful to his Trust, took the most effectual means to meet the impending Danger; and calling the King's Council together, propounded it to them, to consult by what ways they might secure the Nation in its Obedience to their King, and prevent the Designs of the Invader. The chief Men of the Council were *Edmund Stafford* Bishop of *Exeter*, Lord Chancellor ^d; *William Scroop* Earl of *Wiltshire*, Lord Treasurer; *John Busby*, *William Baggot*, *Henry Green*, and *John Ruffel*, Knights. These Men, upon deliberate Thoughts, resolv'd, That it was best to leave *London*, which had been lately disoblig'd, and had always been inclin'd to the Lords Party, and raise an Army about *St. Alban's*, for the Defence of the King and Nation, with which they might oppose the Duke of *Lancaster* either at his Landing, or before he had gotten a Body of Men together to his Assistance. This Advice was immediately put in Execution, and an Army of Men, whose Loyalty put them upon that Service, gotten together; but when they understood that they were to fight against the Duke of *Lancaster*, they unanimously declared that they would not oppose him, because his Quarrel was so just, and they believed he sought not the Crown, but the Restitution of his Right, which it would be the highest Injustice to keep him from. This Answer quite discourag'd the King's Friends, for they easily saw their Army, tho' in number sufficient to have done much, yet was not to be trusted to; and therefore dismissing it, betook themselves to other ways for their Security. The Duke of *York* and Bishop of *Exeter* kept a good Body of Men with them ^e,

but the Lord *Scroop*, *Busby*, and *Green*, fled to *Bristol*, and fortified themselves in the Castle; *Baggot* went to *Chester*, and so escap'd into *Ireland*. A. D. 1399.

The Duke of *Lancaster* and *Hereford*, who had found Fortune even to out-go his own Wishes, was invited to proceed in his Attempt by it; and therefore having taken an Oath to the Lords, That he would neither procure nor permit any bodily Harm to be done to King *Richard*; That he would require only the Lands which were descended to him by Inheritance from his Father, and in Right of his Wife; That he would obtain, that the Commons should be eased of their Taxes and Subsidies, cause the King to send home his Guard of *Cheshire* Men, and bring him to a better Order of Government; he made all the haste he could to *London*, the Metropolis of the Nation, of which if he could get the Possession, he should easily master the rest. In his Passage his Army daily increased, partly through the general Inclination that the People had to him, and partly through the Encouragement that Archbishop *Arundel* gave them by his Pardons from the Pope, promising Remission of all their Sins to such as would assist the Duke against his Enemies. The Duke of *York* had gotten an Army to oppose the Duke of *Lancaster* in his March thither, but they would not Fight against him; and so he was forced to pass by him to meet the King at his Landing in *Wales*. At *London* the Duke of *Lancaster* was received with all Demonstrations of Joy, suitable to the Expectations they had of him: The costliest Entertainments by Feasting, Pageants, and Processions, were thought too little Expressions of their Happiness by his Presence; and as if their Allegiance were transferred to him only, they bestow'd all their good Wishes and Promises on him, leaving nothing for King *Richard* but Railings and Curfings. The Duke by his abode here, having secur'd the City on his side, had little to do but to pursue the Enemies of the common Good; and therefore bent his Course to *Bristol*, where the three chief Instruments of the Nation's Misery had fortified themselves, sending Parties on all sides to seize and plunder the Persons and Estates of all such as did not join with him and his Confederates. The Duke and his Army besieged the Castle of *Bristol*, and after four days Siege took it by force, with the Lord *Scroop*, *Busby*, and *Green* that held it. The Hatred of the People to them would bear no delay of their Punishment, wherefore being arraign'd before the Constable and Marshal, they were found guilty of Treason in misleading the King, and were immediately Beheaded. The Duke of *York* after this Execution, became the Duke's Friend and chief Counsellor. The Parties arrested the Bishop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burley*, *Lawrence Drem*, and *John Golofer*, Esquires; and so what through Fear, and what through Affection, the whole Nation seem'd in a manner subdu'd to the Duke. From *Bristol* he went to *Chester*, which receiv'd him with Processions, and yielded their Charter up to him: From hence he sent his Son into *Ireland*, with the Duke of *Glocester's* Son, but in their Passage the latter was drown'd.

While these great Changes were working in *England*, the King was in *Ireland*, and had no Intelligence of it; for the *Irish* Seas were so

^a Fifteen Lances. *Ibid.*

^b About the beginning of July.

^c Sir Henry Piercy.

^d Bishop of *Chichester*. Sir J. H. The Bishop of *Exeter* was in *Ireland* with the King. *Wals.* ^e He gave over the Cause. *Ib.*

^f He dy'd of the Plague at *Chester*. See *Thin's Collection* of Constables; and *Gower's Verses* in *Holinshed*, p. 867.

A. D. 1399. tempestuous for near six Weeks, that no Vessels could pass them: So that, as if Providence had favour'd the Duke of Lancaster's Attempt, he met with little Opposition before he was settled in England. The News of it at last arriv'd, and put the King into strange Agonies and Perplexities: Something was necessary to be done, but what would avail him was past humane Invention to contrive. The best Advice that could be given him was what himself propounded, viz. That he should hasten with his Army into England, and give the Duke of Lancaster Battel, before his Friends were united with him; and in the mean time he would imprison the Duke of Lancaster's Son Henry, and the Duke of Gloucester's Son Humphrey in the Castle of Trim. But the Duke of Aumerle (whether out of Design, or Ignorance is uncertain, tho' his Revolt afterward makes the former most credible) earnestly persuaded the King not to go himself into England, till the whole Fleet was ready, which it might be in few Days, and to send some of his Friends before to gather him an Army, that he might not be in Danger at his Landing. This Counsel the King accepted, and accordingly John Montacute Earl of Salisbury was sent before to prepare an Army of Welsh and Cheshire Men against his Arrival, which he promis'd should be within six Days. The Earl landed at Conway in Wales, and by his Zeal for the King's Service, and sending Letters to the Gentlemen of those Countries, which he had heard or knew to remain Loyal, raised an Army of forty thousand Men, ready to march with the King against his Enemies, if he had met them according to his promise. But when the Earl of Salisbury, who led them to attend the King at the time appointed, seem'd to deceive them; and some had rais'd a Report, That the King was dead in Ireland, the whole Army was so possess'd with the Fears or Belief of it, that they would not by any Arguments the Earl could use be persuaded to begin any Action, till they saw the King, but were contented to stay fourteen Days longer for his Arrival; in which time, if it did not happen, they would depart home, as indeed they did, because the King did not leave Ireland till eighteen Days after the Earl left him, and was three Days in his Passage. The King with the Dukes of Aumerle and Exeter, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carlisle, with divers other Nobles, landed at Milford Haven in Wales, and leaving the Forces which he had brought out of Ireland with the Duke of Aumerle at Milford, went in a disguise to Conway to see what Army the Earl of Salisbury had got ready to receive him; but he found, that his Delays had robb'd him of his Friends to his great Grief, which he with the Earl of Salisbury much lamented. While the King was gone to Conway, the Duke of Aumerle shew'd the Falseness of his Heart by his Actions; for giving it out, that the King had quite left his Army and was fled, he dismissed every Man to provide for his own Safety, and fled himself with five Hundred to the Duke of Lancaster. Thomas Peirey Earl of Worcester also, who was Steward of the King's House, brake his Staff in the midst of the King's Servants, and so dissolv'd the King's Family, and fled with him. But the Cheshire Men were not corrupted by these ill Examples of others, they went to Conway to the King; where meeting with others of their Countrymen, they made a considerable Army, and were resolv'd to maintain the King's Right against the Duke and his Adherents unto Death. But King Richard having heard, That all the Castles from the Borders of Scotland unto Bristol were deliver'd up to the Duke of Lancaster, and that all Lords, Gentry, and Commons of the North and South Parts of the Nation had joined themselves with him, and that his trusty Friends and Counsellors had lost their Heads at Bristol, he despair'd of all Success; and calling his Army together, licens'd them to depart to their Homes, chusing rather to submit himself to the Mercy of the Duke, than hazard the Lives of his Loyal Subjects in vain: And so he with the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Stephen Scroop, and about ten more of his fast Friends, betook themselves to the Castle of Conway to the Earl of Salisbury, resolving to keep themselves there till he could gain better Terms and more Security.

The Castle of Conway was not only very strong in it self, but situated so upon the Sea-shore, that the besieged might easily escape into Ireland, if streighten'd by a Siege. These Advantages the King had so well secur'd, that he fear'd not all the Force of his Enemy the Duke of Lancaster, who was hastening with all his Army towards him, being the only Castle of moment which held out against him. The Duke was not insensible of the Impossibility of getting the King into his Power by Force, so long as he held this Castle; and therefore called a great Council of the Peers which adhered to him, to have their Advice how they should get the King into their Power. Force of Arms was generally agreed upon to be of little Use in so mountainous a Country, and against so strong a Fortrefs; wherefore it was advis'd by Archbishop Arundel, that the King who was always simple and credulous, should be dealt withal by Policy; and since he had lately sent the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey to know of the Duke of Lancaster what he intended, and desir'd that certain Messengers should be dispatch'd to the King from the Duke with this Answer to his Demand, 'That he sought nothing but a peaceable Settlement of things for the Good of the Nation, and that if he would be pleas'd to call a Parliament, wherein those who had barbarously murder'd, or advis'd the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, should be punish'd, and other Irregularities of Government reformed, he and the Duke would be good Friends; only the Duke should have his Pardon of all Offences granted upon his begging of it upon his Knees, and enjoy the Office of High Judge, as his Ancestors had it for an hundred Years, to himself and Posterity. The whole Council approv'd of this Advice as most politick and sure, and accordingly the Duke sent the Earl of Northumberland with four hundred Lances, and a thousand Archers, to deliver the said Message to the King. In his way the Earl had the two Castles of Flint and Rutland deliver'd up to him: When he came at a narrow Passage near the Town, he divided all his Men into two Ambushes, and plac'd them under a Rock, charging them to keep it; and so he with five Men only in his Company went to the Town, where as soon as he arriv'd, he sent an Herald to the King to declare, That he was sent by the Duke about an Agreement between them, and desir'd to have safe Conduct granted him. The King not suspecting any Deceit, immediately gave him License, and the Earl passing over the Water, enter'd into the Castle, where he found the King and the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he deliver'd his Message with much Seriousness, and after confirm'd it with a solemn Oath taken upon the Sacrament, that the Duke should perform what

The News of the Duke of Lancaster's Invasion of England arriv'd to the King in Ireland.

R. Richard Lands at Milford Haven.

A. D. 1399.

The King's Messages to the Duke of Lancaster.

A politick Contrivance to get the King into the Duke of Lancaster's Hands.

A. D. 1399. he had promised in his Name, and if the King pleased to go to the Duke and confirm these Proposals, he should depart whether he pleased afterwards. The King not believing that Treachery could lurk under such holy and sacred Oaths, no ways compell'd, agreed to meet the Duke and settle this Agreement, intending to pass afterwards into *Wales*, and provide an Army to secure himself against all future hazards. The Earl having obtained his desires, hasten'd the King away with him to the Duke; and having got him on Horseback, with the Earl of *Salisbury*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and Sir *William Feribee*, who attended him, rode along with him to conduct him. The King desired the Earl of *Northumberland* to ride before to *Rutland* to provide them a Dinner, which he seem'd diligent to obey, and rode apace from them; but went no farther than his Ambushes, to whom giving Notice of the King's approach, and commending their Order, he staid till the King came up, who seeing such a company of Men with the Earl, found that he was treacherously ensnar'd and betray'd; but he had no way to escape their Hands, being on all sides inclosed with Rocks. The Earl seeing the King surpriz'd, went to him, and kneeling down to him, told him, That they were a Guard which he had appointed to attend his Person; but the King retorted, That they were needlers, and contrary to his promise, who had assured him that he would not have above six Persons with him; and in an Anger said, he would return to *Conway*; but the Earl was then more plain with him, and said, That since he had him in his Power, he would now carry him to the Duke of *Lancaster*, as he had engaged to do ten Days since. The King, tho' unwilling, was forced to go forward, and dining at *Rutland*, was conducted to *Flint-Castle* that Night to lodge. The next Morning the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had Notice of the King's Arrival at *Flint-Castle*, drew up his whole Army, consisting of an hundred Thousand Men, round about the Castle; and having first sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas Peirce*, and the Earl of *Rutland*, to the King in the Morning, to prepare and discourse him, the Duke himself waited on him in the Afternoon. The King received the Duke with much Calmness and Obligingness; and when the Duke told him first, that he came to obtain the Restitution of his Honours and Lands through his favourable Permission; the King reply'd, That he was ready to accomplish his Will; and when he farther added, That since the People complain'd of his rigorous Government for these two and twenty Years, he was now resolv'd to help him to govern better. The King answer'd, Fair Cousin of *Lancaster*, since 'tis your Will to do so, it pleaseth me well. The Duke also spake to the Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and Sir *William Feribee*, but took no Notice of the Earl of *Salisbury*, who thence gather'd the Duke's deadly hatred to him. After this discourse was over, the Duke order'd the King's Horses to be brought out, and being mounted with his Friends, conducted him that Night to *Chester*, where he was kept in the Castle under the Care of the Duke of

Glocester's ^b and Earl of *Arundel's* Sons, who hating him for putting their Fathers to Death, would be more watchful to keep him for the Day of their hoped Revenge. From *Chester* he was remov'd by *Nantwich* to *Newcastle* in *Staffordshire*, where the old Earl of *Warwick*, recalled from his Banishment in the Isle of *Man*, met him to upbraid his Severity to him. From hence he was brought by *Stafford* to *Litchfield*, and being lodg'd in the Castle had like to have escaped out at a Window, but was discover'd and put under greater Security. From hence he was carry'd in a few Days through *Coventry*, *Daventry*, *Northampton*, *Dunstable*, and *St. Albans*, to *London*. When the Duke was come within six Miles of *London*, the Mayor and Companies in their Liveries, with Trumpets founding, met him, and paid him much more Reverence than the King himself. When the Duke came within less than two Miles of the City, he made a pause, and enquired of the Citizens ' what he should do with the King? Who answer'd, That he should be kept at *Westminster*; but he stay'd only one Night there, and was convey'd the next Day to the *Tower*, to be kept a close Prisoner till the meeting of the next Parliament. Several Citizens had contriv'd to kill him as he pass'd through the City; but the Mayor and Aldermen having timely Notice of their Design, did by their Vigilance and Care prevent it, and reserv'd him to a more miserable Fate.

The Duke of *Lancaster* remain'd some Days in the City, at the Bishop of *London's* Palace and *St. John's* Hospital without *Smithfield*, and then retired for some time into *Hertfordshire*; and having at his first coming to *London* issued out Writs ^d in the King's Name to summon a Parliament to meet on the last Day of *September*, was extremely busie in Consultations with his Friends ^e how to order Matters in this critical Session. It seems that it was fully resolv'd among them, that King *Richard* should no longer govern the Nation, but the most plausible Methods of depriving him was thought worthy of Consultation. Many things were propounded, but the Duke of *Tork's* Advice was follow'd, who thought it best, that King *Richard* should both voluntarily resign his Throne, and be solemnly deposed by the Parliament too; because, as he said, tho' the Judgment of Parliament may make him thought worthy to be deposed, yet his Deprivation will never be just, unless he joyn'd in a Resignation. This Advice was much approv'd, and accordingly put in Execution; for the Day before the Parliament met, which was on the Feast of *St. Michael*, there assembled in the *Tower* *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard Scroope* Archbishop of *Tork*, *John* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ralph* Earl of *Westmorland*; the Lords *Burnell*, *Barkley*, *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergevenny*; the Abbot of *Westminster* ^f and Prior of *Canterbury*; *William Thirnings* and *John Markham*, Chief Justices; *Thomas Stoke* and *Thomas Burback*, Doctors of Law; Sir *Thomas Harpington* and Sir *Thomas Gray*, *William Ferly* and *Dennis Lopham*, Publick Notaries. When they were set in their places,

A. D. 1399.

Consultations to depose King Richard.

^a The King desir'd to talk with the Duke, Sir *J. H.* The same Author affirms, That when the Archbishop and the Lord *Northumberland* came to him at *Conway*, he relinquish'd his Sovereignty at the first meeting. *Life of Hen. IV.* p. 83.

^b The Duke of *Glocester* had but one Son, *Humphrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who was not then arriv'd in *England*, where; as we have said before, he dy'd soon after of the Plague.

^c The Author of a Manuscript History in the Library at *Lambeth*, who was present at the first Enterview between the Duke of *Lancaster* and King *Richard* at *Flint-Castle*, and accompany'd the former in his March to *London*, writes, That when he came near the City the Recorder and many Persons of Quality waited on the Duke to desire him to Cut off King *Richard's* Head, and the Heads of those that were with him. The Duke answer'd, 'Twould be an eternal Reproach to him if he granted their Request, but they should be left to the Judgment of the Parliament.

^d He issu'd out these Writs at *Chester*. *Rot. Claus.* 23. *Rich.* 2.

^e Of whom the Duke of *Tork* his Uncle was principal.

^f This Person was one of King *Richard's* chief Favourites.

A. D. 1402. cover'd all he knew of them to the Archbishop, viz. The Doctrines maintain'd by them, and chief Ministers among them, confessing his Error.

Reg. 4. On the Morrow after the Feast of St. Michael a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and sat Seven Weeks, to dispatch several Matters for the Good and Advantage of the Realm. In this Parliament the King declaring, 'That he had in Remembrance the faithful Hearts and inward Affections that the Clergy of *England* had born to him, and also the great Charges they had sustain'd for his Honour and Profit since the Time of his Coronation, and therefore was desirous to be unto them a gracious Lord; caus'd several Privileges of the Church and Clergy to be established and enacted: For, First, He confirm'd the several Statutes made by his Grand-father King *Edward* the Third, in his 25th Year, called, *Statutes for the Clergy*; as also, the Statute of 15 *Rich.* 2. 6. whereby it was provided, That in appropriating of Benefices to any Religious House, there should be a perpetual Vicar appointed, who should be allow'd conveniently, at the Discretion of the Ordinary, a sufficient Stipend, for saying Divine Service, and to inform the People, and keep Hospitality, and that no Religious or Monk shall be Vicar. It was also enacted, That the begging Fryars should admit none into their Order, without their Parents Consent, or under Fourteen Years of Age. Several other Acts relating to the Affairs of State were pass'd, but that which the Parliament was chiefly busied in, was to settle the Disorders in *Wales*; for which End they made Nine several Acts, prohibiting the *Welsh* to pass any Judicial Sentence upon an *English* Man, to have any publick Assemblies, to wear Arms, or buy any out of *England*, to raise any Forts or Castles, to bear any Office in Church or State, and commanding them to put all their Wall'd Towns into the Custody of *English* Men. All which Acts tended to subduing and humbling the *Welsh*, who at that time were very troublesome to the King and Realm. In the End of this Session, the Parliament gave the King a Tenth and Half of the Clergy, and Fifteenth of the Laity, and a Tenth of all Boroughs, and particularly recommended the *Scotch* Earl of *March* to the King's Favour, because he had behaved himself with so much Fidelity to the Nation: And so were dismis'd into their several Countries.

A. D. 1403. About Christmas, King *Henry*, who had the Year before made some Propositions of Marriage to *Joan de Navarre*, the Widow of *John de Mountfort*, late Duke of *Brittain*, and was come to an Agreement about it, sent several Persons of Honour into *Brittain*, to conduct her over into *England*, who accordingly, after Two Months Stay, brought her safely to *Falmouth* in *Cornwall*, Feb. 7. The King hearing of her Landing, went to meet her at *Winchester*, whither he had order'd her before to be convey'd, and there was marry'd to her in St. *Swithin's* Church, on the 7th of February, by the Bishop of that See. From thence, within a few Days, he pass'd with her to *London*, where they were receiv'd magnificently by the Citizens; and on Feb. 26. the Queen was solemnly crown'd at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. She had Three Sons, but they were left in *France* under the Care and Guardianship of that King. Her Coronation was kept with great State and Splendor, and there appear'd an Universal Joy both at Court, and in the Kingdom for these

Nuptials: But it was not in this King's Fate to enjoy Peace or Pleasure long, fresh Troubles, both at Home and Abroad springing up to disturb his Ease and Quiet.

The First Enemy that annoy'd his Dominions after them, were the *French*, under *Valeran*, Earl of St. *Paul*, who envying *Henry's* Power, because it was rais'd upon the Ruins of his own Interests, gather'd an Army of 16 or 1700 Men, invaded the *Isle of Wight*, and burnt Two small Villages, and a few separate Cottages. The Inhabitants of the *Isle*, who had formerly had the like Injuries done them by the *French*, and found that they loved Prey more than Fighting, and seldom would stand out against a faint Resistance, assembled in a considerable Body, and drew up against them to fight them. The *French*, tho' enough in Number to have conquer'd the Island, yet seeing the Courage of the People, withdrew to their Ships, and with little Prey, and less Honour, return'd Home. The Earl, that he might make this Expedition seem the more considerable, Knighted Four of his Captains, as he pretended, for their Bravery and Valour: But the more knowing Men of his Company repined at their speedy Return, being sensible, that the Charge of this Expedition was much greater than the Gain. At the same time that the Earl of St. *Paul* infest'd the *English* Coasts, *John*, Earl of *Clermont*, Son to the Duke of *Bourbon*, was sent with an Army against the Subjects of the King of *England* in *Gascoigne*, and won the Castles of S. *Peter*, S. *Mary*, and *New-Castle* from the *English*, and the Lord *De la Bret* at the same time got the Castle of *Carlasfn*; all which were a great Loss to the *English*. These Damages King *Henry's* Courage would not have patiently sustain'd without a sharp Revenge, had he enjoy'd a peateable Kingdom at Home; but before he could make any Preparations for a Foreign Expedition, the Rebellion of his own Subjects broke out, and drew all his Designs and Endeavours to secure himself at Home. The Occasion of it was this:

King *Henry* not contented with the Peace, which the late Victories gotten by the Earl of *Northumberland* over the *Scots* had brought his Dominions, was very eager, and desirous to share in the Gains and Advantage of them; and to that End, required of the Earl his most gainful Prisoners, all the Lords, whose Redemption would raise great Sums. The Earl alledg'd, 'That as it was most just, that they who had undergone the Danger of the Battle, should have all the Advantages of Prey and Prisoners; so it had been the Custom of the Kings of *England* to allow the Lords of the North all the Advantage of the *Scots* Wars, to encourage them in defending his Dominions, and make up the Damages of the continual Depredations of that faithless People. The King was very angry at this Denial, tho' dutiful and submissive, and not only took the Prisoners he had demanded, but continued his Displeasure to the Earl, not suffering him to come into his Presence. This Severity the Earl, who had been so instrumental in raising King *Henry* to the Throne, resented not only as a great Piece of Injustice, but which was worse, very great Ingratitude; and therefore resolv'd to revenge his Wrong upon the King himself, whom as he had set up, so he thought he had Power enough to pull him down. He was, indeed, in very great Power in the North, and commanded in his Country as a Petty King. He had a near Relation to *Edmund*

A. D. 1403. Reg. 4.

French invaded the *Isle of Wight* and *Gascoigne*.

The Rebellion of the Earl of *Northumberland*; its Cause and Success.

K. *Henry's* Marriage to the Dutchess of *Brittain*.

Mor-

A. D.
1399.

In the Name of God, Amen. I, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, do claim as my Right the Crown and Realm of England, with all the Dominions and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, being Lineally descended from Edmund surnamed Crouch-back, eldest Son of our good Lord Henry the Third; and through the Right which God of his Grace hath sent me by his Assistance, and help of my ready Kindred and noble Friends, who have adventur'd with me to recover the same, being at the point of Destruction for want of good Government and an orderly Distribution of Justice. And then he return'd to his Place, and sat down again.

The Duke of
Lancaster
elected King.

How far this Claim prevail'd in the Election, 'tis no ways evident. The Archbishop, who made the Proposals, did not think fit to insist much upon this Title, but put it to the Houses choice whom they would have for their King: For he in order mentioned several that had a near Alliance to the Crown, and asked the Houses, First, *Whether they would have the Duke of York for their King?* And they said, *No.* Then, *Whether they desired his eldest Son Edward Duke of Aumerl?* And they reply'd, *No.* Then he propounded the Duke of York's youngest Son, and several others, but all were refused. Then the Archbishop pausing awhile, asked them, *Whether they would have the Duke of Lancaster for their King?* They said, *We will have him, and none else;* and so answer'd three times. The Choice being thus fixed on the Duke of Lancaster, the Archbishops going to him, kneeled down before him, and declaring to him that the People had unanimously chose him for their King, desired his Acceptance of the Care and Government of the Realm. The Duke being also on his Knees when they spake to him, rose up and reply'd, *That since the Kingdom was devolved upon him by a special Dispensation of Divine Providence, he durst not refuse it.* Then the Archbishop having read to him the Duties of a King, signed him with the Sign of the Cross, and the King kissed the Archbishop; and the Constable taking the Ring with which the Kings were wedded to the Realm, shewed it to the whole Assembly, and then put it on the King's Finger, and the King kissed the Constable. Then the Archbishops led the King to the Royal Seat, who made his Prayers immediately before it, and then turning himself to the Assembly, gave

Thanks to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all the States of the Realm; assuring them, That he would not by way of Conquest disinherit, or deprive any Man of his Rights and Franchises which he now enjoyeth, or hath had by the Custom and good Law of the Realm. Then a general Silence being kept a little time, the whole House gave Thanks to God for his Gift of so good a King to the Nation; the Archbishop rose up, and in a Sermon-like Speech upon 1 King 9. 17. from whence he singled out these Words for a Theme, *A Man shall rule over my People,* declared the Happiness of this Nation in the Person they had chosen; That he was not as the former King, a Child in Understanding, tho' not in Years, under whose Government they suffer'd so many Miseries, but a Man of perfect Reason and vast Experience and Judgment, under whose auspicious Government we have Assurance of a full and free Profession of Religion, a due Administration of Justice, a lasting Peace and Plenty, concluding with a short Prayer, 'That he might long prosperously Reign over the Kingdom, to the Glory of God, and the Prosperity of the Nation. To which the whole Assembly, with joyful Acclamation said, *Amen, and Amen.*

A. D.
1399.

King Richard was thus deposed from his Royal Dignity, and Henry Duke of Lancaster settled on the Throne, when he had reigned two and twenty Years, three Months and eight Days. The Manner and Form of it was signified to him by Justice William Thirning the next Day, who at the same time surrender'd back all Homage and Fealty due unto him; but King Richard seem'd very little concern'd, hoping, that the new King would shew him the greater Kindness for his willing Resignation of all to him. King Henry, as soon as the Parliament rose, went to Whitehall, and made a great Feast for all the Members; at which he demean'd him with the usual Obligingness and Kindness, without the Majestick Reservedness or Distance of a King, to the good liking of all his Subjects present. In the Afternoon he was proclaimed King by the Name of Henry the Fourth King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; and Proclamations were published to continue all Officers and Justices in their Places, to preserve the Order and Government of the Kingdom.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Richard II.

IN the 5th Year of his Reign, when his first Wife Queen Anne came from Bohemia, she had no sooner set Foot on Shore, but such a Tempest immediately arose as had not been seen in many Years. Several Ships were dash'd in Pieces in the Harbour, and the Ship in which the Queen came over was shatter'd and broken; which was the more observable, because his second Wife brought a Storm with her to the English Coasts, in which the King's Baggage was lost, and many Ships of his Fleet cast away. Sir John Hayward.

At Newcastle upon Tyne, as two Ship-Carpenters were squaring a piece of Timber, wherever they hew'd, Blood issu'd forth in Abundance. *Ibid.*

In the 6th Year of his Reign, on the 21st of May, several Churches were thrown down by an Earthquake; and on the 24th of May there was an Earthquake, or as Holinshead calls it, a *Waterquake*; whose Motion was so violent, that it made the Ships in the Harbours beat one against the other, and very much endamag'd them.

About the same time the Use of Guns came in, and Sir Hugh Calverly, Governour of Calles, was the first that employ'd them in the English Service.

In his 10th Year Wine was so cheap, that the best was sold for 20s. the Tun, and that which was not so good at 13s. 4d.

The same Year Sir John Montacute, a great Follower of Wickliffe's, order'd all the Images to be taken out of his Church at Shenly in Buckinghamshire. *Holinshead.*

In his 12th Year, while the King was at his Mannor of Sheen in the Month of July, there appear'd on a sudden such innumerable Swarms of Gnats, that they darken'd the Air. They thir-

mish'd and fought in Parties, the slain fell down to the Ground by Heaps at a time ; and being swept together with Brooms, were found to be many Bushels full. About a third part of the whole came off Conquerors, and flew away.

In the following Year a Hurricane threw down many Houses, destroy'd Cattel, and rooted up Trees. This preceded a great Mortality, especially among the Youth, and that a Famine ; for says my Author, Wheat was sold for 13 d. a Bushel. *Hol.* Tho' Money was scarce at that time, yet one would think such a Price for Corn had never been the Sign of a Dearth in *England*.

On the 9th of July, in his 15th Year, the Sun appear'd to be obscur'd by certain thick and dreary Clouds between that and the Earth ; Its Beams seem'd of the Colour of Blood, and gave little or no Light from Noon till it set. These Clouds rose daily for almost six Weeks together. The North and East Parts of *England* were at the same time sore afflicted with a Pestilence : In a few Weeks there dy'd eleven thousand Men, Women and Children, in the City of *Tork.* *Hol.*

The next Year Wool was so cheap, 'twas sold in some places at 22 d. the Stone. The same Year a Dolphin was taken near *London* Bridge ten Foot long : His coming up the River so far was an ill Omen of the Storms that happen'd soon after.

In his 18th Year an Apparition of Fire was seen in divers Places in *England* in several Forms, sometimes like a turning Wheel burning, sometimes like a Barrel with Flames of Fire flashing out at the Head, and sometimes like a long burning Lance : When it appear'd to any Persons, it would go as they went, and stop when they stopp'd. A Head was made at this time, the *Cruel Parliament* then sitting, which spoke of it self and said, *The Head shall be cut off, the Head shall be lift up aloft, the Feet shall be lift up aloft above the Head ;* which was done, as *Holinshed* supposes, by Necromancy, and as we would think now by a Trick. In *April* a fiery Dragon was seen in several Counties, and some time before there happen'd a Conjunction of the two greatest Planets *Saturn* and *Jupiter*.

In the Reign of this King the most Famous Soldiers were *Henry Earl of Darby*, who succeeded him in the Throne, *Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester*, *Richard Earl of Arundel* ; Popular Lords, *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, and *Roger Mortimer Earl of March*. For Learning the most Eminent were,

Henry of Bury an Austin Fryar.

Simon Alcock.

Ethred Bolton a Welshman, and a Monk of *Durham*.

William Jordan a Black Fryar.

John Hilton a Fryar Minor.

John Clifton a Carmelite Fryar in *Nottingham*.

Ralph Marham.

John Markly a Gray Fryar.

Thomas Broom a Carmelite Fryar of *London* :

John Bridlington a *Yorkshire* Man.

John Thompson a Carmelite Fryar of *Norfolk*.

Thomas Winterton of *Lincolnshire*, an Augustine Fryar at *Stamford*.

John Botlesham a Black Fryar of *Cambridge*.

William Babbie a Carmelite Fryar, Bishop of *Worcester*, and Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*.

William Folleville a Fryar Minor of *Lincolnshire*.

Dr. John Bourgh Chancellor of *Cambridge*.

William Selade a Monk of *Buckfast Abbey* in *Devonshire*.

Thomas Ashburn an Austin Fryar.

John Aston a Wicklivist, condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment.

Mr. Casterton a Monk of *Norwich*, an excellent Divine.

Nicholas Radcliffe a Monk of *St. Albans*.

John Ashwarby a Wicklivist.

Richard of Maidstone a Carmelite Fryar of *Ailesford*.

John Wardbie an Augustine Fryar, a great Divine.

Robert Warldbie Archbishop of *Dublin*.

Dr. William Berton Chancellor of *Oxford*, an Enemy to the Wicklivists.

Philip Repington a Wicklivist.

Thomas Lombe a Carmelite Fryar of *Lyn*.

Dr. Nicholas Hereford one of Wickliff's Followers.

Henry Herkly Chancellor of *Oxford*, an Enemy to Wickliff, and a great Sophist.

Robert Ivory a Carmelite Fryar of *London*, the 20th Provincial of his Order here in *England*.

Dr. Lankine a *Londoner*, an Augustine Fryar, an Enemy to Wickliff.

William Gillingham a Monk of *St. Saviours* in *Canterbury*.

Peter Pateshall a zealous Wicklivist, forc'd at last to fly to *Bohemia*.

William Woodford a Franciscan Fryar, a chosen Champion of the Papacy against Wickliff.

John Bromyard a Lawyer and Divine, one of the same Principle.

Marcel Ingelne an excellent Divine and Philosopher, one of the first Professors in the University of *Heidelberg*.

Richard Northall Son to the Lord Mayor of *London* of that Name.

Thomas Edwardson Prior of *St. Austin's* Fryars at *Clare* in *Suffolk*.

John Somers a Franciscan Fryar of *Bridgwater*, an Enemy to the Wicklivists.

John Swetham Bishop of *Bangor*, a violent Adversary to the Followers of Wickliff.

William Egumond a Fryar-Hermit of the Sect of *St. Austin's* in *Stamford*.

Robert Withee a Wicklivist.

Cardinal *Adam Euston* advanc'd to that Dignity by Pope Gregory XI. he was Bishop of *London*.

John Tiffington a Franciscan Fryar, and

William Rimston a Monk of *Sallese*, both Champions of the Papacy.

Dr. John Beaufu a Carmelite Fryar of *Northampton*, Prior of that Monastery.

Roger Twisford an Augustine Fryar.

William Shireburn,

Richard Wicbingham, and

Ralph Spalding, these were all Priests and Fryars, Men noted in those Days for their good Learning and good Preaching.

Henry Daniel a Physician.

Simon Bredon the same, and an Astronomer.

Adam Meremuh a Canon of *St. Paul's* Church, *London*.

William Packington Secretary and Treasurer of the Household to the Black Prince.

Henry de Knighton. The three last were Historians.

John Trevisa a Cornishman, translated the Bible.

John Mobun an Englishman born, but bred up in the University of *Paris*, he wrote the Romance of the *Rose* in *French*, and 'twas translated by *Gefferey Chaucer*.



T H E

L I F E and R E I G N

O F

H E N R Y I V.

A. D.
1399.
Reg. I.

A. D.
1399.
Reg. I.

K. Henry's
Pedegree,
Birth, and
Succession.

Richard II.

K. Henry's
Coronation.

HENRY, surnamed, of *Bullingbrooke*, a Town of *Lincolnshire*, the Place of his Birth, having obtain'd the Crown of *England* by the Resignation of King *Richard*, and Election of the Three States of the Realm, then assembled in Parliament, assumed the Government, Sept. 30. 1399. He was the Eldest Son of *John* of *Guant*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third, and after his Father's Death was himself Duke of *Lancaster*, as he was before in Right of his Wife, Duke of *Hereford*. The Regal Power did not belong to him in a Lineal Succession after King *Richard*, because there were yet surviving some of the Posterity of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, (the Elder Brother of *John* of *Guant*, Duke of *Lancaster*;) by a Female Branch, his Daughter, *Philippa*, who being married to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, left a Son *Roger Mortimer*, who had been declared next Heir of the Crown by Parliament in King *Richard*'s Time, and dying left *Edmund Mortimer* the Heir of his Honour and Estate, with several other Children. But as the great Opinion of *Henry*'s Merit, in rescuing the Nation from the Tyranny of Favourites, and the Oppression of bad Governours, made no Reward to be thought great enough for him, but that of the Crown; so *Henry* being confident of the People's Favour, and considering the Obscurity of *Mortimer*'s Family, ventured upon it, and, as if the *Salick* Law had been in Force in *England*, claim'd the Royal Authority, as the next Heir to it. *Edmund Mortimer* was not insensible of his Right, and tho' he saw it in vain, while the Nation was in so great a Ferment, and the Minds of the People were so passionately fix'd upon the Duke of *Lancaster*, to oppose the Current of Favour, and Power with his Claim, and therefore betook himself to Privacy at his Mannor of *Wigmore*, in *Herefordshire*; yet it was very grating to him to hear *Henry* call himself Heir of the Crown of *England*, and therefore said to his Friends, that he was *Hæres malus*, such an Heir as the Pirate is to the Merchant's Goods, which he by Force takes from him.

Henry being thus got into the Possession of the Crown, used all the Arts of a politic Prince, to settle himself firmly in it, and entail it as strongly as was possible upon his Posterity. The First of these he had no other Way left to do, but by his Coronation; which for that End he appointed to be celebrated on *St. Edward's Day*, *October* 13. as soon as Preparations could be made for so great a Ceremony. The latter he

resolved to do by Parliament, which he upon mature Deliberation dissolved, (because it was called by King *Richard*, Writ, and therefore its Acts might become disputable, if it had been continued,) and sent out his own Writs to have another chosen, which he appointed to meet the next Day after his Coronation, *October* 14. in order to his Crowning, which drew on apace. He not only supply'd all Offices of the Court, which were vacant either by the Deaths of such as had suffer'd, or were fled for their Misdemeanors under King *Richard*, with such Persons as were most faithful and deserving, (*viz.* *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, he made High-Constable; *Ralph*, Earl of *Westmoreland*, Earl-Marshal; Sir *John Norbury*, Lord-Treasurer; Sir *John Sherley*, Chancellor; and Sir *Richard Clifford*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; and confirm'd the other Officers of State, who were to assist at that Ceremony,) but constituted a Special Court to receive the Claims of such as by certain Tenures or Custom were to officiate at it; of which his Second Son *Thomas* was appointed Steward, (a) and for that Purpose kept his Court in *Westminster-Hall* several Days together, till all Things were settled, and order'd for the Solemnity. The King on *St. Edward's Eve* lodged in the *Tower of London*, and there made his Three Sons, with several of the Sons of the Nobility, and many others to the Number of Forty Six, Knights of the *Bath*. On *St. Edward's Day* in the Morning he rode through the City of *Westminster*, being attended by the Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Citizens of *London*, cloathed in rich Liveries, and follow'd with a costly Equipage, where he was Consecrated, Anointed, and Crown'd by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He was anointed with an Oil, which was then thought to have a peculiar Sanctity, and Excellency in it, being given to his Grand-Father by the Mother-Side, to *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaster*, by a religious Hermit, with this Prophecy; That the Kings that should be anointed with it, should be endued with a Zeal to patronize and defend the Church. King *Richard* having found it among his Father's Jewels and Treasures, with a Label, signifying the Use of it, had a Design to have been crown'd again, that he might be anointed with it; but Archbishop *Arundel* asserting it unlawful for him to be anointed twice, put him from that Resolution; and so *Henry* having got it of King *Richard*, at *Flint-Castle*, by the Archbishop's Means, was the first that was anointed with it. At his Coronation, King *Henry* ha-

Knights of
the Bath
made at the
Coronation.

(a) *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Worcester*, officiated for him, the Prince being not above Ten Years of Age.

A. D. 1399. Reg. 1. ving observ'd that his Hereditary Claim was not justifiable, (b) and that it began to be ridiculed by his Enemies, caused himself to be proclaim'd King of *England*, first by Conquest, and then by the special Designation of King *Richard*, who at his Resignation of his Crown had given it to him, then Duke of *Lancaster*, as his adopted Son. And thus did *Henry* seem to himself, to have clear'd up his Title, and secured himself a firm Possession of the Crown, which some at that time judged to be given him by God's special Favour and Providence, so much the more, because his Coronation happen'd exactly upon that Day Twelve-month, on which he had been banish'd by King *Richard*, as if this great Change of the Kings had been the Reward of the Injustice of the One, and the Innocency of the Other, and God had bestowed Crowns not for Civil Titles, but Deserts.

(c) The Parliament, according to Appointment, assembled the next Day after the Coronation; and having chosen a new Speaker, *William Durwood*, Esq; in the Place of Sir *John Cheyney*, who desired to be excused for his Infirmary and Sickness, they were order'd by the King, in the first place, to inspect into the Abuses of Government, in the Reign of King *Richard*, and to regulate all Things that had been found prejudicial to the publick Interests; to examine the Case of the condemn'd Lords; and, more especially, to bring the Murtherers of the Duke of *Glocester* to condign Punishment. The Parliament were very zealous to obey so just a Command; and in pursuit of it, having recited, and condemn'd the Transactions of the Parliament, in the 21 *Richard II.* in banishing the Duke of *Hereford* without any reasonable Cause; in condemning the Archbishop, without hearing his Defence; in barbarously justifying the Duke of *Glocester's* Murther; in denying the Earl of *Arundel* the Benefit of his Pardons, and putting the whole Power of the Parliament into the Hands of certain select Persons, to the great Injury of the Nation, they repeal'd, and utterly made void all, and singular the Statutes and Ordinances of the said Parliament, and abrogated the Authority and Power given to any Person or Persons by any Act or Law of the same, and revived the Statutes of the Parliament held in 11 *Rich. 2.* by which the Supreme Power of the Nation was put into the Hands of the Duke of *Glocester*, Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and some others, till the King should be of full Age to Assume the Government himself. By these Acts the Attaint of Blood was removed from the Lords, which had suffered, or were condemn'd in the said Parliament; and as a necessary Consequence of that, the Heirs of the condemn'd Lords were restored to their Honours and Estates by another Act made for that Purpose; yet, with a *Proviso*, That the Rents of their Lands should not be exacted of the Persons that had been in Possession of them for the time past. And because many Things had by the said Parliament been made to be Treason, which had not been formerly so esteem'd, and that for no other Reason, but that the Crimes of the said Lords might be more notorious; yet with such Prejudice to all the King's Subjects, that no Man hardly could be-

have himself cautiously enough to avoid the Penalty of it; therefore it was further enacted, That nothing for the future should be esteem'd, or adjudg'd to be Treason, but what was ordain'd to be Treason by 25 *Edw. 3.*

The next Thing they enter'd upon, was the Duke of *Glocester's* Murther, concerning which they had a very particular Information given them by Sir *John Baggott*, then a Prisoner in the *Tower*, who in a kind of Narrative, among many other Things relating to King *Richard's* Actions and Sayings, discover'd; 'That it was by the Advice and Instigation of the Duke of *Aumerle*, that the Lords were apprehended by the King, and that the Duke of *Glocester* was inhumanely murther'd at *Callis*; That the Duke of *Norfolk* did keep the Duke of *Glocester* alive Three Weeks against the King's Will; but, that for fear of the King's Displeasure, both the said Duke and himself, with several of the King's, and Lord's Servants, went over to *Callis*, and saw him put to Death. The Duke of *Aumerle* denied the Charge brought against him by Sir *John Baggott*, and offer'd to justify his Innocency by Combat, in such manner, as should be thought requisite; but *Baggott* not being at Liberty to accept the Challenge, the Lord *Fitzwater*, with Twenty other Lords, offer'd to make it good by their Bodies, That he was the very Cause of the Duke of *Glocester's* Death. The Duke of *Surrey* stood up against the Lord *Fitzwater*; and having affirm'd, that what the Duke of *Aumerle* had done against the Duke of *Glocester*, was by Constraint and Force, offer'd to vindicate him by Fight: Their Hoods, which they flung down as Pledges of their Intention, were deliver'd to the Constable and Marshal to be kept. The Parliament might have taken Occasion from these Dissentions of the Noblemen to have proceeded with greater Severity against all the Instruments of this barbarous Fact; but the King having prescribed them such Measures as were more suitable for his present Condition, they contented themselves to inflict a more moderate Punishment on them, viz. That the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Surrey*, and *Exeter*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, and Earl of *Glocester*, who had been the Accusers of the Duke of *Glocester*, and the other Lords, should be reduced to the same State they were in before the Arrest of the said Duke and Lords, losing not only their present Titles of Honour, of Duke, Marquess, and Earl, but also all those Castles, Lordships, Manors, or other Possessions whatsoever, which had been given them since the last Parliament, and belonged to any of the Persons whom they had impeach'd, or were held by Gift from the King, and should forthwith bring the Charters and Deeds of the said Lands, Castles, or Manors into the Chancery to be cancell'd; and, That it should be utterly unlawful for any of the said Lords to give Liveries to any Retainers, or keep any Persons about them, but necessary Servants; and, That it should be High-Treason in any of them to enable, or any ways assist King *Richard*, to recover his Crown, and disturb King *Henry* in the Possession of it.

These Inflictions satisfied the King and Parliament, but the Commonalty were not so con-

(b) His Hereditary Title was one of the Three by which he proclaim'd, that he held the Crown. The First was, By Right of Conquest; the Second was, King *Richard's* Resignation and Designation of him for his Successor; the Third and Last was, His being of the Blood Royal, and next Heir Male of King *Richard*; which last Words in the Proclamation occasion'd that *Pun of Mortimer's*, *Heret Malus*; but *Edmund* had his Jest, and *Henry* his Crown.

(c) On the Day of his Coronation his eldest Son *Henry* was by assent of all the Three Estates created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, being then about Eleven Years old; the Crown was also settled upon him after his Father's Death; and in case of the Death of the Prince, on King *Henry's* other Sons.

A. D. 1399. Reg. 1. tented, for they repined against the King, Archbishop, Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, that they were not put to Death, as well as those who had been immediate Actors; of whom *John Hall*, who confessed himself to be one, was in the Time of this Session hang'd and quarter'd, and his Head sent to *Calis*, to be set upon the Castle; 'for, if the Executioner acting by the King's Command be guilty of Murther, much more the false Accusers and Witnesses, who caused his Condemnation; but Moderation was thought more necessary at this Juncture, and especially, since the King's Authority was pleaded for their Action: But, that no such Pretences should be used for the future, a Statute was made, enacting, That it should be no Excuse hereafter for any Persons doing an unlawful Action, to alledge, that he was forced and constrained by the King; and a general Pardon was then granted to all Persons, but the Duke of *Glocester's* Murtherers.

Proceedings against King Richard. The Parliament having proceeded thus far in the Matters done in King *Richard's* Reign, came next to consider about his Person; and the Motion being made how he should be disposed of, (d) that he might not be a Trouble to the King and Nation for the future, the Houses enter'd into hot and long Debates concerning it, as being a Matter of very great Importance; and among others, who by special Order of the Houses were allow'd to deliver their Opinions upon that Subject without Interruption; *John Marke*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, a Person both of Learning and Integrity (and as Sir *Walter Ralegh* says, the only honest Man in the Parliament, who scorn'd his Life and Estate in respect to his Sovereign's Right, and his own Allegiance) having always disliked the former Proceedings, in deposing King *Richard*, and setting the Duke of *Lancaster* on the Throne, deliver'd his Judgment to this Effect, in a grave and learned Speech; 'That the Resolution of this

Prerogative of Parliament, p. 85.

Bishop of Carlisle's Speech in the Parliament.

Question being so necessary for the Settling the Peace of their own Consciences, as well as the future Order and Quiet of the Nation, they ought to consider, before they came to any Determination upon these Two Things. 1. Whether King *Richard* be sufficiently and lawfully deposed: And, 2. Whether King *Henry* be justly and prudently chosen in his Place. As for his own Opinion upon them, he freely and boldly laid it down before them thus: That though in a popular or consular State, such as of old, the Commonwealth of the *Lacedaemonians* and *Romans* at first were, and such as the Empire of *Germany*, Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Swedeland*, and Dukedom of *Venice* at this Day are, it may be lawful for the Nobles, or People to restrain, or remove their Princes from their Imperial Power and Dignity, because they have not Regal Rights, yet in such Governments as the Sovereign Majesty is absolutely seated in the Prince, as it was in the Three first Empires, and in the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judaea* anciently, and is in the Nations of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and almost all the Kingdoms of *Asia* and *Africa* at present, it is not, nor can be lawful for any, nor all their Subjects, whether Nobles or Commons, to injure and hurt the Persons, nor limit and abrogate the Power of such Kings, either by any judicial Proceedings, or by Force, altho' they be become not only unprofitable and hurtful, but intolerable and destructive to their

Subjects; and that because neither one, nor all Magistrates have any Authority over their Prince, from whom all their Power is derived, and whose Presence doth immediately suspend all their Rule and Jurisdiction; and more especially, because no Subject of what Degree or Condition soever can imagine, attempt, counsel, assist, or undertake any thing prejudicial to the Person or Authority of such Princes, but they incur the great and heinous Crime of High-Treason. Who were more cruel, unjust, and impious Princes than *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Saul*, and yet the Prophets *Jeremiah* and *David* command Obedience to, and condemn all rebellious Attempts against them? The Law of God allows not the Child to lift up his Hand against his Parent, be he a Robber, a Murtherer, and a Person never so execrable for Villanies, both to God and Man; and surely our Prince, who is *Pater Patria*, the common Father of all his Subjects, and therefore ought to be more sacred and dear to us than our natural Parents, may much less be rebelled against or deposed, though never so Tyrannical and Impious. The Oracles of God tell us, That Kings have Dominion over the Bodies and over the Cattle of their Subjects at their Pleasure; and the Church hath declared it an Heresie, to hold, That a Prince may be slain, or deposed by his Subjects for any Defects, either in his Life or Government. And if it be really unlawful to depose the worst of Princes, how unjust is it to depose good King *Richard*, who his really guilty neither of any Cruelty, nor Impiety. For, if we impartially examine the Accusations brought against him, we shall find nothing either of Truth or Moment objected. Some Errors and Oversights he may be guilty of, but such as have proceeded from such Originals, viz. want of Experience, or corrupt Counsels, as are very pardonable, and in their worst Effects have not favoured of Tyranny, or Cruelty; and if these Failings may be allowed as just Causes of deposing Kings, the best of Princes will be daily in Danger, and every Tax, Execution of Criminals, or disappointed Action shall arm their Subjects against them. But suppose King *Richard* must be deposed without Authority in us, or desert in him, yet what Right had the Duke of *Lancaster* to the Crown? Why did we give it him? Heir he could not be to the Crown, not only because King *Richard* is still alive, and the Living have no Heirs; but because some of the Posterity of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, are yet surviving, whose Line by the Judgment of the Parliament, holden 8 Rich. II. was declared Heirs to the Crown. By Right of Conquest he could not have it; for being a Subject, all War raised by him against his Sovereign was Rebellion; and Victory, Treason. As for King *Richard's* Resignation of the Crown to the Duke, it gives him no Title; for by the Laws of the Land the King can't alienate so much as the ancient Jewels and Ornaments belonging to the Crown, much less the Crown itself and Kingdom; which, if it were in his Power, yet since it was exacted of the King in his Imprisonment, and under Constraint, it can't in Reason be thought of any Force to bind him; for no Act of a King can be obligatory that is not free, and none is free where Liberty is restrain'd, and Fear justly suspected.

A. D. 1399. Reg. 1.

Neb. 9. 37. Alph. a Castro in Lib. de Har. & Jus. & Jus.

(d) Hollinshead says, The Commons Address was to this Purpose; That since King *Richard* had resign'd, and was lawfully deposed from his Royal D nity, he might have Judgment decreed against him. P. 512.

A. D.
1399.
Reg. 1.

We have no Custom in *England*, that the People should elect them a King at their Pleasure, but they are always bound to submit to him, who by Right of Blood is the next Successor; and therefore the People's Election, as it can neither create a Title to the Crown, nor give any Regal Right, so neither can it make that Title good, which is before by Violence gotten and usurp'd. 'Twas nothing then that rais'd *Henry* to the Crown, but Ambition in himself, and a seditious Disposition in the People, who, though they have gotten greater Wisdom and Courage in their King by the Change; yet will find, if not greater Cruelty and Policy, shou'd the right Heirs ever be able to vindicate their Title by Arms, that they have entail'd Misery and Bloodshed upon themselves and Posterity. From these Premises, he boldly concluded, That they had neither Power nor Policy to depose King *Richard*, nor elect King *Henry* in his room; That King *Richard* was still their lawful King, and that they ought not to pass any Judgment concerning him; That the Duke of *Lancaster* had offend'd more against the King and Realm by his impious Arms, than King *Richard* hath against him or us; and if they thought not fit to take Notice of *Henry's* Injuries done to the Nation, contrary to his Oath, yet their private and publick Dangers ought to deter them from any violent Proceedings against King *Richard*.

This Speech how well soever it was inwardly approved in such Men's Minds, whose Loyalty was stifled rather than extinct, yet was outwardly generally disgust'd, and the Bishop himself being apprehended and sent to the Tower by the Earl-Marshal, (e) the House proceeded to this Resolution, and caused it to be enacted, That King *Richard* having been lawfully deposed from his Royal Dignity for his Misgovernment, was by the Clemency of King *Henry*, granted his Life; yet, for the Security of the Kingdom, should be kept in close Imprisonment so long as he lived, being allow'd a Princely Attendance and Maintenance; but, if any Person should attempt his Deliverance, King *Richard* himself should be the first Man that should be put to Death for it.

And thus was the Nation secured against King *Richard*, and the bad Effects of his Government, as was thought; whereupon the Houses proceeded to provide as effectually as they could for the future Safety, Greatness, and Continuance of their new King, his Friends, and Children; and to that End made several Statutes, viz. 1. That no Persons that had been assisting to King *Henry*, either in subduing King *Richard*, and his Adherents, or in raising King *Henry* to the Regal Dignity, should be hereafter impeach'd for Rebellion and Treason. And whereas King *Richard* had procured a Bull of the Pope for the more certain Observation of some Statutes made by him and his Parliament, as tho' there were not sufficient Power in them to enforce Obedience without the Pope's Concurrence: This was look'd upon by the Parliament as a Derogation to the Regal Dignity of *England*; and accordingly, after they had voted it to be an act of Wrong to the Nation in King *Richard*, to desire any such Bull of the Pope, they enacted; 'That the Crown of the Realm of *England*, and the Jurisdiction belonging to the same; as also the whole Realm it self is still, and at all Times lately past hath been at

such Liberty, and enjoy'd such an independent and absolute Prerogative, that neither the Pope, nor any other Prince or Potentate, who is out of the Kingdom, ought or may intrude himself, or intermeddle with the Rule and Government of the same; and so secured the full Power of the Regal Dignity to King *Henry*. And that not only himself, but Posterity might enjoy it, an Act of Settlement was made to entail the Crown upon King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his Body, lawfully begotten, viz. 'That from and after the Decease of King *Henry*, his eldest Son *Henry*, lately created by his Father, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, should succeed him in the Crown and Government of the Nation, and his Heirs after him; but for want of such Heirs, it should descend and come unto his Three Younger Brothers, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, in order, in case the Heirs of any, or all of them did not survive them. By this Parliament also Archbishop *Arundel* was restored to his See; and *Roger Walden*, who had been put into it by King *Richard*, was removed. (f) Other Matters relating to the present State and Condition of the Nation were resolved, and agreed on; as about the Accompts of Sheriffs, the Liberties of Merchants-Strangers, the Necessity of sending Ambassadors to the Neighbouring Princes, about the present Change, to satisfy them in the King's Title, and Reason of his assuming the Kingdom, with such like Things; and so the Parliament was dissolved.

Henry having thus attended his Parliament for his Establishment; and not much minding how other Affairs went, till he saw what the Effects of that would be, because he knew that if the Parliament stood by him, other Opposition would easily be conquer'd, found the *English* Dominions both at Home and Abroad in great Disorder, and himself to stand very dubious, not only of the Affections of many of his own Subjects, but also of the Foreign Princes his Neighbours. The *Scotts*, while the Parliament sat, knowing that the Lords and Gentlemen, who were the Guardians of the Northern Parts, could not be absent from it in this Juncture, invaded these Countries; and because the Pestilence so afflicted the Inhabitants of them, that few Men of Interest or Estate were left in them, had an Opportunity of doing much Mischief, which they were not wanting to make use of, and took the Castle of *Warke* in *Northumberland*, and demolished it.

The People of *Aquitain*, and especially those about *Bordeaux*, the Place of King *Richard's* Nativity, were much discontented, and were almost resolved to desert that perfidious Nation, which had proved so false and treacherous to their natural Prince, fancying they could not expect a Blessing from Heaven upon so unjust an Usurpation; and to join in Submission, was to bring themselves, as they supposed, under the Stroke of the deserved Vengeance, which was due to so unreasonable a Rebellion. The King of *France*, who was extremely incensed at the Severity of the *English* against his Son-in-Law, King *Richard*, because he was disappointed at once of the Advantage he had propounded to himself in so good an Alliance, and to his Daughter in so great a Match, was not a little pleased to see his Neighbours in *Aquitain* so much disturbed at the Change in *England*; and endeavouring to make their Discontents his Ad-

A. D.
1399.
Reg. 1.

For Anno
1399.
Act 27

(e) He was confin'd in the Abbey of St. Alban's. Hol.
(f) But had the Bishoprick of London given him

A. D. 1399. Reg. I. vantage, sent the Duke of Bourbon to solicit them to a Revolt, which they had easily been tempted to, had not Sir Robert Knolles, the English Governour there, and some of the most considerate Men over-perswaded them, that it was Madness to yield their Necks to the unsupportable Burthen of French Tyranny, out of mere Fears and Jealousies of a bad Consequence of the Revolution in England, which was at best changing a Certainty for an Uncertainty, and so restrain'd their Determination for a Time. King Henry being a watchful and crafty Prince, was not insensible of all these Inconveniencies to himself and Government, but with a wonderful Dexterity he applied such suitable Remedies to them all, as, in some measure, quickly dispelled the Dangers which seem'd thus to threaten him on all Sides. His own Subjects he won by Kindness, taking the Dukes of Aumerle and Exeter into particular Favour, and special Trust about his Person; which Confidence, tho' his Friends blamed him for, yet he chose to shew to them, lest any Indications of Jealousie should excite them to disturb his unsettled State. The Scots he despised, because they appear'd not as Enemies, but as Robbers. The Neighbouring Princes he endeavour'd to satisfy, by sending an Embassy to each of them, fully instructed with all such Arguments for his assuming the Regal Dignity, as rather made his Cause plausible, than justified it; and was so successful with all the Princes unconcern'd, that they seem'd to approve what he had done; unless it were the King of France, who resolved upon a War with England, to restore his Son-in-Law, King Richard, being instigated to it by many of his Nobles, but chiefly by Valerem, Earl of S. Paul, who had married King Richard's half Sister. The deposed King who had been kept a Prisoner in the Tower of London, during the Session of Parliament, was removed to his Castle of Leeds in Kent, and a little after sent to Pomfract Castle in Yorkshire. The People of Guyenne and Aquitain King Henry pacified by sending over to them Tho. Piercy, Earl of Worcester, a Person faithful to his Interests, and very expert in managing Matters of that Nature, with a considerable Body of Men. He behaved himself with that Prudence and Moderation towards the wavering People, perswading the better Sort with fair Promises and good Arguments to continue their Subjection, and terrifying the common People with Threats and Arms, that he in a short time brought those Provinces to swear Fealty to King Richard, and yield as willing Obedience to him, as to any of the former Kings of England; yet he thought fit to plant some Garrisons among them, to secure their Allegiance, if they should be tempted to revolt, and so return'd Home again.

An Embassy sent to the Neighbouring Princes.

Henry

A. D. 1400. R. Henry keeps his Christmas at Windsor.

Things being thus settled, and tolerably composed for the present, the King was encouraged to keep his Christmas after the usual Manner at Windsor, in Feasting and Sports, as being secure from all Dangers, which were near at hand, or within his own Dominions at least, and having Time enough to prepare against his only open Enemy the King of France. But as Sores hastily cured seldom prove sound, so this sudden Settlement of Affairs, after so great a Change, soon appear'd to be weak: For, though the Nation generally approved and liked the King, yet there were many Malecontents, who either out of a true Principle of Loyalty, or out of Pity and Compassion to King Richard, or out of Discontent for their own Losses or Sufferings, desired and sought the Fall of the new erected Go-

vernment. The first Attempt that was made towards it, was begun while the King was giving up himself to the Pleasures and Ease of Christmas; and that it might carry no Shew of the Mischief design'd, was contrived to be acted in a Sport that was usual at that time, *Mumming*, or *Jussing*, after this manner. The Abbot of Westminster, who was a much better Politician than Divine, and upon that account had been in great Favour and Credit with King Richard, was upon the Deposition of his Master not only troubled for the Loss of the Honours and Greatness he enjoy'd under him; but by the Placing of the Duke of Lancaster on the Throne, was put in great Fears of losing what he still enjoy'd, because he had heard him often say, when he was a Subject, *That the Revenues of the Church were too great, and the Estates of the Noblemen in England too little*; which made him conclude, That being now King, he would certainly take away the Revenues of the Abbies, to enrich his Nobles, and so ingratiate himself with the Laity, as well as strengthen his Interest with the Great Men of the Nation. To prevent such a Mischief to the Church, as well as to himself, the Abbot invited several of the Nobility and Gentry, whom he knew to be disaffected to the present Constitution, to a Feast in his Monastery, viz. the Lords lately degraded by Parliament, Edward, Earl of Rutland, late Duke of Aumerle, Thomas and John Holland, the Earls of Huntington and Kent, late Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and Hugh, Lord Spencer, late Earl of Gloucester, Thomas, Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Bernard Brocas, Sir Ralph Lumley, Sir Bennet Celey, and one Magdalen, a Priest, one of King Richard's Chaplains, in Person much resembling his Master; and after Dinner, withdrawing with them into a private Chamber, he propounded the Restitution of King Richard. The Earl of Holland, whose Mind was full of Revenge against King Henry for his late Disgrace, as well as of Desires of restoring King Richard, who was not only his Brother, but best Benefactor, greedily embraced the Proposal; and having urged it upon the whole Company, That they were in Conscience obliged to endeavour to set their lawful King on his Throne again, and depose the Usurper, tho' with Loss of their Lives; That they had no Reason to think it an unlawful Fact, since the Laws and Examples of all civilized Nations did not barely permit this Action, but rewarded and honoured the Actors, as the greatest Benefactors to a Commonwealth: So far prevailed, that they all promised their utmost Assistance to destroy and murder King Henry, and entered into an Indenture *Sextipartite*, to bind themselves each to other to be diligent and faithful in the Undertaking, swearing to keep their Design secret, and attend carefully upon the Execution.

A. D. 1400. Reg. I. A Conspiracy to murder King Henry, and restore King Richard, and the Occasion of it.

The Manner of effecting and bringing about their intended Plot, was thus contrived: The Earls of Huntington and Salisbury appointed to celebrate a solemn *Jusses*, with Twenty select Men of a Side, at Oxford, under a Pretence of diverting the King; and to that End, the Earl of Huntington went to Him, to desire his Presence, and that his Majesty would be pleased to be Judge, if any Controversie should arise in their Exercise. The King not suspecting any Deceit, promised that he would be there at the Time prefix'd, and the Earls made such Preparations as if they were in Earnest, resolving, that when the King was intent upon the Sport,

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1. Sport, a Party of Men, placed conveniently on purpose, should fall upon him, and kill him. The Plot went on smoothly and unsuspected till the Day drew near, and the Lords, having all Things in a Readiness, were preparing to set forward for Oxford. The Earl of Rutland, late Duke of Aumerle, who was one of the principal Conspirators, was as forward as any in the Design; but as he was passing to Oxford, left his direct Way to give his Father, the Duke of York, a Visit, and dine with him. The Earl had brought with him the Counterpart of the Indenture, in which he was bound to the Confederates, and having put it in his Bosom as he was eating, it was espied by his Father, who immediately ask'd him what Writing it was, and what was the Purport of it? The Earl, conscious of the Subject, and knowing how ungrateful such an Enterprize would be to his Father, submissively told him, *That it was nothing that concern'd him, and humbly begg'd that he might be excused.* But the Duke seeing his Son's Backwardness to shew him the Writing, accompanied with Fear and Surprise, was the more eager to know the Contents of it, and swearing by St. George, That he would see it, flew upon his Son, and by Force took it from him. When the Duke had read it, and saw the Treasonable Design carry'd on by it, he burst out into a great Passion at his Son, charging him not only with Treason to the King, but the most ungrateful Perfidiousness to himself, who being bound for his Allegiance in the last Parliament, was involved in the same Ruine and Destruction with him: And therefore told him, *That since he had so little Regard to the Safety of a Father, that had been so tender of his Son's Preservation, as to lay down his Life as a Pledge for it, he would take Care to secure his own Life, tho' with an Hazard to his Son's;* and thereupon order'd his Horses to be saddled, to go to Windsor, and discover the whole Matter to the King. The Earl of Rutland, affrighted with his present Danger, and having his Conscience, as well as his Father, for his Accuser, was in great Perplexity what he should do; and tho' he was unwilling to desert his Confederates, yet, now seeing nothing but unavoidable Ruine to attend the Prosecution of their Design, because the King would, by his Father's Discovery of it, have Time to avoid their Contrivance, and provide against them, he resolv'd to become the first Betrayer of the Plot himself, and therefore taking Horse as soon as his Father was gone, rode another Way to Windsor, and got to the King before him, Youth and Danger putting Spurs to his Horse. As soon as he arrived at the Castle, and had gain'd Admission, he pretended earnest Business with the King, and having caus'd the Gates to be lock'd, took the Keys with him. Being come into the King's Presence, he kneel'd down to him, and with a trembling Voice, and dejected Countenance, begg'd his Mercy and Pardon. The King wondring at his Petition, ask'd him, *For what Offence?* Then the Earl gave him a full Account of the Conspiracy, and Conspirators, with the Manner and Design of the Execution of it. The King, neither rashly credulous, nor imprudently careless of his own Safety, entertain'd the Discovery kindly, and told the Earl, *That if his Relation were true, he would pardon him, but if he sought to impose upon him, it should be at his own Peril.* These

Conspiracy
betrayed by
the Earl of
Rutland.

Things had hardly passed between the King and Earl, but the Duke of York arriv'd, who by delivering the Indenture to the King, gave him a sufficient Demonstration of the intended Treason and Plot against his Life: So that after he had read and perus'd it, there was no Room left to doubt of the Confession he had receiv'd from the Earl of Rutland; wherefore, making some Reflections upon the Baseness and Ingratitude of his Enemies, whom he spared, contrary to the Desire of the People, in thus seeking his Ruin, he turn'd his Thoughts to more necessary Considerations, how he should secure himself, and defeat the Designs of his Enemies, for his Intention of going to Oxford sunk of it self. And for that End he wrote his Letters to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and such of his Friends as he had in other Countries, to provide what Forces they could raise with all Speed, and come to him to London, whether he posted as fast as he could, for fear least his Enemies should surprize him at Windsor; and (g) having acquainted the Major with his impending Danger, provided a Force in the City for his Defence, resolving to stay there till he could find what Course his Enemies would take against him.

The Lords, and the rest of the Conspirators at Oxford who waited in Expectation of the Earl of Rutland, not hearing of his or the King's Approach, easily guess'd, that the Plot was betray'd, and therefore considering, that they had so lately been pardon'd, and could not hope again for Mercy, which they had so grossly abused, resolv'd to undertake by open Arms, what they had contriv'd to effect more privately: And that they might get as great a Party as was possible, they cloath'd Magdalen in Royal Robes, and gave it out, That King Richard had made his Escape from Pomfrast-Castle, and was come among them to recover his Right, having their Pseudo-Richard ready to justify their Pretences to the Scrupulous and Inquisitive. And because they knew, that the King of France would be glad of an Opportunity of restoring his Son-in-Law K. Richard, they sent to him for his Assistance, and tho' it was not possible to have it presently, yet hoped, he might contribute something in the Spring to their Success. In the mean time, they sent out their Emisaries, to gather as great Numbers out of the Nation to restore King Richard, as they could, and wrought so far upon the People, who generally pity'd the hard Fate of the Captive King, that in a few Days they had gotten together 40000 Men well arm'd. This prosperous Beginning seem'd an Omen of their good End; and, that they might effect their Desires as soon as possible, they march'd first towards Windsor against King Henry, whom if they could surprize, they hoped to make a speedy Conclusion of the Nation's Troubles; but the King was escap'd to London the Night before, and so they miss'd of their Prey. This Disappointment put them into great Doubts how to proceed effectually against him. Some advis'd to march forward to London, and set upon the King, while the City was unresolv'd, and in no Readiness to make any Resistance, which as it was the best Course they could take, so it shew'd a brave Courage in the Advisers: But the most part, who were more timorous and cautious, thought it better to release King Richard first, lest if

A. D.
1400.
Reg. 1.

The Lords
carried on
the Rebel-
lion after
Discovery.

(g) He staid a Day or two at Windsor, but hearing the Conspirators had got 40000 Men together, he stole away in the Night to London; and a few Hours after he was gone, the Rebels came to Windsor. Sir J. Hayward's, Henry IV.

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1. it should be discover'd, that he was still in Prison, all their Plot should be unravell'd. This Counsel, tho' the worst, was accepted, and in pursuit of it, they turn'd back to *Colebrook*, and so went to *Sunnings*, near *Reading*, where Queen *Isabel's* Palace was; to whom they gave this Account, That the King was gotten from his Imprisonment, at *Pomfract*, and at the Head of an Army of 100000 Men. Which News was so pleasant to the Queen, that she immediately defaced King *Henry's* Arms, and pull'd off his Badge from her Servants, who were engaged to wear it, (b) and then departed with the Lords to meet King *Richard*; exhorting the People, as they passed along, to take Arms to vindicate their injured King, who was, and is, and should be their Sovereign. They passed through *Wallingford*, and *Abbingdon*, and at length came to (i) *Cirencester*; where having encamp'd their Army in the Fields, the Lords took up their Lodgings in the Town, the Earl of *Kent*, late Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Salisbury*, in one Inn; and Earl of *Huntington*, late Duke of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Spencer*, late Earl of *Glocester*, in another Inn. The Bailiff of the Town, who was a firm Friend to King *Henry*, observing the ill Conduct of this rebellious Rout, and knowing, that if the Heads of the Faction could be suppressed, the misguided Multitude would melt away of it self, look'd upon the impolitic Separation of the Lords from the Body of the Army, to be a good Opportunity of suppressing the Rebellion, if he could get them into his Power, which seem'd no difficult Matter, because they lay in weak Inns, with no Guards, but a small Attendance of Servants: Wherefore, getting together about Eighty Archers, and such other Arms, as the Time would give leave; he beset the Inns; and though the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Salisbury* with their Men made as brave a Resistance as the Place and their Company would permit; yet they were at length all, but the Duke of *Exeter* and Sir *John Shelly* taken, and carried Prisoners to the Abbey. All Means was used by the Servants of the Lords, and their Retainers to further their Escape, for they set the Town on fire in several Places, hoping, that while the Townsmen were busied to save their Houses and Goods, their Masters might have Opportunity to get from them: Others fled to the Army to relate the Accident, and bring them to rescue their Captains and Leaders, but all proved in vain; for the Townsmen enraged by the mischievous Action, neglected their Houses, and bringing forth the Lords, whom they look'd upon as the Authors and Advisers of this cruel Act, beheaded Two of them in the Market-place, viz. The Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Salisbury*. And the Army seeing the Fires in the Town, supposed that King *Henry*, who had gotten a good Army of *Londoners*, and others, and was pursuing them, had entred the Town; so every Man fled to save themselves.

Several of the Chief of the Rebels executed at *Cirencester*.

King *Henry* was by this Time arriv'd at *Oxford*, with Intention to stop the Progress of the Rebels; but the Service of the Men of *Cirencester* had made his Arms useless, being met there with the good News of their Dispersion, and a strong Guard, with Sir *Bennett Shelly*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, and Twenty Eight Lords, Knights and Gentlemen more, who were the chief Leaders of the

Rebellion, whom they had taken and sent to be disposed of at the King's Pleasure. These he immediately caused to be executed there. Some of the Lords, and others who were Chief in this Revolt, were fled, as the Duke of *Exeter* and Sir *John Shelly*, (k) who got into *Essex*, and attempted several Times to get over into *France*, but were driven back by contrary Winds; and so at length were taken at *Prittlewell*, and being carry'd to *Plesby*, were executed in the very Place where the Duke had before arrested the Duke of *Glocester*; a just Reward, as was then thought, of his Wickedness to that Nobleman. The Earl of *Glocester* fled towards *Wales*, but being taken, was Beheaded at *Brissol*, and *Magdalene*, the Counterfeit *Richard*, with one *Fezeby*, another of King *Richard's* Chaplains, were apprehended in their Flight to *Scotland*, and being brought to the Tower of *London*, were hang'd and quarter'd. The Heads and Quarters of many of the Conspirators were set upon *London-Bridge*, and sent into other Parts of the Nation to be a Terrour to the King's Subjects against such Attempts for the future, which, though a just Punishment, yet savour'd so much of Cruelty, that many grave Men were discontented at it, and spared not to say, That in a short time they should wish they still had had King *Richard* for their Governour, the Faults which proceeded from his Remisness and Mildness being more tolerable than the Cruelty of their new King. But yet, for the present, all Things seem'd quiet, and the Rebellion was perfectly allay'd, which though it was a great Satisfaction to King *Henry* and his Friends, yet was born so heavily by the Abbot of *Westminster*, who was the Author of it, that for mere Grief of the Disappointment, he fell suddenly into a Palsey, of which he shortly after died. The Bishop of *Carlisle* had the like Death about the same time; for being condemn'd for this Rebellion, he prevented his more shameful Execution by dying for Grief and Trouble in Prison. And thus most of King *Richard's* best Friends were taken off by this first Attempt.

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1.

But altho' this Conspiracy against King *Henry's* Life and Dignity was by a propitious Providence disappointed, and the Actors perish'd as suddenly and exemplarily as the King himself could have desired; yet so long as the Cause remain'd, and King *Richard* was alive, he thought he could never promise himself any Security, but, upon every small Discontent, the plausible Pretence of restoring King *Richard* to his Throne would be made use of to revenge themselves, and disturb his Quiet: He should be always look'd upon as an Usurper so long as King *Richard*, whose Right was confirm'd by 22 Years Possession, survived; and, notwithstanding the Rebellion was now appeas'd, yet what Respite could he hope from the like Attempts, so long as the Body of the Rebels still remain'd, wanting only Heads to lead them. These Arguments, grounded upon strong Fears and Presumptions, made him think King *Richard's* Death necessary first, and after put K. *Richard* him upon Resolutions of destroying him. Our Historians differ much in the Manner of his Death, tho' most agree it was by *Henry's* Means: For that King *Richard* should voluntarily starve himself for Discontent at the ill Success of the late Rebellion; as some have related, seems very

(b) The King's own Servants attended on her.

(i) at *Chichester*.

(k) They got out of *Chichester*, while the Duke of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the other Conspirators, were fighting with the Townsmen, and coming to the Rebels Camp, found them dispersed at the Sight of the Fire in the Town.

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1. improbable, because he could not be so ignorant of the uncertain Events of Battles and Warlike Attempts, as to be so impatient for a Disappointment, nor had Reason to despair of future Endeavours for him, since of the many Thousands that join'd for his Restoration, he had not lost Half an Hundred. Those that impute King Richard's Death to King Henry's Order or Encouragement, disagree in the Method of doing it. Some say, He was, by his Order, kept Fifteen Days together from Food, and so, by the Help of Cold, starv'd to Death. Others write, That he was every Day served with Plenty of Dishes fit for a King's Table, as was order'd by Parliament, but not permitted to touch any of them, and so died with Hunger: But both these Ways of destroying were so plain and barbarous, that most of our Modern Historians are of Opinion; That King Henry would not so notoriously contradict his Promise, which he had so lately made in Parliament, *That King Richard's Life should not be touch'd.* And therefore the general Current of our Writers follow the Relation of an Author (1) of those Times, who seems to have had very good Intelligence of his Death, and relates it thus: That K. Henry sitting at Table one Day very sad and melancholy, burst out into these Words, *How miserable is my Condition! who live in continual Fears and Dangers from but one Cause, and yet have no Man so much my Friend as to free me from them.* Sir Peirce de Exton hearing these Words, easily guess'd what the King meant, and though he knew them to be no Order or Command, yet he believ'd it would be the more acceptable Undertaking to execute his Desire without an express Command from him; and therefore immediately hasten'd, with Eight Ruffians, to Pomfrast to execute his bloody Design. When he was arrived, he order'd the Gentleman, who usually was King Richard's Taster, to neglect his Service, and let him eat what he pleased, because he should not eat long. When his Dinner therefore was served in, the Taster omitting his Duty, King Richard demanded the Cause of it, who reply'd, *That Sir Peirce de Exton, who was lately come from the King, had forbid him.* At which Answer King Richard, being angry, catch'd up the Carving-Knife, and striking the Taster with it, said, *The Devil take Harry of Lancaster, and thee together!* As the King spoke these Words, came in Sir Peirce himself, and his Eight Attendants arm'd. Their Design was easily known by the Roughness of their Entrance, and King Richard was so far from being daunted at their Presence, that he wrung an Pole-Ax out of one of their Hands, and stood upon his Defence. The Ruffians and Sir Peirce undauntedly pursued their Intent, and assaulted the King, who so well defended himself; that he kill'd Four of them before they could master him. At length Sir Peirce himself coming behind him struck him a Blow on the Head, and fell'd him, and so he died. The News of King Richard's Death, however it might inwardly please Henry, yet he openly received it with no small Signs of Sorrow for his untimely Fate, and as great Disgust to the Instruments of it; so that Sir Peirce, who expected a Reward for this Piece of Service, was quite put out of Favour, and forced to flee to escape the Punishment due to his Crime, which the King, to save his own Honour, seem'd zealous to execute, and died in Discontent, and

Horror of Conscience.

Thus did King Richard end his Life, after he had Lived 33 Years, and reigned 22, some few Months after his Deposition. He was a Man of a very well-proportion'd Body and graceful Personage, of a very liberal and kind Disposition, which, for want of more Age and Experience, expos'd him to the Flatteries and crafty Insinuations of such as were about him, and humour'd his Genius to Pleasures and Pastimes, which he much lov'd and follow'd. He was by Nature every way qualified to have made an excellent King, neither wanting Understanding to rule, nor Courage to defend a Nation; but being corrupted in his Youth by Flattery, and misled by lewd Persons, he neither knew himself nor others, which was the only Cause of his Ruine; for had he dared to do as much at his last Arrival in Wales, as he did at his Death, or had he made better Choice of Friends, as he had Judgment enough to have done, he might have kept his Kingdom, perhaps, longer than he did. He was guilty certainly of many Faults in Government, but those, either really none of his own, or for want of Experience, which, had they happen'd in other Times, might have been born with, but meeting with Pride and Ambition in the Great Ones, and Discontents in the People, proved his Destruction.

King Henry, being thus rid of his Fears, took such Care of his Funeral, as shew'd, that he neither neglected him, nor would own him for a Rival in his Dignity. His Body being embalm'd, and wrapp'd in Sear-Cloaths, was cover'd with Lead all but the Face, and set in the Minster at Pomfrast several Days to be seen of all Persons, who, either out of Curiosity or Pity, would behold him. From thence it was removed to London, and in most of the principal Towns as it was carry'd along, was shew'd to all Spectators. In its Passage thro' the City, the Corps was carried bare-faced, and being brought to St. Paul's, lay Three Days also open to all Beholders, in which time was kept a solemn Obsequies to the deceased Prince, both in that Cathedral, and at Westminster, King Henry himself being present at them, with all the Magistrates, and chief Men of the City. These sacred Offices being perform'd according to the Religion of those Times, the King commanded his Corps to be carried down to Langley-Abbey, in Buckinghamshire, and there buried in the Church of the Friars-Precursors, which was accordingly done by the Bishop of Chester, and the Abbots of Waltham, and St. Albans; none of the Nobles or Commoners being allow'd to attend it, nor any Dinner, or other Ceremony used at it, as was the Custom of those Times. But King Henry afterwards had his Body brought back again, and magnificently entombed at Westminster, by the Body of his Queen Ann, by this pious Deed endeavouring to expiate his Father's Injustice, and Cruelty done to that King.

Much about the Time of King Richard's Death, deceased also the Dutches of Gloucester, who being extremely grieved for the Loss of her Eldest Son Humphrey, who died of the Pestilence at Chester, sunk under the Load of her Sorrows, and departed this Life. Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who, for his Accusation of the then Duke of Hereford, but now the King, was banish'd for his Life, died also in

(1) Thomas of Walsingham.

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1. The D. of York's Death and Character. Exile at Venice, John, Duke of Brittain in France, who had for his first Wife Mary, Daughter of King Edward the Third, deceased also, leaving behind him a Widow Joanna, who was not long after marry'd to King Henry, and three Sons, John, Richard, and Arthur. Edmund, Duke of York, also yielded to Mortality about this Time, and left two Sons, Edward, late Duke of Aumerl, and then Earl of Rutland, who was Heir of his Honour and Estate; and Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who marrying Anna Mortimer, the Heiress of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and Daughter of Philippa, the only Child surviving of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, became afterward a Competitor for the Crown. He carry'd himself in his Nephew King Richard's Reign with such Prudence and Caution, that he neither incur'd the Odium of the Court or People, as almost all the rest of the Nobility did, but was trusted by the King, and yet loved by the Commons. Under King Henry he shew'd more Compliance to the Change of Government, than was thought agreeable to the Relation he had to the King; but there was so great a Necessity of submitting where all Opposition had been fruitless, that even in this worst Action of his Life, he kept up his Reputation of Honesty and Prudence to the last, and died lamented and honour'd; his Moderation in all times gaining him both Praise and Safety.

King of France ready to invade England, desists from it upon the News of King Richard's Death. While these Things happen'd in England, Charles, King of France, who had resolv'd to revenge the Wrong done to King Richard by the English, was very active and busie to gather such an Army, as might be able to effect his Design; and by the Assistance of his Nobility, who readily concurr'd with him in so great a piece of Justice, had got all Things necessary for that Expedition ready against the Spring, and was come down with a mighty Army into Picardy; from whence he intended to sail over into England: But the News of the Death of King Richard being brought to the Army, chang'd their Resolutions; and now since they saw it impossible to restore him, the King and chief Men engag'd in that Enterprize, thought it the best way to desist from the Invasion, which, though it had some shews of Advantage by plundering so rich a Country, for which End some desir'd it might go on, yet had so much evident Hazard attending it, that most were willing and glad of the Opportunity of laying it aside, and so the Army was dismissed: And it was resolv'd, that a solemn Embassage should be sent over to Henry to demand, that Queen Isabell should be sent into France to her Father with her Dower, which was accordingly done; but King Henry would give them no other Answer than this, That he would shortly send his Commissioners to Callis to treat and conclude with their Master about that, and several other Affairs of Importance to both Realms, and then would do what was Just and Reasonable.

The Welsh rebel under Owen Glendour. This Summer the Welsh weary of Subjection to the English, and thinking this a fit Opportunity to revolt, when Subjection was grown a disputed Duty, set up Owen Glendour to be their Prince and Captain, and associating themselves in a firm League under him, resolv'd to recover their Ancient Liberty, and free themselves from the English Yoke. This Owen was of no great Parentage among his People nor Estate; but being a Gentleman of great Courage and Boldness in himself, and because he had been a Servant to King Richard at Flint-Castle, was very forward to oppose and annoy King Henry's Dominions, partly to vindicate his Old Ma-

ster, and partly his own private Wrongs. The latter he thought would be the more plausible Pretence for his Rebellion; and therefore having had a Quarrel with Reginald, Lord Gray of Rutben, about a part of a Common which lay between their Estates, and had been enjoy'd by Owen some time in King Richard's Days, but was lately adjudg'd by Law to belong to the Lord Gray, to the great Discontent of Owen Glendour, who taking occasion from the rebellious Humour of his Country-men, invaded the Lord Gray's Estate, with a Body of Men, burns his Houses and Woods, tramples down his Corn, and barbarously murder'd his Servants and Tenants. The Lord Gray, with such Assistance as he could get among his Neighbours and Friends, stood up in his own Defence, and fought to subdue his Enemies: But being overpowered by Owen Glendour and his Welsh Men, was taken Prisoner himself, and many of his Assistance kill'd. Owen, glad of this Advantage to raise his Family, treated the Lord very gently and civilly, and promised him Liberty upon Condition, that he would marry his Daughter: But the Lord at first scorn'd the Offer; yet at length considering that he was unable to discharge his Ransom without a greater Damage to his Estate accepted it, and was marry'd to her, which was not so grateful to Owen, as to oblige him to release him, because he look'd upon it as only a crafty Design, and therefore he as deceitfully dealt with him, and kept him Prisoner till his Death. The Success which the Welsh had against the Lord Gray, so encourag'd them, that they made another Inroad into Herefordshire, and having spoil'd and harrassed the Country, return'd with much Riches and Prey. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who was retreated to his Manner of Wigmore, in that Country, being much griev'd for the Miseries of his Country, assembl'd all the Gentry of those Parts to oppose the Insolencies of their Neighbours, and engaging with them, maintain'd a bloody and long Battel; but by the good Conduct of Owen, who like a brave Commander encourag'd his Men to hold out, with the Glory of Victory, and Promises of Reward, they were overcome, above a Thousand of the English being slain, and the Earl of March himself taken Prisoner: The Welsh grew very Insolent by this Victory, and not only abused the Bodies of the slain, but having loaden the Earl of March with Chains, put him into a nasty and irksom Dungeon, and ravag'd all the Countries on the West of Severn, burning and destroying the Towns and Villages with extreme Barbarity. King Henry was not insensible of these Mischiefs, but either looking upon them as the Effects of a private Quarrel between the Welsh and their Neighbours, or else being taken up with Matters of greater Moment, would not concern himself in them; and though he was solicited much by the Friends of the Earl of March to revenge his Quarrel, and redeem him from Captivity, yet he would not listen to their Desires, knowing his Title to the Crown, and his Liberty might be a Damage to him, but told them, The Earl had not engag'd in his Quarrel, and therefore he was under no Obligation to redeem him.

While these Things were done by the Welsh, The Scots were not idle in molesting England, both by Land and Sea, though with no great Advantage to themselves, the English doing as much Damage to the Scots in the Isles of Orkney, as they had done in Northumberland, and taking the greatest part of their Fleet, which they had

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1.

Reg. 2.

The Earl of March taken Prisoner by the Welsh.

The Scots trouble England, and War is proclaimed between the Two Nations.

A. D. 1400. Reg. 2. sent out, under the Command of Sir Robert Logon, to surprize the *English* Fishermen; yet so long as Damages were equal, the Peace was not actually broken, till King Henry was thought to give an Occasion to Robert, King of Scots, to proclaim open War upon this Account, and for this Reason: George Dunbarr, Earl of the *Marches of Scotland*, having betroth'd his Daughter to Prince David, the Eldest Son of Robert, King of Scots, had paid that King a great Sum of Money, in Consideration of the Marriage which was shortly to be celebrated; but being defeated in his Agreement by the Subtilty of Archibald, Earl of *Dowglass*, who envying the Dignity of the Earl of *March's* Family, so prevail'd with the King, that he married his Son to his own Daughter *Mariel*. This Affront and Disappointment was a very great Vexation to the Earl of *March*, inasmuch that he could hardly restrain his Passions from breaking out into open Rebellion; but chusing first to make the Cause known, demanded of King Robert the Restitution of his Money, which he had paid him; but the King not able to spare it, tho' he could not refuse Payment, yet would neither promise it, nor pay it; but put him off with delusory Answers and Delays. The Earl being impatient at the Injustice of Robert, sends Messengers to the King of *England*, to request of him a Permission for himself and Family to come into his Dominions, and Letters of safe Conduct for that End, complaining heavily of the Injury done him by his own King, and intending by the Assistance of the *English* to revenge his Wrongs and Loss. King Henry thinking that the Earl might be some Advantage to him, if there should happen any Wars between the Two Nations, gave him Liberty to come into his Kingdom; and he immediately fled out of *Scotland* with his Family to Henry, Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom he was receiv'd with a grateful Welcome, and by his Assistance and Advice, the Earl made many Incursions into *Scotland* with Success, burning their Towns, and returning with much Booty.

The King of Scots hearing that the Earl of *March* was gone, and turn'd his open Enemy, deprived him of his Honour, seiz'd upon all his Goods and Possessions in *Scotland*, and proclaim'd him an open Traitor, sending Messengers to King Henry, to tell him, *That he must either deliver up to him the Earl of March, or banish him his Dominions, or else not expect that the Truce between the Two Nations should last long.* King Henry knowing the uncertain Humour of the Scots, and considering their late Incursions, to the Prejudice of his Subjects, was resolv'd not to lose the Benefit of this Discontent between the King of Scots and Earl of *March*, and therefore return'd an Answer, *That he was desirous of the Continuance of the Peace, but not fearful of the War, which he would rather run the Hazard of, than falsifie his Honour and Promise to the Earl of March, and his Company, who had come into his Nation by his Permission and Leave.* This Answer being brought to the Scotch King, so incensed him, that he proclaim'd War against the King of *England*, and accordingly both Kings began their Preparations for it against the next Spring, when the Season would allow it.

The Greek Emperor comes into England.

The *Greecian* Emperor *Immanuel Palæologus*, whose Dominions were in great Danger to be lost by the Incursions of the *Turks* under *Bazajet* the Sixth, came into *England* to beg King Henry's Assistance against them. The King met him at *Black-Heath*, and conducted him with much Respect and Honour through the City of

London, and entertain'd him magnificently, bearing his Charges all the Time of his Abode in *England*, which was but short, because he receiv'd News, that the King of *Leto* had defeated the *Bassa* of *Jerusalem*, and taken that City, and he thought it might be some Advantage to his Affairs at Home: Wherefore, taking his Leave of King Henry, he departed, being dismiss'd by him with rich Gifts, and Promises of a larger Assistance, when he should by God's Providence have Peace settled among his Subjects.

In the *Utas* or *Octaves* of *S. Hilary*, Jan. 21. the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and made divers Acts for the Benefit both of Church and State. For the Good of the Church, it was made a *Præmunire* for any Person to purchase any Bull from the Pope, to exempt them from Payment of Tythes, for the *Cistercian* Monks, and other religious Orders then began to bring in such Exemptions, not only for their own *Granges*, but also for all their Farms and Lands belonging to their Monastries holden by Laymen, and so much lessen'd the Maintenance of the secular Clergy, which further to prevent, the Parliament made this Act. But that which was then thought to be the best Act for the Support of the Church, was the Statute against the *Lollards*, or Hereticks of those Times, because Corruptions in Doctrines are more prejudicial to the Church, than the Loss of its Revenues. The Occasion of this Act, was this: One *William Sawter*, a Priest, but a Follower of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, having formerly recanted his Opinions before the Bishop of *Norwich*, grew more zealous upon his Repentance, and rise from this Fall; and that he might satisfy for his Lapse, by an Act of singular Courage and Charity, came into the Parliament House, and petition'd, That he might be allow'd to speak something for the inestimable Benefit and Advantage of the Nation, purposing to propound a general Reformation both of Doctrine and Discipline in the Church. The Bishops, who some of them knew the Man and his Conversation, and that though he were a Man of singular Piety and Vertue, yet worshipp'd God after the Way which they call'd Heresie, opposed his Request, and desired that he might be turn'd over to the Convocation to be examined; which being granted, he was there accused of holding Heterodox Opinions about the Worship of Saints and Angels, Pilgrimages to Tombs and Shrines, and the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. To which, being obliged to answer particularly, many Days were spent in his Examination, and Conviction. In the mean time the Clergy and their Friends, being excited by his Forwardness, to stand up for their Doctrine and Church, became earnest Suiters to the King, to provide a sufficient Remedy against so growing an Evil, and obtain'd a severe Act against all erroneous Opinions; because, in this unsettled Estate, he was willing to gratifie the Clergy, who had assisted him in his coming to the Throne, and being discontented, might much embroil his Affairs. Therefore he caused it to be enacted, 'That none should preach without License, except Persons priviledged: That none should preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of Holy Church; and, that none should favour or abet such Preachers, or their Doctrines, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the Diocesan of the Place, within Forty Days after the Proclamation of this Statute: And, if

A. D. 1400. Reg. 2.

A. D. 1401.

Second Parliament, and its Acts.

The Act de Heretico comburendo first made.

A. D. 1401. Reg. 2. if any Persons were defamed, or suspected of doing against this Ordinance, then the Ordinary might arrest them, and keep them in Prison till they were Canonically clear'd of the Articles laid to their Charge, or abjured them according to the Laws of the Church, provided that the Proceedings against them were publickly and judicially done, and ended within Three Months after the Arrest; and, if they were convicted, he might fine them, and keep them in Prison, as to him should seem fit: And if any being convict did refuse to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapse, then they were to be left to the Secular Court: And the Mayors, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs being present at the Passing the Sentence, were to receive them after Sentence, and they before the People in an High-place to be burnt.

This Act was no sooner past, but the Clergy put it in Execution upon *William Sauter*, that it might be a Terror to all others; for being convicted of Heresie, and Relapse, the King issued out his Writ, Feb. 26. for his Execution, which was done accordingly, (m) and so the Act was sealed with Blood.

Other Laws also were made of great Use and Advantage to the State, viz. That no Provisions should be brought from *Rome* by any religious Person, to exempt him from Obedience to the Secular Power; and that all such Persons that shall bring any such Provisions into the Nation, shall incur a *Premunure*. That no Person shall carry any Gold or Silver in Coin, without the special License of the King, out of the Nation; and if any Person shall presume to do the Contrary, he shall forfeit all the said Coin to the King. That the Chirographer of the *Common-Pleas*, Clerk of the Crown of the *King's-Bench*, the Marshal of the *Marshalsea* of the King's House should take no greater Fees than what are prescribed and limited by the said Statutes.

By these Acts the due Subjection of the Clergy and People was preserved and secured to the King, the Traffick of the Nation promoted, and Courts of Justice made an Ease, and not an intolerable Grievance, as since they have been, to all such as seek their Rights. We do not find that the King had, or desired any Tax in this or the former Parliament, because, as he had no great Need of more than the Revenues of the Crown, so he was willing to get the Love of the People by easing them of Charge, and oppressing Taxes.

As soon as the Parliament was dismissed, the King sent his Ambassadors according to his Promise to *Guifnes*, to treat with the *French* about Queen *Isabel's* Restitution, and others Matters of Importance. The *English* Ambassadors were *Edward*, Duke of *Tork*; *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son *Henry*, surnamed, *Hotspur*; the Lord *Fitz-Warren*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*; and the *French* were, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords *D'Albert*, *Hangeft*, and *Chastlemorant*, and the Bishops of *Paris* and *Beauvais*. The main Things insisted upon by the *English* were, that Queen *Isabel* might be given in Marriage to King *Henry*, (n) since the Marriage between her and King *Richard* was never consummated by actual Knowledge; and that the Truce which was made by King *Richard* for Thirty Years, might be continued

for the Years that were unexpired. The *French* Ambassadors would by no Means consent to a Marriage, because it was not in their Instructions to treat about it, and their Master being in a Fit of his old Disease, the Frenzy, was not capable of treating with, about any such Proposition; and so they insisted upon it, That she should be restor'd, with her Dower. The *English* reply'd, That the Marriage not being compleated, she had no Dower, but she should be sent back with her Treasure and Jewels. Concerning the Truce, they came to a firm Agreement, That so much of the Truce as was unexpired should go on, till the Thirty Years were out: And so the Treaty ended, and Queen *Isabel* was soon after sent, under the Care of the Earl of *Worcester*, and several other Noblemen and Women, into *France*, and between *Bulloigne* and *Calis* was deliver'd to the Lord *Valeran*, Earl of *St. Paul*, Lieutenant in *Picardy*, who, with many *French* Lords and Ladies, convey'd her to *Paris* to her Father and Mother, by whom she was not long after given in Marriage to *Charles*, the eldest Son of *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*. The Earl of *Northumberland* protested her free from all Marriage-Bonds, and received a Testimonial of her safe Delivery to them, from the Earl of *St. Paul*.

King *Henry*, having gather'd a large Army to go against *Scotland*, thought it was the wisest Way not to wait for the Coming of the *Scots*, but to invade his Enemies Country, because that means the Miseries of the War would fall wholly upon the *Scots*, and both Sides prey upon *Scotland*: Wherefore sending some of his Light Troops before, to bring a Terrour upon them, that they might not invade *England* before he could arrive with the whole Army, he entred *Scotland* at last with all his Forces, and burnt many of their Towns and Villages, took their Castles, and ruin'd the greatest part of *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, sparing nothing but Monastries and Churches. The *Scots*, terrified with the Greatness of his Army, which they represented much greater than it really was, fled before him, and made no Resistance; so that where-ever he came, the whole Country was left in his Power, and to the Will of his Soldiers.

In the End of September, the King besieged the Castle of *Maidens* in *Edinburgh*, which was maintain'd against him by *David*, Duke of *Rothsay*, Prince of the Realm, and *Archibald*, Earl of *Douglafs*, who were the Causes of the War. While this Castle was besieged, *Robert*, Duke of *Albany*, was appointed Governour of the Realm, because the King of the *Scots* was very sick, and unable to govern. This Duke, being under an Obligation, as Vice-Roy, to rescue the Castle from being taken, sent to King *Henry*, desiring him to forbear an Assault upon it for six Days only, and he would give him Battle, and either raise the Siege, or lose his Life. King *Henry*, being a very magnanimous and courageous Prince, who valued an Heroick Action above the Taking of an inconsiderable Fort, liberally rewarded the Herald that came with the Petition and Promise, giving him a Silk-Gown and a Gold-Chain; and assuring him on his Word, that he would tarry the Time desired: But it was evident, that the Duke of *Albany* was not so sincere in his De-

(m) He was burnt in *Smithfield*.

(n) The *English* Ambassadors demanded her in Marriage for the Prince of *Wales*, King *Henry's* eldest Son; A Man answerable to her in equal Degree both of Blood and Years.

A. D. 1401. Reg. 3. fire, as Henry was in his Promise, because he never durst appear against King Henry, and, 'tis probable, had no other Design, but, by his Delays, to keep the King from Action, till Winter and Want should force him home, which the Time of the Year easily foretold were at Hand, as, indeed, it happen'd accordingly; for the King, out of Generosity, waiting longer than his Appointment, was forced to withdraw Home without any further Action, because of the Weather and the Want of Provision. The Scots, while King Henry remain'd in Scotland, having the Lords Wardens of the Marches with him, had made some Inroads into England, and did much Harm in Cumberland about Bamborough-Castle, but retreated when the People assembled against 'em: And when King Henry was gone, they again vex'd the Borders, under the Command of Sir Thomas Halibarton of Dirleton, and Sir Patrick Hebborn of Hales; and though they did little Harm, yet they shew'd, that though they had no Courage to fight their Enemies, they had Malice to revenge themselves upon them. And thus concluded the first Summer's War between the English and Scots.

K. Henry goes against the Welsh.

While the King was thus busied in Scotland, Owen Glendour, and his Welsh, were (o) very active in annoying the Counties adjoining, doing all manner of Mischief, which either Malice or Cruelty could invent, burning, plundering and destroying as they pleased. The King being return'd, tho' he was not much concern'd to revenge the Earl of Marche's Quarrel, whose Captivity he did not much pity, because he would have been well pleased if a more severe Fate had befallen him; yet hearing of the Miseries of his Subjects in those Parts, he march'd, with his Army, against the Welsh, to punish them for their Cruelty. Owen, as unequal in Strength to the King as in Courage, withdrew himself and his Party, and fled into the Desarts and inaccessible Places about Snowden Hills (p); so that the King could do no more, than plunder and waste the Country, which he did very severely, to show his Anger against those Rebels, and carried away a great Booty of Cattle with him.

Some Accidents of this Year.

Several remarkable Things are said to have happen'd this Year. King Henry's Enemies, discouraged by the ill Success of their Plot the last Year, dared not to appear in any open and form'd Action, but they are supposed to have convey'd a Galthrap (q) into his Bed, which being so fram'd, That Three Iron Spikes, very sharp, stood upward, it was almost impossible for him to have escap'd Death, if he had chanced to have lain down upon it; but discovering it before he went into his Bed, he saved his Life. The Contrivers and Layers of it could never be found out. The usual Plenty of this Nation was so much abated, that Wheat is said to have been sold at Sixteen Shillings a Quarter, which not long before was at Four Shillings; and it had been much dearer, but that the Merchants brought much Rye and Rye-Flour out of Sprucia, (r) which serving for common Use, kept down the Price of Wheat. But tho' there was such a Judgment upon the Nation as Famine, yet the Natives

were not humbled by it, but great Pride and Vanity in Cloathing were used, Masters and Servants wearing Gowns with Poke-Sleeves down to the Ground, which were both vain and superfluous. The Conduit in Cornhill was built in a Place, where before had stood a Prison for Night-Walkers, call'd, *The Tun*, the Materials of which serv'd to raise the new Conduit.

The King having been at very great Charges by his Expeditions into Wales and Scotland, had a Subsidy granted him by the Laity, by way of voluntary Contribution, or Gift, without calling his Parliament; so ready are Subjects to assist the King with Monies, when they see them careful for the publick Welfare of the Nation.

About the Beginning of March appear'd a very terrible Blazing-Star, sending forth its Fiery Streams at first toward the North-East, and at length toward the North, where it seem'd to fix, which was after thought to portend the bloody Wars between the Scots and English, and the several Executions done this Year upon the Malecontents under the Government. These latter not only raised divers Reports, that King Richard was alive, and would shortly come to recover his Right with a puissant Army, but industriously dispersed them as Things certain thro' the whole Nation by their Books and Libels, in which they encouraged all Persons, by Hopes of great Rewards, to assist King Richard, and aspersed King Henry as an Usurper, and cruel Tyrant. The King had Knowledge of all these Things, and to deter these Disturbers of the Government from their Designs, he declar'd, That he would spare none that he could find instrumental in promoting these Reports, and would be at any Pains or Charge to discover them: But it seems this did not so affright them from their Attempts, but that several Persons were apprehended, and upon their Conviction executed. Sir Roger Clar-kingdon, who was said to be the Bastard Son of Edward the Black Prince, and Eight Fryars, were hanged and beheaded for reporting, That King Richard was alive. A Priest also was taken, who had a Catalogue of divers Gentlemen and others, who had avouch'd, that King Richard was alive, and had promised him their Assistance when he should arrive in England. Several of the Persons in the List were also taken and imprison'd: However, nothing being prov'd against them, and the Priest himself confessing, that he had never heard any such Thing from them, but had set down their Names either by the Report of others, or mere Conjecture, they were at length dismiss'd, after much Charge and Trouble, and only the Priest hang'd and quarter'd. Walter Baldocke, Prior of Laund, a small Monastery in Leicestershire, was also apprehended, and accused of being an Instrument in the above-mention'd Reports, but nothing could be prov'd against him; yet because in his Examination he confess'd, that he knew some that had been industrious in spreading such Treasonable Reports, and otherwise acting against the Peace and Government, he was condemn'd for Misprision of Treason, and hang'd. Richard Frisby also, a Doctor of Divi-

A. D. 1401. Reg. 3.

A. D. 1402.

Libels and Reports against the King, and Authors publish'd.

(o) Sir John Hayward, writes, That Sir Patrick Hebborn was kill'd in the First Year of Henry the Fourth's Reign. Life of Henry IV. p. 149.

(p) In Carnarvonshire.

(q) A Smith's Tool, so call'd.

(r) From Prussia.

A. D. 1402. nity suffer'd the like Punishment, for saying, upon the Report that King *Richard* was alive, *That if he were indeed alive, he would fight to Death in his Quarrel.* (s) These, with many others, suffer'd for those Reports and Libels, the King sparing none according to his Resolution; in which, tho' he may seem to have kept a good Conscience, and rid himself of his Enemies, yet he was esteem'd cruel, and over-severe for such an Act.

R. Henry's
Second Ex-
pedition in-
to Wales.

Owen Glendour and his *Welsh* having with Success made several Inroads upon the *English* Borders, to their great Enriching, began this Summer with fresh Assaults upon the Inhabitants, burning, plundering, and destroying all Places where-ever they came. The King desirous to relieve his oppressed and injured Subjects, assembled a great Army of his Nobles, Gentry, and Commons to reduce *Wales* to its due Obedience, who being all troubled at the Sufferings of their Fellow-Subjects, went with full Resolutions of subduing it before they return'd: Nor did *Owen Glendour* himself seem to retain so much as Hopes of withstanding an Army of Men so well prepared for an Encounter, the *Welsh* being all struck with a panick Fear of their Destruction. The King with these full Hopes, arrived in *Wales*, but before he could enter upon any Action of moment, there happen'd such foul and tempestuous Weather, that the Army suffer'd much Damage, and the King was at length forced to return without doing any thing worthy his Reputation. These Storms falling out at a Season of the Year, when they were most unusual, were said to be raised by the Magical Skill of *Owen Glendour*, who was thought to be a Wizzard.

Scots invade
England, and
are twice
routed.

The Scots hearing of King *Henry's* Expedition into *Wales* with so numerous an Army, and accompany'd with many Nobles, supposed that the Northern Lords, who were their implacable Enemies, and the Guardians of their Country against them, were also gone along with the King, and therefore they could not have a fitter Opportunity to invade the *English* Borders. Sir *Patrick Hebborn*, (t) who had the Year before made some Incursions into *England* with Success, was chosen their Captain, and with a competent Army of the Men of *Loughdean*, or *Lawden*, enter'd *Northumberland* as far as *New-Castle*, taking many Prisoners, and loading themselves with Spoil and Prey, as if being out of Fear of Opposition, they came not to fight, but enrich themselves. But the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son, who were left behind upon Suspicion of the Scots Attempts, had News of these their Actions, and with a sufficient Strength, falls upon them at a Town called *Nesbyt*: The Scots receiv'd them courageously, and maintain'd the Battle stoutly a good while, but being in Confusion when they first joyn'd the Battle, they were not able to hold out against as strong, and a better order'd Army, so that they were forced to yield the Victory to the *English*. Sir *Patrick* perceiv'd the Advantage which the *English* had against them, and thought to patch up the Defects in their Order, by animating his Men to fight, and giving them an Example of Bravery, in encountering the Enemy at the Head of them, but all was to no Purpose. He was slain himself, and his Army absolutely van-

1. At Nesbyt.

quish'd, many of the Flower of *Loughdean* being slain, and some of the principal Commanders, as Sir *John* and *William Cockburn*, Sir *William Basse*, *John* and *Thomas Habington*, Esquires, and many of the common Soldiers being taken. Of the *English* few were kill'd, and those not of any Quality. This Fight happen'd upon June 22. The News of this ill Success was heavily taken in *Scotland*, and by none more than *Archibald*, Earl *Dowglas*, who resolving to revenge this Loss upon the *English*, obtain'd a Commission at his own Charge to invade *England*; and having gather'd an Army of 20000 Men, enter'd the Kingdom like an enraged Enemy, destroying all before him. The Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son *Hotspur*, as zealous to keep the Victory they had gotten, as Earl *Dowglas* was to recover it, being certified of the Scots Return, augmented their Forces proportionable to their Adversaries, and upon Holy-wood-day, tho' it was then Harvest, met the Scots at *Hamildon*, or *Halidown*, and with equal Courage and Fury engaged them. The Battle was very fierce and lasting, but the Scots not able to endure the violent Shot of the *English* Archers, were forced to give Ground, and betake themselves to flight with an incredible Loss; for there were slain not only some Men of Esteem, viz. Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gurdon*, Sir *John Levison*, Sir *Alexander Ramsay*, and 23 Knights more, but also 10000 of the Commons; and many Prisoners were taken; of which the Chief were *Mordack*, Earl of *Fife*, (u) Earl *Dowglas's* Son, who himself lost one of his Eyes in the Battle, the Earls of *Angus*, *Murrey*, *Athol*, and *Monteith*, with 500 Men of an inferiour Degree.

A. D. 1402.
Reg. 3.

2. At Halidown.

The Earl of *Northumberland* being thus victorious, resolved to pursue the Advantage he had gotten over so restless and troublesome an Enemy; and therefore having disposed of his Prisoners into safe Custody, he invaded *Scotland*, and entering *Tividale*, he burnt and destroy'd the whole Country. Then he laid Siege to the Castle of *Cocklams*, of which Sir *John Greenlow* was Captain; he, tho' he were a valiant Man, finding himself unable to withstand so great an Army, promised to resign the Castle to the Earl of *Northumberland*, if it were not reliev'd within Three Months; but before that was expired, the King call'd the Earl off to assist in another Enterprize, and so the Castle was saved, and they had Liberty to redeem their Prisoners.

Particular Accidents this Year were these: Particular *Tbo. Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, died Apr. 8. Accidents The Lady *Blaunch*, the King's eldest Daughter, was marry'd to *William*, Duke of *Bavaria*, the eldest Son of *Lewis Barbatus*, the Emperor, at *Cologne*, in great Magnificence, being conducted by the Earl of *Somerset*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, Lord *Clifford*, and several others of the Nobility. The Devil is said also to have appear'd, in the Shape and Habit of a Gray Fryar, in *Danbury Church*, in *Essex*, where he behaved himself so outrageously, that he much affrighted the Inhabitants. At the same time arose so great a Tempest thereabout, that it blew down the Steeple, and carry'd away Half the Chancel. One Sir *Lewis Clifford* also, who had for a long time lean'd to the Doctrine of the *Lollards*, wholly deserted them, and dis-

(s) This *Richard Friseby* was a Gray Fryar, and hang'd in his Fryar's Weeds, to the great Mortification of his Brethren.
(t) Sir *Patrick Hebborn* was kill'd in a former Invasion. This was his Son, *Patrick Hebborn the Younger*, *Hollinshead*.
(u) *Mordack*, Earl of *Fife*, was Son to the Duke of *Albany*, Governour of *Scotland*, *Ibid*. Earl *Dowglas* was himself taken Prisoner.

A. D. 1402. cover'd all he knew of them to the Archbishop, viz. The Doctrines maintain'd by them, and chief Ministers among them, confessing his Error.

Reg. 4. On the Morrow after the Feast of St. Michael a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and sat Seven Weeks, to dispatch several Matters for the Good and Advantage of the Realm. In this Parliament the King declaring, 'That he had in Remembrance the faithful Hearts and inward Affections that the Clergy of England had born to him, and also the great Charges they had sustain'd for his Honour and Profit since the Time of his Coronation, and therefore was desirous to be unto them a gracious Lord; caused several Privileges of the Church and Clergy to be established and enacted: For, First, He confirm'd the several Statutes made by his Grand-father King *Edward the Third*, in his 25th Year, called, *Statutes for the Clergy*; as also, the Statute of 15 *Rich. 2.* 6. whereby it was provided, That in appropriating of Benefices to any Religious House, there should be a perpetual Vicar appointed, who should be allow'd conveniently, at the Discretion of the Ordinary, a sufficient Stipend, for saying Divine Service, and to inform the People, and keep Hospitality, and that no Religious or Monk shall be Vicar. It was also enacted, That the begging Fryars should admit none into their Order, without their Parents Consent, or under Fourteen Years of Age. Several other Acts relating to the Affairs of State were pass'd, but that which the Parliament was chiefly busied in, was to settle the Disorders in *Wales*; for which End they made Nine several Acts, prohibiting the *Welsh* to pass any Judicial Sentence upon an *English* Man, to have any publick Assemblies, to wear Arms, or buy any out of *England*, to raise any Forts or Castles, to bear any Office in Church or State, and commanding them to put all their Wall'd Towns into the Custody of *English* Men. All which Acts tended to subduing and humbling the *Welsh*, who at that time were very troublesome to the King and Realm. In the End of this Session, the Parliament gave the King a Tenth and Half of the Clergy, and Fifteenth of the Laity, and a Tenth of all Boroughs, and particularly recommended the *Scotch* Earl of *March* to the King's Favour, because he had behaved himself with so much Fidelity to the Nation: And so were dismiss'd into their several Countries.

A. D. 1403. About *Christmas*, King *Henry*, who had the Year before made some Propositions of Marriage to *Joan de Navarre*, the Widow of *John de Montfort*, late Duke of *Brittain*, and was come to an Agreement about it, sent several Persons of Honour into *Brittain*, to conduct her over into *England*, who accordingly, after Two Months Stay, brought her safely to *Falmouth* in *Cornwall*, Feb. 7. The King hearing of her Landing, went to meet her at *Winchester*, whither he had order'd her before to be convey'd, and there was marry'd to her in *St. Swinithin's Church*, on the 7th of *February*, by the Bishop of that See. From thence, within a few Days, he pass'd with her to *London*, where they were receiv'd magnificently by the Citizens; and on Feb. 26. the Queen was solemnly crown'd at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. She had Three Sons, but they were left in *France* under the Care and Guardianship of that King. Her Coronation was kept with great State and Splendor, and there appear'd an Universal Joy both at Court, and in the Kingdom for these

Nuptials: But it was not in this King's Fate to enjoy Peace or Pleasure long, fresh Troubles, both at Home and Abroad springing up to disturb his Ease and Quiet.

The First Enemy that annoy'd his Dominions after them, were the *French*, under *Valeran*, Earl of *St Paul*, who envying *Henry's* Power, because it was rais'd upon the Ruins of his own Interests, gather'd an Army of 16 or 1700 Men, invaded the *Isle of Wight*, and burnt Two small Villages, and a few separate Cottages. The Inhabitants of the *Isle*, who had formerly had the like Injuries done them by the *French*, and found that they loved Prey more than Fighting, and seldom would stand out against a faint Resistance, assembled in a considerable Body, and drew up against them to fight them. The *French*, tho' enough in Number to have conquer'd the *Island*, yet seeing the Courage of the People, withdrew to their Ships, and with little Prey, and less Honour, return'd Home. The Earl, that he might make this Expedition seem the more considerable, Knighted Four of his Captains, as he pretended, for their Bravery and Valour: But the more knowing Men of his Company repined at their speedy Return, being sensible, that the Charge of this Expedition was much greater than the Gain. At the same time that the Earl of *St. Paul* infested the *English* Coasts, *John*, Earl of *Clermont*, Son to the Duke of *Bourbon*, was sent with an Army against the Subjects of the King of *England* in *Gascoigne*, and won the Castles of *S. Peter*, *S. Mary*, and *New-Castle* from the *English*, and the Lord *De la Bret* at the same time got the Castle of *Carlasfin*; all which were a great Loss to the *English*. These Damages King *Henry's* Courage would not have patiently sustain'd without a sharp Revenge, had he enjoy'd a peaceable Kingdom at Home; but before he could make any Preparations for a Foreign Expedition, the Rebellion of his own Subjects broke out, and drew all his Designs and Endeavours to secure himself at Home. The Occasion of it was this:

King *Henry* not contented with the Peace, which the late Victories gotten by the Earl of *Northumberland* over the *Scots* had brought his Dominions, was very eager, and desirous to share in the Gains and Advantage of them; and to that End, required of the Earl his most gainful Prisoners, all the Lords, whose Redemption would raise great Sums. The Earl alledg'd, 'That as it was most just, that they who had undergone the Danger of the Battle, should have all the Advantages of Prey and Prisoners; so it had been the Custom of the Kings of *England* to allow the Lords of the North all the Advantage of the *Scots* Wars, to encourage them in defending his Dominions, and make up the Damages of the continual Depredations of that faithless People. The King was very angry at this Denial, tho' dutiful and submissive, and not only took the Prisoners he had demanded, but continued his Displeasure to the Earl, not suffering him to come into his Presence. This Severity the Earl, who had been so instrumental in raising King *Henry* to the Throne, resented not only as a great Piece of Injustice, but which was worse, very great Ingratitude; and therefore resolv'd to revenge his Wrong upon the King himself, whom as he had set up, so he thought he had Power enough to pull him down. He was, indeed, in very great Power in the North, and commanded in his Country as a Petty King. He had a near Relation to *Edmund*

A. D. 1403. Reg. 4.

French invaded the *Isle of Wight* and *Glasgow*.

The Rebellion of the Earl of *Northumberland* and Success.

R. Henry's Marriage to the Duchess of *Brittain*.

Mor.

A. D.
1403.
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Mortimer, Earl of *March*, by the Marriage of *Eleanor* his Aunt, *Mortimer* being Heir of the Crown had no small Interest in the Nation, and therefore he might well pretend some Obligation to restore him to his Right, or at least to his Liberty. These Two Interests he thought sufficient to effect his Design, especially since the Earl of *March* was upon fair Terms with *Owen Glendour*, and it would be no hard Matter to unite the *Welsh* with himself in de-throning King *Henry*. The Earl having laid a sure Train for Rebellion, that he might render his future Actions more plausible, and make his Party more firm to him, he by the Advice of his Cousin *Thomas Peircy*, Earl of *Worcester*, goes to the King, and demands the Redemption of the Earl of *March* his Kinsman, who had long lain in his foul and miserable Imprisonment, among the King's Enemies. But the King answer'd, 'That he had no Reason to redeem, or relieve the Earl of *March*, nor would, because he was not taken for his Cause, nor in his Service, but had suffer'd himself to fall in to the Hands of *Owen Glendour* and the *Welsh*, being not willing to resist them. The Earl having receiv'd this Answer, pretended to be angry, and blaz'd abroad the Cruelty of the King, who would not redeem a Person so nearly related to him, and his Son *Henry*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, said openly, 'Behold, the Heir of the Realm is Robb'd of his Right, and the Robber will not redeem him with a Part of his own. Hereupon the Earl and his Son, meeting in the Arch-Deacon of *Bangor*'s House, (x) with the Earl of *March* and *Owen Glendour*, by an Indenture Tripartite obliged themselves mutually and firmly to depose King *Henry*, and, after his Deposition, it was farther agreed to, and among them, 'That *Owen Glendour* should have *Wales*, and all the Lands beyond the *Severn*, to rule over them as their King and Supreme Lord: 'That the Earl of *Northumberland*, should govern all the Countries on the North Side of the River *Trent*, and the Earl of *March* should enjoy all the Residue of *England* in his Right, as Supreme Lord. This Agreement being made, they all employ'd the utmost Interests they had to raise an Army sufficient for their Design. The Earl of *Northumberland*, besides the Forces he raised among his Northern Neighbours, procur'd an Augmentation of his Forces out of *Scotland*, partly by releasing the Captives, which he had in his Keeping, and partly by Promises of several Lordships and Seignories in these Parts adjoyning to their Country, by which Means they raised a large and well appointed Army. All things being thus prepar'd, they put out their Declaration, 'That King *Henry* giving Encouragement to Flatterers and Calumnators, their Enemies, had entertain'd such an Aversion to them, that they dare not come into his Presence, but by the Mediation of the Bishops: 'That though he was raised to the Throne, for the Good of the Nation, yet he had play'd the Tyrant, and abused his Trust, converting the Money given by Parliament, for the publick Defence, to his own private Interest: Wherefore, that they might secure their own Persons, and reform the Government, they had raised such Force, as might

be sufficient to reduce Things into a better Course, both for themselves and the whole Nation. They also gave out a Report, to further their Design, That King *Richard* was yet alive in the Castle of *Chester*, ready to join with *Owen Glendour* to recover his Right; and so march'd to *Shrewsbury*, intending to make that City the Rendezvous of their Army.

The King had no suspicion of these Treasonable Contrivances and Actions, because they carried them on with very great Secrecie; yet, having no visible Enemy but the *Welsh*, he raised a powerful Army to reduce them to their Allegiance; so that when the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Forces appear'd, he was in a very good Condition to oppose them. But considering, that a Civil War would bring great Damages to his Subjects, he chose to allay the Discontents of the Seditious Party by answering their Declaration, alledging, That he never had denied the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Peircy* his Son, or any of the Lords of their Party, any Access to him; but allow'd them to come into his Presence at any Time, without all Danger or Damage to their Persons; and that the Monies which had been given by the Parliament for the Defence of the Nation, were paid to the Earl of *Northumberland* himself for that End, as he could prove by his Receipts; so that their Complaints were ill grounded and slanderous. The King himself was inclined to wait for the Effect of this Answer; but the Earl of *March*, a Scot, telling the King, That Delays would strengthen his Enemies, put him upon hastening to them, to give them Battle, which proved of some Advantage to the King: For the Earl of *Northumberland*, being somewhat indisposed, was not come up to his Son at *Shrewsbury*, and the King's sudden Arrival put the Army there into a Consternation, so that they were unfit to engage him. The King being ready to join his Enemies in Fight, was very loth to spill his People's Blood, and therefore sent the Abbot of *Shrewsbury*, and one of the Clerks of his Privy-Seal, to offer them Pardon upon such reasonable Terms as they should desire. The Lord *Peircy* was so far wrought upon by their Perswasions, that he was willing to accept of the King's Mercy; and sent his Uncle, the Earl of *Worcester*, to represent their Grievances, and having procur'd a Reformation to submit to the King. The King is said to have condescended beneath himself to heal the Breach; but the Earl of *Worcester*, a Man that sought to foment the Quarrel, represented Things so ill to the Lord *Peircy*, at his Return, that his Nephew was more incensed than before, and forthwith blew the Trumpet for Battle. The King was ready to receive him, and the Signs being given on both Sides, St. George by the King, and *Esperance Peircy* by the Lord *Peircy*, the Fight began. The Scots behav'd themselves with great Resolution, and so fiercely fell upon the Kings Van-Guard, that they forced them to give Ground, and had almost broke in upon his main Body, and being seconded by the *Welsh*, who reserv'd themselves for an advantageous Onset, put the King upon his last Refuge, to call in his Reserve to reinforce his Army, by which means he recover'd his Ground, and, after a fresh Rencontre, got the better of the

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K. Henry's
Mercy to the
Rebels.

His Fight
with, and
Victory o-
ver them.

(x) How could the Earl and his Son meet *Glendour* and *March* in *Wales*, the *Welsh* being at open War with the English? *Holinhead* saith, They did it by their Deputies in the House of the Arch-Deacon of *Bangor*. And 'tis not likely, the *Peircy*'s would venture to Treat in Person with the Rebel *Glendour*, before they were provided to publish their Rebellion to the King and Kingdom; for such an Interview would have given too much Umbrage to both, and ruin their Plot.

A. D. 1403. Reg. 4. Rebels. The Lord *Peircy*, and Earl *Dowglas*, General of the *Scots*, despairing of Victory, boldly attempted to slay the King, and overthrow his Standard, and to that end forcing their Way thro' the King's Party, they at length got to the King's Standard, which they overthrew, killing Sir *Walter Blunt*, the Standard-Bearer, and the Earl of *Stafford*, with many others that stood to guard it. The King was retreated from the Standard, by the Advice of the Earl of *March*, the *Scot*, who observing their Design, timely warn'd the King of his Danger, and caused him to avoid it. But the King neglected not this Opportunity to assault his Enemies in the Absence of their Captains, and crying, *St. George*, made such an impetuous Onset upon the Rebels, that he broke their Order, and put them to Flight, and obtain'd a compleat Victory. In this Battle which lasted Three Hours, the King himself was once dismounted, and the Prince, fighting in Defence of his Father, was wounded in the Face, yet would not leave the Army till the Fight was ended, lest he should discourage the Soldiers. Ten Knights and 1600 Soldiers were kill'd, and 4000 wounded, on the King's Side; but with much greater Loss to the Rebels, for they had 200 Knights and 5000 Soldiers slain, besides the Lord *Piercy* himself. The Earl of *Worcester*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and Sir *Richard Vernon* were taken, and, being condemned, were beheaded Two Days after the Battle, on the 23d of *July*. The Earl's Head was sent up to *London*, to be set on the Bridge. The Lord *Peircy*'s Body was permitted to be buried, but upon after Thoughts the King commanded it to be taken up again, and being beheaded and quarter'd, disposed of it into several Parts of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been kept from uniting with his Brother and Son by some Indisposition of Body, soon after the Fight, set out towards *Shrewsbury*, with a considerable Recruit, to assist his Son and Brother, but being met with in his Passage by the Earl of *Westmorland* and Sir *Robert Waterton*, with a strong Detachment from the King's Army, he retreated to *Warkworth* Castle, and there fortified himself. The King having settled the Countries about *Shrewsbury*, went to *York*, and there sent his Commands to the Earl of *Northumberland* to dismiss his Forces, and come to him upon Assurances of Mercy. The Earl, seeing no Possibility of standing out against the King's Power, obey'd his Summons, and dismissing his Forces, attended upon the King at *York* upon the Morrow after *St. Lawrence's Day*, Aug. 11. The King, according to his Promise, pardon'd him his Life, but kept (y) him in Prison sometime till the Ferment of his Trouble was a little over, and then restor'd him to his Liberty, but deprived him of his Estate and Honour for the present, yet afterwards gave him that also, hoping by his Kindness to oblige him to be more faithful and firm to him for the future.

King Henry sends the Prince against the Welsh.

The King having thus settled the Disgusts of the North, kept his Army about him, which being encouraged by their late Success, was most likely to effect his Designs against the *Welsh*, and took up some Resolutions to go on, and Endeavours to subdue that People: But wanting Money to pay his Soldiers, and furnish himself out for his Expedition, he became wavering in that Resolve. Some Persons about

him, who were more zealous for the King's Service; and desirous to please him, than to chuse out fit Ways for it, advised him to seize upon the Bishops Treasure and Lands; but Archbishop *Arundel* boldly told them, That none of his Province should be spoil'd by them, unless with Opposition. Though the King was not forward to meddle with the Church-men, yet this Advice put him in mind of the Riches and Plenty of the Clergy, which being bestow'd on Persons, whose best Character it is to be Dispersers of the World, might best be spared at this Juncture, and thereupon, though he would use no Force, yet he dealt with the Archbishop to procure him a Supply in this Exigency, and so prevail'd with him, that calling a Synod of the Clergy, he obtain'd a Tenth of them for him, and the King sent the Prince, with his Army, into *Wales*.

In the latter end of this Summer, the Brit-^{The Brit-} tains, under the Conduct of the Lord *Cassils*,^{tains under} came to the *English* Coasts, and having burnt^{the Lord} and plunder'd *Plymouth*, return'd Home safe,^{Cassils, with} laden with rich Spoils. This Insolence was^{the English} not long unrevenged, for the Western Parts being incensed by the Loss, did, by the King's Leave and Permission, man out a Fleet, to recover their Damage, and sent it to ravage the Coasts of *Brittain*, under the Command of *William Wilford*, Esq; who being both a skilful Captain, and a Person very zealous for his Country-mens Injuries, faithfully discharged his Trust; for he took Forty Sail of Merchant Ships, laden with Oil and Soap, and a Thousand Tun of *Rochel* Wine; and, not contented with this Prey, though sufficient to compensate for the Spoils of the *English*, he landed in the Country of *Pennarcb*, and, for Six Miles together, burnt and destroy'd the Towns and Villages, as far as the Town of *St. Mathew*, which also he left in Flames, and returning to his Ships, set several empty Vessels on Fire, which lay in the Harbour, and so departed, well satisfied with the Retaliation of their Wrongs upon the *Brittains*.

About the Feast of *All-Saints* a Parliament^{Reg. 5.} was called at *Coventry*, and sat till *St. Andrew's*^{Fourth Par-} Day, when they were prorogued, and order'd^{liament.} to meet again at *Westminster* upon the *Octaves* of *Epiphany*. The Shortness of this Session was caused by the Inconvenience of the Place, there being neither suitable Accommodations for Provision or Lodging. Nothing was done by this Parliament of Moment, their Debates being interrupted by their sudden Adjournment; only the King proclaim'd and granted a Pardon to^{King's Par-} all such Persons, as had been engaged in the Re-^{don.} bellion of the *Peircy's*, and all other Offenders against the King's Crown and Dignity, those only excepted, who had contrived to deliver up *Callis* to the *French*, whom the King sent over to suffer the Punishment of their Perfidiousness in that City.

A little before *Christmas* a Party of *French* land-^{French in-} ed in the *Isle of Wight*, and with their usual Confi-^{vade the Is-} dence told the Inhabitants, That they were come^{of Wight.} to keep their *Christmas* with them. They demand'd a Tax of them for King *Richard* and Queen *Isabel*, and began to drive off their Cattle to their Ships. The People of the Island deriding their Pretensions and Confidence, gather'd together in a Body, and challenged them to fight, but the *French* Men not loving dry Blows, fled to their Ships, and departed without their Prey, to their great Shame.

(y) *Hall* writes, that he suffer'd him to depart Home at their first meeting.

A. D. 1404. Reg. 5. Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Parliament according to Appointment met at *Westminster*, and sat Twelve Weeks to settle many Abuses and Irregularities of the Nation, as well as constitute several Things for the Good of it. The most remarkable were, against such as procured Pardons for those Persons that had been once guilty of notorious Felonies, but relapsed into the like Crimes again; That those who procured their Pardon for such reiterated Felonies should forfeit 100*l.* to the King's Use: That Watches should be constantly kept upon the Sea-Coast, to prevent the Damages done by the *French* Rovers: That Merchants-Aliens, who brought Goods into the Nation, and sold them, should lay out the Money upon other saleable Commodities, and not carry out the Coin of the Kingdom into Foreign Parts: That Constables of Castles should not imprison any Man in their own Castles; and that all Vessels that were Gilt, or Silver'd over, should have a Place in the Foot, or elsewhere, to discover their base Metal. In this Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* was restored to his Lands and Honours, excepting only the *Isle of Man*, which the King had bestow'd on him (2) at the Beginning of his Reign, to hold of the Crown by the Tenure of carrying the *Lancaster's* Sword at the Coronation, and now took away from him to shew that he was undeserving of his Favour. By this Parliament, the King had so great a Tax granted him, that the Houses desired there might be no particular Record of it left to Posterity, viz. Twenty Shillings for every Knight's Fee, and Twenty Pence for every Twenty Pounds a Year, and One Shilling in the Pound for Goods: So cautious was the Parliament of oppressing the People with heavy Taxes, and where Necessity requir'd it, not to leave a President to their Successors of over-loading the People. The Clergy also, being met in their Convocation, give the King a Tenth.

Duke of Orleans challenges K. Henry.

In the Time of this Session of Parliament, the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to the *French* King, a Person courageous, but of more than equal Pride, sent a Challenge to King *Henry* to meet him at *Bordeaux*, with 100 Men, well arm'd, and expert Warriours, and fight the same Number of *English*, and every Victor to have his Prisoner. The King, tho' sensible of the Presumption of that Peer, gravely answer'd the Messengers: 1. 'That he could not but wonder at the Imprudence of the Duke, who sought to break the Peace between the Two Nations, by such idle Pretences of Feats of Arms. 2. That if this could not be objected, yet it was against the Custom of Nations, for any Crown'd and Anointed King to accept a Challenge from any Person, but such as is of equal Dignity, which he could not pretend to be; but yet, that he might satisfy his courageous Desire, he promised, upon the Word of a Prince, to go soon into *Gascoigne*, with a convenient Number of Men; and there, either as he had propounded, or by single Combat, for the avoiding of the Effusion of Christian Blood, to enter the Lists with him. The Duke of *Orleans* reply'd to this Answer, and the King retorted with so much Sharpness, that the Duke burst out into Arms; and raising 6000 Men, invaded *Guienne*, and besieged the Town of *Vergi*. Sir *Robert Antifield*, a valiant Captain, was the Governour of it, and had a Gar-

rison of 3000 *English*, who defended the Town so bravely, that the Duke was forced to leave it, after Three Months Siege.

In the Spring, the *Britains*, under the Lord *Cassils*, being desirous to revenge the Losses they had sustain'd from the *English* the last Year, came with 30 Ships, mann'd with 1200 Men of Arms, to the *English* Coasts, and took Two or Three *English* Ships, laden with Wines, and not being satisfied with so small a Prey, landed about *Dartmouth*; but were driven from the Place by the Inhabitants, who had arm'd themselves in Expectation of their Coming, with no small Loss; and after being met by the *English* Fleet in *Black-Pool*, were engaged with so much Success, that the Lord *Cassils* was kill'd, with 400 more of the Common Soldiers, and 200 taken, of whom the Lord *Baguevil*, the Marshal of *Britain*, was one. The Country People, pleas'd not more with the Success, than that they had an Opportunity to approve their Courage, and Fidelity to the King, presented him with their Prisoners, who graciously accepted their Service and Gift, and gave them Plenty of Gold for their Pains; which, though not of equal Value with their Ransoms, yet was more acceptable to the People, with his Approbation, than greater Sums would have been without it: Yet, some of lower Degree they kept, and had their Ransoms.

This Summer *Owen Glendour*, with more than usual Cruelty, infested the *English* Borders, plundering and burning their Towns, and carrying away many Prisoners and great Booty; and intending to take the Country into his Dominions, possess'd himself of divers Castles, which he fortified, and mann'd to defend it. This Success, whether through the Neglect of the King, or because other more important Affairs of State took up his Care, was thought an Approbation of his Cause; and so far prevail'd with *John Trevor*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, that he fled to him, and took his Part against *K. Henry*. With these Calamities by the *Welsh*, concurr'd other Damages done by the *Britains* and *Flemings*, who cruizing upon the *English* Coasts, took several *English* Ships, laden with rich Merchandize, and hanging the Mariners, carry'd the Goods Home with them. But these Misfortunes did not so much disturb the King, as a Rumour which was dispersed up and down the Nation at this Time, That King *Richard* was in *Scotland*, at the Head of an Army of *French* and *Scots* of 100000, and would shortly come to recover his Crown. This Rumour was built upon the Letters of one *Serlow*, a Gentleman of King *Richard's* Bed-Chamber, who having heard of the like Report in *France*, went into *Scotland*, and found, indeed, a Gentleman very like King *Richard*, but not the Person, as he very well knew; yet, in Hatred to King *Henry*, he sent Letters to several of King *Richard's* Friends in *England*, seal'd with his Privy-Seal, That King *Richard* was, indeed, alive, and would shortly appear, to the Comfort of his Friends, and Confusion of all his Enemies. The Countess of *Oxford*, Mother to *Robert de Vere*, late Duke of *Ireland*, eagerly laid hold upon this false News, and employ'd her Agents to publish it in all Parts of *Essex*; and to confirm such as seem'd most zealous to espouse King *Richard's* Interest, she caused a great Number of Hearts of Gold and Silver to be made, and given to them, as Badges of King *Richard's* Favour,

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The *Britains* again infest *England*, but are repul-
fed.

Owen Glendour infests the *English*.

A seditious Rumour about King *Richard*.

(2) It fell to the Crown by the Attainder of the Earl of *Salisbury*, in the Beginning of his Reign, and was granted to the Earl of *Northumberland* for his Service to King *Henry*.

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because that King was wont to give such Tokens of his Kindness to his Friends. King Henry, who was very jealous of his Crown, knowing the Tendency of such Reports might prove fatal to him, tho' false, was very watchful upon the Instruments and Authors of them, and finding them entertain'd by many, seiz'd upon the Countess of Oxford, and committed her to Prison, and confiscated her Goods and Estate. Her Secretary, who both by Letters and Report had spread abroad the false News, he hang'd and quarter'd. This Severity against some of the principal Actors struck Terror into the rest, and made others Ambitious to gain King Henry's Favour by apprehending such as had been guilty of the like Crime. For Sir William Clifford, Governour of Berwick, who had incurred King Henry's Displeasure in holding out of the Castle of Berwick against him, apprehended Serlow and presented him to him, who thereupon pardoned his own Treason. Serlow being before known to have been one of the Persons that murder'd the Duke of Gloucester, was immediately examined about that, and being found guilty of both, was Condemn'd at Pontefract, and Executed at London, confessing his wicked Actions, and Purposes so fully and freely, that many pity'd him, and promised to hire the Priest to say Masses for his Soul. The King had heard, that the Earl of Northumberland had been engaged in this Conspiracy, and sent for him to come to him at Pontefract to clear himself; but the Earl bringing his Two Nephews to be Pledges of his Fidelity, gave him such Satisfaction, that the King declar'd him innocent of this Attempt.

Reg. 6.

Sixth Parliament its Acts and Taxes, Parliamentum indoctrum.

On St. Faith's Day, October the 6th, a Parliament met at Coventry, which because it consisted of such Persons as were unskilful in the Laws of the Nation, and illiterate, according to the particular Orders given by the King to the Sheriffs of Counties, and Mayors of Corporations, that none but such Persons should be chosen, was called *Parliamentum indoctrum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*. The chief Business of this Parliament was to raise a Tax for the King's present Supply, and therefore little else was done, save that the Lord Stephen Scroope of Masham, and the Lord Fitzbugh were admitted to sit among the Peers, and two or three Acts were made. *First*, To prohibit the Clergy from paying to the Court of Rome more for the First-Fruits of any Benefice, Dignity, or Bishoprick, than was usually paid before, under the Penalty of a double Forfeiture of the same to the King. *Secondly*, To prevent the Deceits of Sheriffs, Escheators and Customers in giving up their Accompts. And *Lastly*, To provide, that Merchants-Strangers should not carry their Goods out of the Nation, which they have once brought in. These Statutes being settled, they proceeded to Debates about the Tax, and it was concluded by the Commons, 'That the King standing in need of very great Sums of Money to defend the Nation from so many Enemies, as then appeared against it, viz. the Welsh, Scots, Britains, Flemings and French, could not be supplied by the Laity, but that it was necessary, that he should seize upon the Temporalties of the Clergy; which being one full third Part of the Nation did little Service to the Publick, and did the Clergy themselves no good, making them careless of their Duty, negligent in their Studies, and abominably corrupt in their Morals. And this they judged the more reasonable, because the Laity served the King in his

Wars both with their Persons and Estates, but the Clergy were exempted in their Persons, and therefore their Estates ought to bear a greater part of the Charge. These Votes much provoked the Clergy, and the Archbishop in a Passion replied; 'That the Clergy had always as well in this, as former Kings Reigns given as large Sums to support the publick Charge, as the Laity: And though they did not serve the King in Person in his Wars, they sent their Tenants to assist him, and contributed as much to his Success by their Prayers, as the Laity did by their Weapons. Sir John Cheyny, the Speaker of the Commons, a Person who was very forward to make the Clergy's Revenues a prey to the King's Necessities, replied to the Archbishop; 'That they did not value the Clergy's Prayers, their Lands would do the King and Nation more good. This Answer more stirr'd the Arch-Bishop's Choler, and he told him plainly; 'That that King and Kingdom could not expect to thrive, where the Prayers and Suffrages of the Clergy were undervalued; but yet if they feared not their Religion, they should find their Power and Interests were not so inconsiderable, but that they should have hot Work of it to take away their just Rights and Possessions from them, though under the specious pretence of a Law. And he declared, 'That so long as he was Archbishop of Canterbury no Man should meddle with any Lands belonging to his See, but he would oppose them with all his Interest and Might. The King was present at this Contest between the Arch-Bishop and Commons, and shewed so little Concern for the Clergy, that he seemed to favour the Design of the Commons. Whereupon the Archbishop in some fear of it turn'd to the King, and kneeling down besought him, 'That he would consider, that God had given him the Kingdom, that he should be the Protector of his Church, and to that End he had sworn at his Coronation to preserve the Church, and her Ministers in their Liberties; which Oath he could not break without a great Prejudice to his own Conscience, and Offence to God as well as Injustice to Men, and therefore implored him to fear the God by whom he Reign'd, and his own Conscience. The King seeing the Bishop's Earnestness and Zeal, answer'd him; 'That though he could not condemn his Piety, yet his Fears were Groundless as to him, for he might assure himself, that he would leave the Church in as good, if not a better Estate than he found it. The Archbishop being encouraged with this Promise, told the Commons, 'That their wicked Advice was intended more for their own, than the King's Advantage; for as it happen'd to the King's Predecessors, who seized upon the Lands and Goods of the Friar's Aliens, which were worth many thousand Pounds; the Courtiers begg'd them, and left not the King ten Groats of them: So if you could obtain your wicked Designs to have our Temporalties seized, you would find such ways to gratifie your Covetousness by them, that the King would not in a Twelve-month be one Farthing the Richer. The Commons made no Reply, but prosecuted their Design so vigorously, that had not the Archbishop gotten a strong Party against it in the House of Lords, the Commons had carry'd it; but by his Courage and Diligence they were driven from their Purpose, and so fell into the old Current of Taxing: For the Laity were to pay Two Fifteens, and the Clergy a Tenth and a Half, but upon

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A. D. 1404. upon Condition, that it should be put into the Hands of the Lord *Furnivall* to be imploy'd for the King's Wars, and so the Parliament broke up.

A great Inundation. About the End of this Parliament happen'd a great Inundation of the Sea in *Kent*, which overflowed many of the Archbishop's Grounds, and others, and drown'd much Cattel: The like Damages did the Waters do also in *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zealand*. But the greatest Loss which *England* sustained at this Time was by the Death of *William* of *Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, one of the greatest Benefactors, to the Publick that ever *England* had: For though he was but of mean Parentage, being the Son of *John Long*, (a) Parish-Clerk of *Wickham*, in the County of *Southampton*; yet having obtained great Riches by the Preferments which were heaped upon him by King *Edward* the 3d, and King *Richard* the 2d, for his Deserts, he employ'd them wholly in Works of publick Charity, and for the Encouragement of Piety and Learning: For he built a Chappel at *Tytchfield* for a Priest to pray for the Souls of his Father, Mother and Sister; a Chauntry at *Southwick*, in the County of *Southampton* for five Priests; *New-College* in *Oxford* endowing it with sufficient Revenues to maintain one Warden, seventy Students, twelve Chaplains, three Clerks, sixteen Choristers, an Organist, and other Officers; A publick School in the South-Suburbs of *Winchester*, to be a Nursery for his College; in which are sustained one Warden, ten Fellows, two Masters, seventy Scholars, three Chaplains, three Clerks, an Organist, sixteen Choristers, and other Statutable Officers and Servants, by the Revenues of it; the West part of the Cathedral from the Quire, and several other Buildings of less Note. He expended also twenty thousand Marks in repairing the Manor-Houses and Farms belonging to his Bishoprick; added two hundred Marks per Annum to the See, repaired all the High-ways from *Winchester* to *London*, and released all the Prisoners in his Diocess, who were in Goal for Debts under twenty Pounds. Other Acts of Charity and Piety he did in so great Numbers, that as none equall'd him in his Beneficence while he lived, so none died so much loved or desired. He was eighty years Old when he deceased, and still lives in the Hearts of many grateful Men in this World, but most happily in the Presence of God, the Rewarder of all good Actions (b).

A. D. 1405. About St. *Valentine's* Day the Earl of *March's* Children, which the King had taken and kept in *Windsor-Castle* Prisoners, that he might bring their Father to Submission, least by his Attempts against King *Henry*, he should provoke him to put them to Death, were taken from their Imprisonment, and convey'd away to be carry'd to their Father in *Wales*. The King was much concerned at their Escape, and used all speedy Means, not only to take them again,

but to find out the Instrument of their Release, in which the Persons employ'd were so successful, that they soon discovered and apprehended them both: The Children were returned to their Prison, and put into more safe Custody, and the Smith who made the Keys to open the Goal, had his Hands first cut off, and then was beheaded. The Duke of *Tork* was accused by his own Sister, the Lady *Spencer* (c), to be the Head of the Conspiracy, and was imprisoned upon it in *Pemsey-Castle* till the Parliament met, but was then discharged, either for want of fuller Proof, or because the King was willing to drop the Prosecution of so considerable a Fact, especially he having already suffered Imprisonment for it.

Very early in the Spring the King, who had been making Preparations against the *Welsh* all the Winter, sent his Son the Prince of *Wales* into the adjoining Parts with a very good Army, and well furnished with all Necessaries; by which he had reduced himself to such Streights, that he was forced to call a Council of his Nobility at *London*, to get a Supply of Money of them for his present Wants; but the Peers having lately paid their Two Fifteens, were not willing, or not able to spare any more, and so were dismissed with some disgust. Then the King summoned the Clergy to *St. Albans* to desire a Contribution of them: But they guided by the Precedent of the Lords, would not grant him any thing; whereupon they also were sent Home on *Palm-Sunday*, under the King's Displeasure. But the Prince of *Wales* had better Success in the Camp, than his Father in the Council; for he being as Active as Courageous soon after his Arrival engaged the *Welsh-Men* at a Town called *Huske*, on *March* the 15th, and after a sharp Battel obtain'd a signal Victory, slaying fifteen hundred *Welsh-Men*, and taking *Owen Glendour's* Son Prisoner. *Owen Glendour* being troubled for the loss of his Son, resolved to try the Fate of another Battel, in hopes, that if Fortune should favour him, he might recover his Son, and accordingly encountred the *English* on *St. Dunstan's* Day, *May* the 14th, but not with the Success desired; for the *English* had much the better in this Fight also, and slaying many of his Men, took *Owen's* Chancellor Prisoner, who being sent up with the rest of the Prisoners, was safely kept in the Tower with his Master's Son.

While the *English* Arms were thus employ'd against the *Welsh*, *Valeran*, Earl of *St. Paul*, who fought all Advantages to disturb King *Henry's* Peace and Dominions, and was encouraged in all his Attempts that way by his Master the *French* King, laid Siege to the Castle of *St. Marke*, which was three Leagues from *Callis*, with five hundred Men of Arms, five hundred *Gheose* Cross-Bows, and a thousand *Flemish* Foot. Sir *Philip Hall* was Governour of it, a very violent Man, who though he had, but

(a) According to *Leland* the great Antiquary, he was Bastard-Son to one *Perrot*, Town-Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampshire*. Hol. pag. 527.

(b) The Reward of good Actions is to be expected according to the Sincerity of the Heart. An Ostentation of Charity, and the Merit of Alms in those Days put People on wicked Courses to shew their Beneficence to the Church and Church-men. This *William* of *Wickham* was hated by the *Black-Prince* for his Mismanagement in the publick Offices he enjoy'd; he was banish'd afterwards, and liv'd abroad all the Time of King *Edward's* Reign, from that of his Exile; nor durst he come into *England* in the Reign of *Richard* the Second till he had procured a Pardon for his past Offences. He was first Chaplain to King *Edward* the Third. Preacher at *St. Martins*, *London*, and Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*. Then Surveyor of the King's Works and Forts; for the Clergy in those Days easily reconciled the Ecclesiastical and Military Functions. After this he was advanced to be Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Master of the Ward, Overseer of the Forrests, Treasurer of the King's Dominions in *France*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and at last Lord-Chancellor: No wonder he raised such a mighty Estate in his Ministry, considering he lived in so loose a Government as that of King *Richard* the Second.

(c) She was Widow to the Lord *Thomas Spencer*, beheaded at *Bristol*.

A. D. 1405. Reg. 6. eighty Archers, and twenty-four Soldiers, yet defended it so manfully, that the Earl could not gain it at the first Assault, and at the second took only the outward Court, with a considerable Booty of Cattle. The Garrison at *Callis* in the mean time having Intelligence of this Action of the *French* against *St. Mark*, sent out two hundred Men of Arms, two hundred Archers, and three hundred Foot, with twelve Waggon of Provisions and Artillery, under the Command of Sir *Richard Aston*, to relieve it. The *French*, who fearing this Descent of the *English* upon them, had fortified the Town, kept themselves close in it: However, the *English* poured in their Arrows so thick, that the *French* could not stand the Brunt, but having lost some of their Number betook themselves to flight, and were pursu'd so closely by the *English*, that near fourscore of them were taken, and among them some of Note, viz. the Lord *Dampier*, *Seneschall* of *Ponthieu*, the Lord *de Rambures*, *Monsieur de Werimers*, and other Gentlemen, and sixty slain, of whom the Lord of *Queray*, the Lord *Courbet*, Sir *Robert Berengueville*, and some others were the Chief. The *English* laden with the Spoils of the Earl's Camp, and having gotten a good Number of Prisoners returned to *Callis*. This Success encouraged them so, that within five Days five hundred issued out by Night, and assaulted the Castle of *Arde*, but it was so well defended by Sir *Monfred de Bois*, and the Lord *Kigine*, that the *English* were forced to return to *Callis* with the Loss of forty of their Men. These Inroads of the *English* and *French* one upon another made way for greater Designs; for as King *Henry* thought it convenient to strengthen his Garrison at *Callis*, not only to defend it self, but make Invasions upon the *French* Countries, by sending a thousand fresh Men thither; so the *French* King made effectual Provisions against them, furnishing *Graveling*, and other Fortresses with Plenty of Soldiers for their Defence; but because all they could do was not enough to secure themselves against so potent an Enemy as the *Callisians* then were; therefore the Duke of *Burgundy* was sent by the *French* King to besiege *Callis* with six thousand Men of Arms, fifteen hundred Cross-Bows, and twelve thousand Foot. The King of *England* disturbed with the News of this Siege, sent a Navy with three thousand Land-Men, under the Command of his Son the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Kent*, to raise the Siege by plundering and burning the adjoining Countries, which they did for thirty Miles together in *Normandy*: Though this did not draw off the Duke from *Callis*, till the King of *France*, as was thought, by the Advice of the Duke of *Orleans*, who envy'd him the Glory of gaining so important a Fortress, commanded him to withdraw, and come Home, which caused a Cessation of Arms between the Two Nations for a little Time.

Callis besieged.

After the Departure of the Prince of *Wales* from the *Welsh*, that People being enraged by their Losses, became more Troublesome and Mischievous Neighbours to the bordering *English* than ever, of which when the King had News, he resolved to undertake another Expedition against them to reduce them: But before he could get all Things ready, a strong Conspiracy of his Nobles to depose him was discovered, and so he was obliged to stay to secure himself in his Throne. The Conspiracy

was begun and carried on in this Manner. It seems, that King *Henry* having received a peremptory Denial from his Lords, that they would give him no Money at *London*, dismiss'd them with some angry Words, and sharp Menaces, which meeting with Discontents in some of his Nobles, and more especially in *Richard Scroop*, Archbishop of *York*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* so enrag'd them, that they formed a strong Conspiracy against him to depose him. These two Peers having consulted with and engaged several other great Men in their Design, viz. *Thomas Mowbrey* (d), Earl-Marshal, the Lords, *Hastings*, *Falconbridge*, *Eurdolf*, and others, and appointed a Meeting of all the Forces they could get together upon *Yorkwolds*, compos'd certain Articles containing such Things as the Nobles and Commons found themselves aggrieved with, that by divulging them among the People, and shewing them their Friends, they might raise a Strength sufficient for their Design. The Piety of the Archbishop, who had engaged in this Conspiracy, drew such great Multitudes of the Gentry and Commons to join in his Quarrel, that almost every one that could bear Arms in the Countries adjacent followed him. The Archbishop seeing this Success, encouraged them to proceed in their good Enterprize, and immediately caused the Articles of their Grievances to be set upon the Doors of the Monastries, and in the Streets of *York*, that all Men might understand the Cause that moved them to take Arms against the King. The Articles were to this Effect.

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. The Relation of Archbishop Scroop and the Cause of it in several Articles.

ARTICLES of the Wrongs and Injuries done by King Henry to the Royal Dignity, and People of England.

Imprimis. 'That King *Henry* at his coming into *England* out of his Exile had voluntarily sworn, that he came only to Challenge and Recover his Own and Wife's Inheritance, and not to intermeddle with the King's Crown or Authority, but after finding himself strong enough to fulfil his Ambitious Desires, had wickedly broke his Oath, and without any Right or Reason caused himself to be made and proclaimed King.
'Secondly, 'That as an Arch-Traitor he had not only imprison'd his Sovereign Lord King *Richard*, and by Threats and Terrors had forced him to resign his Crown and Dignity upon Promises of Life, but had barbarously caused him to be Murthered in Prison, that he might enjoy his Crown and Kingdom with less Trouble and Molestation.
'Thirdly, 'That ever since the Death of King *Richard*, he had unjustly kept the Kingdom, and the Crown from his Kinsman *Edward Mortimer*, who was the Son and Heir apparent of *Philippa*, the Daughter and Heir of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, the Father of the now Usurping King.
'Fourthly, 'That he had unjustly put to Death several of the Nobles of this Nation, for endeavouring to promote the Publick Good, and had contrary to the Law of the Land caused several Bishops to be Arrested, and Imprisoned.

(a) Son to that Duke of *Norfolk*, who was banish'd with this King, when he was Duke of *Hereford*.

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Fifthly, 'That he had willingly ratified, allowed, and approved in his Parliament at *Winchester* a most wicked Statute made against the Church of *Rome*, the Powers and Principality thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ to Blessed St. Peter and his Successors the Bishops of *Rome*, and so hath been the Cause of much Simony, Perjury, and other Disorders among the Clergy, and Gentry of the Nation, who sell their Vacant Benefices to unworthy and unfit Persons, to the great Discouragement of Learning in the Universities, and Diligence in the Ministry.

Sixthly, 'That he hath usurped a Tyrannical Government, and so grievously oppressed the Nation by his continual Exactions of needless Taxes and Subsidies, when there was no reasonable Cause or Occasion for them, that the People are miserably impoverished, and dare not complain, because of his Menaces and Threats.

Seventhly, 'That no Justice could be expected from him, because, that contrary to his Coronation Oath, he had hindered the Free Election of Parliaments by sending his Letters into the Shires and Boroughs of the Kingdom, whereby he procured, that such Persons only should be chosen Knights and Burgeesses, as would not fail to serve his Turn in their Votes and Acts, as Occasion was offered.

Eighthly, 'That whereas in Honour and Respect to his Affinity, he ought to have ransomed and redeemed his Cousin the Earl of *March* from his loathsome Imprisonment, (and the more especially, because he was often solicited to it by the Lords of his Council) he not only deny'd to grant the same Request, but falsely and untruly Published and Declared, That the Earl made himself a Prisoner to the *Welsh* voluntarily, that he might have a more colourable Pretence to join with Traytors and Rebels to conspire and plot against him, and disturb his Peace and Government.

Lastly, 'That the Premises being very destructive to the Nation, and calling for a speedy Redress, they had taken Arms with no other Intention, than to exalt unto the Kingdom the true and lawful Heir, and to crown him with the Royal Diadem of *England*, to bring the *Welsh*, *Irish*, and other Enemies of the Kingdom to a perpetual Peace; and lastly, to free the Nation from all those Exactions, Extortions, and unjust Payments, which ruined the People: And therefore as they defied King *Henry*, as an Usurping Tyrant, and pronounced him Perjured and Excommunicate; so they threatned the Curse of God, and his Holy Church upon all those that should assist him against them, and not join with them against him.

These Articles being seen and read, were very well approved by the Generality of People, and brought a mighty Concourse to the Assistance of the Archbishop; insomuch, that they had no reason in the least to doubt of Success. The King having Intelligence of these Things, gave over all Thoughts of his Expedition into *Wales*, and resolved to turn his Forces against them: But *Ralph Nevill*, Earl of *Westmoreland*, and his Son *John*, Duke of *Lancaster* (e) with several other great Persons,

who were at that Time marching towards *Scotland* to defend the Borders with a considerable Force, thought it necessary to stop the Growth of the Rebellion, by opposing it in the Beginning; and being not far from their Camp, presented themselves with all the Strength they could get to give them Battel. The Archbishop's Party was much the Stronger, being twenty thousand Men, but yet were not forward to set upon them, which the Earl of *Westmoreland* perceiving, and not daring to assault them, he contrived to supplant them by this Stratagem. He sent certain Messengers to the Archbishop to know the Cause, why a Person of his Character for Wisdom and Piety, who should by his Place endeavour all he could to promote Peace and Quietness in the Nation, should appear in Arms, and disturb the Government. The Archbishop reply'd, 'That he attempted nothing against the King's Peace; but all that he intended was to advance the Good of the Commonwealth, by redressing the Abuses and Corruptions of the Government, contained in certain Articles, which he gave them a Copy of, and desired them to carry to the Earl to consider upon, not doubting but he would agree with him, that his Purpose was Good and Profitable, as well for the King himself, as for the whole Realm. The Earl having received this Answer, and the Paper which they brought with them, from the Messenger's Hands, read the Articles contained in it; and immediately sent the Bishop Word again; 'That having well considered of the Articles sent to him, he highly approve the Holy Intention and Purpose of the Archbishop, and was ready to concur with him to his utmost in establishing the same, desiring to meet the Archbishop in some convenient Place, and with an equal Number of Men, to confer farther about the more effectual carrying on of their Design. The Prelate having received this Message did not suspect the Deceit lurking in it, but rejoiced much at the Earl's Proposals, appointing a Place to meet him, as he desired. The Earl-Marshal was afraid of the Trick, but the Archbishop giving Credit to the Earl's Words, persuaded him to attend him to the Conference, where the Earl of *Westmoreland* again solemnly declared, 'That he and his would do their Best, that a Reformation should be made according to the forementioned Articles: And then desiring that their Soldiers might be dismissed to their Camps, they shook Hands, and sat down to drink together, as perfect Friends; which when the Soldiers saw they departed with Joy, and left them; but one of the Troops wheeling about by the Earl of *Westmoreland*'s Order, came suddenly upon them as they were sitting, and took the Archbishop, Earl-Marshal, and several other Prisoners. This Perfidiousness the Archbishop too late upbraided the Earl of *Westmoreland* with, and that with some Smartness; but the Earl pacified him by repeated Promises of his Safety, and of them that were with him. The Earl of *Westmoreland* soon after hearing, that the King himself was come to *Pomfret*, went thither with his Prisoners, and presented them to the King; but whether he forgot to tell the King of his Promise, or whether the King would not perform it, certain it is, that they were both Executed. The Arch-

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Earl of
Westmoreland
takes the
Archbishop
Prisoner by
a Stratagem,
and ends the
Rebellion.

(e) *John* of *Lancaster*, King *Henry*'s Third Son, he was not Duke of *Lancaster*; but afterwards he was famous by the Title of Duke of *Bedford*, and Regent of *France*.

A. D. 1405. Bishop suffered with great Constancy, and was so much admired as well as pitied after his Death, that the People worshipp'd him for a Martyr, till the King forbade them. From *Pomfrait* the King marched with his Army of 37000 Men to *Tork*, where he fined the Citizens at his Pleasure for their Rebellion, and so furnished himself with Money and Provision for his further Progress in pursuit of the Earl of *Northumberland*: But that Earl, with the Lord *Burdolf* escaped into *Scotland*, and was received by *David*, Lord *Flemming*. The King in his way took the Lord *Hastings* and *Falconbridge*, Sir *John Colvill*, and Sir *John Griffith*, and beheaded them at *Durham*. Then he assaulted *Berwick*, *Warkworth*, *Alenwick*, and several other Castles which belonged to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and took them, and so put an end to the Rebellion at present.

King Henry's Expedition against the Welsh. While the King was thus employ'd against his own Subjects, the *Welsh* under *Owen Glendour* were very solicitous to strengthen themselves against King Henry's Arms, whose Intentions (as they knew) were not laid aside wholly, but deferred, and therefore they might expect him as soon as Things were quiet at Home. They thereupon sent to the King of *France* for his Assistance, and obtained 12000 Men, which were sent over in 140 Ships, under the Command of the Marshal *Montmerancy*. In their Passage they lost all their Horses for want of fresh Water; and just after their Landing, the Lord *Barkley*, and Mr. *Henry Pay*, burnt and took near Thirty of their Ships: But these Losses they soon recovered upon the *English*; for joining with *Owen Glendour*, they besieged *Carmarden*, *Worcester*, and several other Places, from whence they took store of Spoil and Plunder. King Henry hearing of these Troubles from the *Welsh*, hastened against them; but as if an ill Fate had pursued him, he lost all his Carriages with a violent Tempest, in his Passage thither; and being arrived, could effect nothing against them; for the *Welsh* after their usual manner retreating into their Mountains, the King for want of Money and Forrage was forced to return Home without any Action worthy of Mention, losing some of his Carriages in his Retreat. The *French* also returned with little gain by their tedious Journey, having lost more than they had gotten.

Reg. 7. In the beginning of this Year the Lady *Philip*, King Henry's younger Daughter, was married to *Erice*, King of *Denmark*, *Normay* and *Sweden*, and not long after proclaimed Queen of those Countries on the Conception of our Lady, December 8. in the presence of the Embassadors, who had celebrated the Marriage before. On the Translation of St. *Martin*, the Town of *Roylson* was set on Fire, and almost burnt down to the Ground. The Earl of *Arundel* also about the same time married the King of *Portugal*'s natural Daughter, and the King and Queen were at the Marriage.

A. D. 1406. On the First of *March* a Parliament met at *Westminster*. The main Design of their Meeting was to grant the King a Subsidy for his present Supply; but that he might more easily gain his Ends upon them, the King passed several Acts at their Request, about the more regular and orderly Election of Knights of the Shires, and Burgesses for Parliament; against Bulls to be discharged of Tythes, Provisions, Licenses and Pardons for Benefices, held by Incumbents, purchased of the Pope, and brought into the Nation, to the great Prejudice of the Church, and Disturbance of the Order of the

Nation; as also for the Confirmation of the ancient Liberties, and Preservation of the Peace, with several other Statutes; by which Readiness and Facility he thought to oblige them to be more liberal to him in granting him Money: But when the King's Necessities and Wants came to be propounded, the House was generally averse to it, and deny'd to grant any Tax at present. The King had no way to force them to it, but by prolonging their Session, which would not only be chargeable to the Nation, but prejudicial to all their private Interests, in neglecting their Summer-business; and therefore, when they had long waited for their Dissolution with Impatience, and found the King's Design, they at length granted him a Fifteenth of the Commons; which was so much the more heavy, because the length of the Session had been very Expensive: And the Clergy to ease the Seculars, who had been much impoverish'd with paying so many Tenths, imposed a new Subsidy upon Stipendiary Priests, Mendicant-Fryars, and Chantry-Priests, viz. three and four Pence a Head, which was paid by them with much Murmuring and Repining, because of the Poverty of those inferior Priests and Monks and the Novelty of it. By this Parliament the Succession was entailed a-new upon the Posterity of King Henry, and a Pardon given to all those Persons that had been instrumental in suppressing the late Rebellion, and such riotous Meetings as were Precedent, or Consequential to it.

The King while the Parliament sat, considering how Turbulent the Earl of *Northumberland* had been to his Government; that he had been the chief Cause and Instrument of Two Rebellions, and that he could never hope for any Security so long as he was alive; for though he was fled into *Scotland*, yet being so near his Friends in the *North*, and among his Enemies the *Scots*, who if not out of Love to the Earl, yet out of Hatred to himself and the *English*, would lay hold of any Opportunity to assault his Dominions, and disturb his Peace; contrived to prevent the Earl's Designs, by getting him into his Hands, and to that End agreed with several of the *Scotch* Nobles to restore certain Great Men of their Kingdom, whom he kept Prisoners, if they would resign the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Burdolf* into his Hands. The *Scots* readily assented to the King's Proposals, thinking it unreasonable to value the Safety of Two Rebels, before the Liberty of many of their very good Friends, and accordingly conspired to take them and deliver them to him: But the Lord *Flemming*, who had entertained them, having Intelligence of the Design, and being loath to violate the Sacred Rules of Hospitality, gave them Notice of it, and advised them to provide for their Safety elsewhere, since he could not longer protect them; whereupon the Earl of *Northumberland* and Lord *Burdolf* fled into *Wales*. The *Scotch* Lords being thus disappointed of their Aim, turned their Anger upon the Lord *Flemming*, and slew him, but with no less Trouble to the Nation than Cruelty in themselves: For the Children and Relations of the said Lord, being excited by the Barbarousness of the Fact, resolved to revenge it, and being in so just a Cause, obtained Assistance easily to effect it. This begat a Civil War in *Scotland*, and raised such dangerous Quarrels in several parts of the Nation, that the King not thinking it safe to keep Prince *James* his Son and Heir at Home, sent him under the Care of the Earl of

A. D. 1406. Reg. 7.

King Henry contrives to get the Earl of Northumberland from the Scots.

A. D. 1406. Reg. 7. of Orkney, and a Bishop, into France to complete his Education, and learn that Language. In their Passage, as they sailed by the English Coast, about *Clay* in *Norfolk*, they were taken by certain English Ships belonging to those Parts, and sent to the King at *Windsor*; who though they presented to him the King of Scots Letters, containing a Request of his Favour to his Son, if he should land in any part of his Dominions, yet he imprisoned them all in the Tower of London; saying, *He would teach the Young Prince to speak the French Tongue, and so they need go no further.* The Bishop remained not long in Custody, but either through Cunning or Connivance escaped; and though a Truce was made a little after between the two Kings of England and Scotland, yet the Prince was kept a Prisoner, either as a Pledge of his Father's Fidelity, or to make him expel the English Rebels out of his Dominions, whom he entertained to the King's great Displeasure.

Divers Accidents.

In the End of this Summer the Britains, who served the Queen, were banished the Nation, and two of her Daughters sent along with them by Order of the Parliament. The Lady *Philippa* also was sent over into *Denmark* to her Husband, being attended by *Henry Bowet*, Bishop of *Bath*, and the Lord *Richard*, Brother to the Duke of *York*, with a great Train, and was soon after her Arrival married to the said King with great Magnificence. At the same time solemn Jufts were held at *London* between the Earl of *Kent*, Sir *John Cornwall*, and the Lord *Beaumont* and Three Scots, the Earl of *Marre*, and Two Scottish Knights; but the Honour of the Victory fell to the English. This Year also the Mayor of *London* caused all the Wears or Banks, as far as *Gravefend*, which had been made into the *Thames* to catch the Fish, to be beaten down and demolished, because they were found too destructive to the Filhery. The Earl of *Arundel*, and some other of the Nobility opposed the Mayor in it, but he prevailed through some Concessions given the City of *London* by their Charter. Sir *Robert Knolles* finished *Rocheſter-Bridge*, and the Chappel adjoining to it. The Pope made *Thomas Langley*, Bishop of *Durham*, in the Place of *Walter Skirlow*, lately deceased. The French also sent a further Aid to the Welsh in thirty eight Ships, but lost eight in their Passage, and the rest hardly escaping the English, got ashore in much Fear and Danger.

Reg. 8.

Earl of Kent's Marriage.

The King, who greatly favoured *Edmund Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, and for that Reason had raised him to very great Honour and Offices about him, preferred him to the Lady *Lucy*, the Eldest Daughter, and one of the Heiresses of *Barnabas*, Duke of *Milan*; which Match he had obtained for him by great Interest, and large Expences. She was married to him January the 24th, in the Church of *St. Mary Overies*, in *Southmark*, and the Duke on the Day of her Marriage paid him by the Hands of *Don Alfonso de Caimola* 100000 Ducats.

A. D.

1407.

Roger Walden's Death.

About this Time died *Roger Walden*, Doctor of Divinity, and so at length came to his Haven of Peace and Quiet, after a life of infinite Changes and Troubles; for of all Men living he was the greatest Instance of the Mutability and Inconstancy of Fortune. He was originally of mean Parentage, and born to a small Estate; but being educated in Learning, and of a pregnant Wit, he raised himself by degrees to the highest Offices both in Church and State; for he was first made Lord High-Treasurer, and a little after by the Deposition of *Thomas Arundel*, he

was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and so continued during King *Richard's* Reign. From these Pinacles of Grandeur he was cast down by the coming of King *Henry* to the Throne, who restored *Thomas Arundel* to his See. Several Years he remained in a private Station, and at length was again raised to Episcopal Dignity, being made Bishop of *London*: But, as though Fortune raised him only to shew her Power to cast down, he was again removed from that See in less than the space of a Year, and *Nicholas Hobwith* put in his Place; dying, if not in as poor, yet in almost as mean a Condition as he was Born: So uncertain is worldly Greatness.

The Duke of *Orleans* early in the Spring having gathered a mighty Army, besieged the Towns of *Burges* and *Blay* in *Gascoigne*, not doubting, but that with his Army he might easily win the said Towns: But, as if Providence had fought against him, and disapproved the Action; there happened such continual Tempests of Rain, mixt with Hail and Snow, every Day for six Weeks together, that he was not able to attempt any Thing; but lost by the Violence of the Weather (as was reported) six thousand of his Men; so that he was forced to break up the Siege and depart with Disgrace. The English not insensible of this Danger, in the mean time annoy'd the French Coasts; and with fifteen Ships under the Command of *Henry Pay*, Esq; and some others belonging to the Cinque-Ports took a hundred and twenty Prizes on the Brittain Coasts, laden with Iron, Salt, Oyl, and *Rochel-Wines*; so that the French sustained many Damages by Sea and Land.

Some Seeds of Rebellion began to spring this Year, tho' being nipped in the Bud, they came to nothing: For some Persons desirous to stir up the People to Sedition, set up Bills in several Places of the City of *London*, and upon the Doors of *St. Paul's Church*; declaring, that King *Richard* was still alive, and would shortly come with great Power and State to recover his Kingdom. But the Chief Actor in this Business was by the King's Vigilance soon found out, and punished according to his Desert, that the Terror of his Sufferings might make others to avoid the like false Attempts.

The City of *London* was so much infected this Summer with the Plague, that it is said thirty thousand died of it; and the Country was proportionably afflicted with it, for many whole families died of it. The King not daring to venture himself in the City, passed his Time in the Country, till the Infection should cease; where having kept his Court some time at his Castle of *Leeds* and *Kent*, he pass'd into *Essex* to reside a while at *Pleshey*. He took Ship at *Queensburgh*, in the Isle of *Sheepy*, to sail to *Leigh* in *Essex*: But in his way certain French Pirates, who lay at the *Thames* Mouth, watching for Prey, fell in among his Ships, having Information of his crossing, and took four Ships which were next to the King's, missing of the Ship he was in, which they intended to take; but carrying away Sir *Thomas Rampstone* his Vice-chamberlain, with his Furniture and Apparel; the King himself escaping only through the Swiftneſs of his Ship. The Lord *Camois*, had undertaken with certain Men of War, to convey the King over safely; but either thro' the Sluggishneſs of his Ship or cross Winds, not being at hand to guard the King from this Danger, was thought to have practised with the French to deliver the King into their Hands; and

A. D. 1407. Reg. 8.

Duke of Orleans besieges Burges and Blay.

Seditious Libels set up in the City.

A Plague in London.

The King near taken by some French Pirates.

A. D. 1407. and being Attach'd was imprison'd, and oblig'd to undergo his Tryal, but was cleared by his Peers, and restored by the King to his Lands, Goods and Offices.

The King opposes the Pope's Provisions.

Robert Halome, Chancellour of *Oxford* being at *Rome* with the Pope, obtained a Provision of him for the Arch-Bishoprick of *Tork*, when it should become Vacant by the Death of the present Bishop. *Richard Scroope* being beheaded for his Rebellion, *Robert* possessed himself of the See: But the King was so offended with him for this Intrusion, that he was afraid to keep it; and therefore submitted the Disposal of it to the King's Pleasure, who thereupon made *Henry Bowet*, from Bishop of *Bath*, Arch-Bishop, and put *Robert Halome* into the See of *Salisbury*, then vacant by the Translation of *Henry Chicheley* to *St. Davids*. (f) The Prince of *Wales* much about the same Time won the Castle of *Abirufewith* (g) in *Wales*, forcing the Besieged to resign it to him upon certain Conditions; but the Prince was no sooner departed from those Parts, but *Owen Glendour* by a subtle Stratagem got Possession of it again; and putting out the Keepers, whom he charged with Treason for resigning the Castle without his Consent, put in others more faithful to defend it for his Use.

Sir Robert Knoll's Death, and his Acts of Charity and Piety.

About the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, Aug. 15. deceased that most Warlike Knight, and Brave English Hero, Sir Robert Knoll's, at his Manor of *Sconethorp* in *Norfolk*; and being carried up to *London*, was honourably Interred in the Church of the *White-Fryars* in *Fleet-Street*, by the Lady *Constance* his Wife; which Church he had a little before re-edified. He was of mean Parentage, but by his Courage and Valour raised himself, to be the Commander of Armies, and Governour of Provinces; in which Places he behaved himself so well, that he not only enriched himself but was a Terror to all the Enemies of the Nation, especially the *French* and *Brittains*. In his old Age he resigned his Government of the Province of *Aquitain*, to Sir *Thomas Belfort*, and gave himself to Acts of Piety and Charity; in which he was as eminent, as in Heroick Achievements: For he built the large Bridge at *Rocheſter* over the *Medway*, with a Chappel at the Foot of it; in which is a Table of all the Benefactors to the Bridge, who have given Land or Money to the upholding of it. The Coping hath been added since by *John Warner*, a Merchant of *Rocheſter*, and the Iron Bars and Spikes by Arch-Bishop *Warham*. He also founded a College of Secular Priests at *Pontefract* for six Priests, thirteen poor Men and Women, and endued it with a hundred and eighty Pounds a Year in Lands, with many other Acts of Charity, to his great Honour and the eternal Commendation of his Memory.

Reg. 9.

Sir *Thomas Ramplstone*, Constable of the Tower of *London*, passing from Court to the Tower by Water, was drown'd in shooting the Bridge. Sir *Richard Whittington* the Famous Benefactor to the City of *London*, was this Year made Mayor, and held that Place three Years. With the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at *Gloucester*, but was removed in November to *Westminster* for more Conveniency. In this Session little was enacted of publick Advantage,

Eight Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

besides the Confirmation of the Ancient Liberties, Laws and Customs of the Realm, but only some Irregularities about the Payment of Taxes by Strangers, sealing Cloths, and the like were removed. In respect to the Church several Things of Importance were moved, and some enacted, viz. It was moved by Petition to the King, That forasmuch, as divers Provisors of Benefices in the Church of *England*, thro' Covetousness have devised to destroy the Present Incumbents, by suing Processes in the Court of *Rome*, and without any Citations given them within the Realm have deprived them of their Benefices; It would please the King to consider the Mischief of such Proceedings, and to ordain, That all such Persons, as shall procure or sue in the Court of *Rome* any Process touching any Benefice or Collation in his Majesty's Dominions, and obtain any Presentation thereupon, shall not be admitted by any Ordinary into such Benefices, but shall incur the Penalty of the Statute of Provisors made 13 Rich. 2. with all their Counsellors and Fautors: To which the King answered, That he would take effectual Care that the Statutes before-mentioned should be observed. Another Petition was also put up to the King, begging, That since many Benefices of the Realm were held and enjoy'd by Foreigners and others, who took no care of the People, he would be pleased to seize upon all Benefices, where the Persons were not Resident, and take one half of the said Benefices to his own Use. But to this the King answered, That he would cause the Ordinaries to do their Duties; which if they would not do, he would take care to prevent Pluralities. These favourable Answers encouraged the Commons to pass several Bills in reference to them, which the King enacted, viz. That no Monies should be carried out of the Nation to the Court of *Rome*; and that if any of the Pope's Collectors should levy any Money within the Realm for the First-Fruits of any Ecclesiastical Dignity, he should incur the Penalty of the Statute of Provisors: That the Elections and Presentations to Benefices should be free, and no Patrons should be interrupted in their Right, either by the King or Pope: That all Statutes against Provisors, and Translations of Bishopricks and Arch-Bishopricks, shall be strictly observed and executed upon all Offenders against them, and that no Clergy-man shall sue for any Benefice but in the King's Court. These Acts were so pleasing to the Parliament, that they granted the King a general Subsidy thro' the whole Nation, and so it was dismiss'd.

A little before *Christmas*, began a Frost of that Violence and long Continuance, that the like was scarce ever heard of in *England*. It lasted fifteen Weeks; and being accompany'd with an abundance of Snow, it was so destructive to the Birds especially, that almost all the smaller Birds died with Cold and Hunger.

A. D. 1408. An hard Winter.

Early in this Spring the Earl of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf*, who from their Escape out of *Scotland*, had spent a whole Year to gather an Army in *Wales*, *France* and *Flanders* to invade *England*, returned again into *Scotland*, and entered into *England*. The King, who had no Suspicion of this Attempt, was at *London*, consulting with his Nobles and Peers about the

The E. of Northumberland rebels a third time and is slain.

(f) The Translation of Dr. *Chicheley* from the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* to *St. David's*, shews us, that there must be a vast Alteration in the Revenues of the See of *St. David's*, from what they were formerly: That of *Salisbury* being now valued in the King's Books at 1367 l. 11 s. 8 d. and that of *St. David's*, but at 426 l. 5 s. 8 d. and yet as low as the Priests are now, the Value of it in the said Books amounts to much more, than that of the other Three Welsh Bishopricks put together.

(g) *Aberystwith* in *Gardiganshire*.

A. D. 1408. Reg. 9. Affairs of the Realm, and was in no Readiness to make any Opposition; so that the Earl had time to gain several of his Castles with ease, before the King could get his Army together, though he endeavour'd it with all speed. These prosperous Beginnings encourag'd the Earl to go on, and invade *Torkshire*; where being at *Thresk*, he put out a Proclamation, assuring the People, 'That he came to relieve the *English* Nation from their many and unjust Oppressions; and requiring all Persons that loved the Liberty of their Country to resort to him immediately with their Weapons and Armour to assist him; by which fair Pretences great Numbers of People resorted to him. The King being certified of these Things, hastened towards them with a great Army; but not being able to get there time enough to secure those Countries from their Ravage and Spoil, Sir *Thomas Rockley* or *Rokesby*, High-Sheriff of the County, a Person of signal Courage and Loyalty, assembled the Forces of the County together, if not to fight them, yet to stop their Progress, which without any Signs of Opposition would prove of greater Damage. The Earl and his Party advanced forward, and the Sheriff as resolutely marched against them, and meeting them at *Braham-moor* near *Haselwood*, resolved to give them Battel, though with a far less Number than the Earl had. The Rebels chose their Ground, and were ready to receive them; which Advantage the Sheriff so little regarded, that he fell immediately upon them perhaps more boldly than wisely; but Fortune seconds the Adventurous. The Earl and his Men encountered him with equal Resolution and Bravery. However in the Issue he was forced to resign the Victory to the Sheriff; many were slain on both sides, but the Rebels lost far the most. The Lord *Bardolf* was taken, and so much wounded, that he died soon after of his Wounds. The Earl of *Northumberland* was slain, but his Head being cut off was sent up with the Lord *Bardolf's* to *London*, and there set upon a Pole on the Bridge. His Death was much lamented by the People, by reason of his Valour and Honour. The Bishop of *Bangor*, who had gone over to *Owen Glendour* was taken; but because he was not in Arms, the King pardon'd him, more in respect to his Order than Merit. But the Abbot of *Hailes* found not that Mercy from the King; for being taken in Armour, he was hang'd. The King was on his March towards the Rebels, when the News of this Victory was brought to him; but judging it necessary to proceed in his Course to settle those Countries, and purge 'em from the Dregs of Rebellion, he went to *Tork*, where he punish'd many that were accused for succouring and assisting the Earl of *Northumberland*, some with Death, others with great Fines, and so brought those Parts in a small time into good Order.

This Summer the *English* Seas being much pestered with *French* Rovers, which did much Damage, both to the Coasts and Merchants, the King sent out a well-mann'd Fleet, under the Command of *Edmund Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, to scowr the Narrow-Seas of them. The Pirates having Intelligence of the King's Design, withdrew themselves into their Ports, so that the Earl, when he came to Sea, though he

fought carefully for them, could find none of them; but at length getting Intelligence that they were gotten into *Britain*, he pursued 'em, resolving to revenge on them the Injuries they had done to the *English*; and because he could not bring them to a Sea-fight, he landed his Men, and besieged the City of *Briak* which harbour'd them, and sent them out. The Inhabitants stoutly defended themselves, endeavouring to drive the *English* back, by casting Arrows and Stones upon them, and were so lucky as to wound the Earl himself mortally on the Head, of which hurt he died within five Days. This might have proved Fortunate to the Besieged, had their Enemies been Men of common Tempers; but the Loss of their Captain so much enraged the Soldiers, that they became more desperate in the Assault, and within a few Days took the Town by force, and slew all that had made Resistance, but staid not to secure it, being satisfied with the Prey and Prisoners. The Countess of *Kent* had no Issue, and therefore the King desired her in Marriage for his Bastard-Brother the Earl of *Dorset*, an old and decrepit Man; (b) but she chose rather to please her self, and married a young Gentleman, *Henry Mortimer*, by whom she had one Daughter, named *Ann*; afterwards married to Sir *John Arbemond*.

The Schism between the Popes, which had lasted several Years past, was now grown very wearisome to the whole Church, having cost so many Lives to maintain it, and being such an open Breach of Unity and Christian Love, the Two main Pillars of the Church. The two last Antipopes, *Gregory XII.* and *Benedict XIII.* had been sworn at their Election to call a Council, and submit to the Decision of it, that by that most effectual way Peace might be restored to the Church; but their Behaviour afterwards in choosing new Cardinals to strengthen their Parties, was an evident Sign they intended to perpetuate the Schism, as much as in them lay, not valuing the Oath they had taken to the contrary. This Action offended the more moderate Cardinals, and gave distaste to particular Churches, insomuch, that they began to take others Methods to bring the Popes to Terms of Agreement.

In *France* the King having taken Advice of the Learned Men of his Universities of *Paris* (i) *Bolonia*, *Orleans*, *Toulouse* and *Montpellier*, how he might avoid the Danger of Schism; determined to submit to neither of these Schismatical Popes, until Peace were restored to Christ's Church. In *England* also the Doctors of both Universities met in a Council at *London*, with the rest of the Clergy to debate, whether they should withdraw from the Pope their usual Payments of Monies, and their accustomed Obedience; considering, that contrary to his Word and Promise, confirmed by his Oath, he had hindred the Agreement and Concord of the Church: But they came to no Resolution, because the King was willing to try more gentle Methods first, especially since the Council of *Pisa* was appointed to meet to determine the Controversie the next Summer: And therefore the mean while, that he might dispose Pope *Gregory* and his Cardinals to submit to their Decision, he wrote a Letter to each of them, to this effect. 'To the Pope he represented

A. D. 1408. Reg. 9.

Reg. 10. The Schism between the Popes, and the means to end it.

A. D. 1409.

The Council of Pisa appointed.

(b) It could not be the Earl of *Dorset*, for the King did not confer that Title till four Years afterwards on his younger Brother *Thomas Beaufort*, Hol. The Author must mean *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, the eldest of *Esquire Suinford's* Sons, by the Duke of *Lancaster*; and he being several Years Younger than the King, who was not now above one and forty Years of Age, deserved not the Character of Old and Decrepit.

(i) *Bolonia* is not one of the *French* King's Universities, and never belong'd to the Dominions of *France*.

A. D.
1409.
Reg. 10.

the Miseries of Christendom by this Schism, and how much Blood-shed it had been the Cause of; that 200000 Men had been slain in several parts of the Christian World in this Antipapal Quarrel; and lately in the Contention for the Bishoprick of *Leige* between the Two Competitors, set up by each Pope 30000 Men had been slain: And then added, That if his Holiness would seriously consider these Things, he could not but be much troubled at it, and for Conscience sake rather relinquish his Papal Authority and Grandure, than be a further Cause of such detestable Murders; imitating the Example of the True Mother, who pleading her Cause before *Solomon*, chose rather to part with her own Child, than see it cut asunder: And though by his late Creation of Nine Cardinals he had given some Suspicion, that he intended not the End of the Schism; yet he hoped, that he abhorred to be guilty of so great Inconstancy. To the Cardinals he gives only an exhortation to behave themselves with that Candour and Impartiality at the Council of *Pisa*, that God may be pleased, and the Pope himself obliged to thank them. These Letters to the Pope and Cardinals the King sent to *Rome* by Sir *John Colvil*, Knight, and Mr. *Nicholas Rixton*, Clerk. Soon after their Departure the Archbishop of *Canterbury* summon'd the Clergy of his Province to a Convocation in *St. Paul's Church*, to choose sufficient Persons to go to the General Council appointed to be held at *Pisa*; and they unanimously fixed upon *Robert Halome*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Henry Chicheley*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, and *Thomas Chillingden*, Prior of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*.

John Wick-
liff's Books
condemned
at Oxford.

This Summer, notwithstanding the Burning of *William Sawter*, and other Severities used against the *Lollards* in this King's Reign; it was found, that several Learned Men of the University of *Oxford*, and in other parts of the Nation were inclinable to the Doctrines of *John Wickliff*, and did publickly in their Sermons and other Discourses, deliver Opinions and Conclusions tending that way. The Bishop and chief of the Clergy were much troubled at it; and the Lord Chancellor, by his special Mandate, ordered a Convocation of the Heads and Body of the University, to meet and examine the Doctrines of *Wickliff*; who accordingly on *June 26*, assembling in great Multitudes, viz. both Regents and Non-regents, reprov'd and condemned with one Consent the Books of *John Wickliff*, D. D. Entitled, *De Sermonibus in mente, Triologorum de Simonia, De perfectione Statuum, De ordine Christiano, & de gradibus Cleri Ecclesie*. As also his Treatise of *Logick* or *Sophistry*: Prohibiting under the Penalty of the Great Curse and Deprivation of all Scholastick Degrees, that none from thence-forward should affirm, teach, or preach by any manner of means or ways any of the Opinions or Doctrines contained and set forth in the same Heretical Books.

Several Ac-
cidents.

About the same time was a famous Play acted at *Skinner's Well*, near *Clerkenwell*, *London*, representing the chief Matter of the World

from the Creation: It lasted Eight Days, and most part of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* were present at it. From hence they went to Royal Jufts in *Smithfield*, between the Marshal of *Henault* and certain *Hanovers*, Challenggers; and the Earl of *Somerset*, and an equal Number of *Englishmen* Defendants. The Victory was on the *Englishmen's* side; for the Earl overcame, and all the *English* but one. *Owen Glendour* also the famous *Welsh* Rebel died. He, had behaved himself with Valour enough; but not being able to effect what he had promised his Country-men, viz. an absolute Sovereignty among themselves, and a Freedom from the *English* Yoke; but instead of these having engaged them upon insupportable Expences, and an endless War, they deserted him; and he being forsaken, partly through fear of being delivered up to King *Henry*, and partly thro' discontent and trouble of Mind, fled into the Mountains and Deserts; where being destitute of all Comfort and Succour, he ended his miserable Life. The Counsel of *Pisa* after a long Deliberation about the State of the Church thro' the Schism of the Antipopes, at last determined against both, and created *Alexander V.* Pope in their Room, and so put an end to the Schism which had vexed the Christian Churches so long.

A. D.
1409
Reg. 11

The King made *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Sur-* Reg. 11.
rey (k) Lord-Chancellor, and the Lord *Scrop*, A. D.
Treasurer; and after *Christmas* met his Parlia- 1410.
ment at *Westminster*, Jan. 28. In this Parlia-
ment it was enacted, 'That Sheriffs making
' false Returns of Knights of Shires elected for
' Parliament, shall forfeit a hundred Pound to
' the King: That Records shall not be amended
' ed or corrupted after Judgment enrolled, and
' that Jurors shall be returned into *Westminster*
' Hall by the Sheriffs. But that which was most
amazing in this Parliament was a Petition of
the Commons delivered to the King, purport-
ing, That the Temporal Possessions, Lands and Re-
venues of the Clergy were lewdly spent, consumed
and wasted by the Bishops, Abbots and Priors of the
Realm, which if they were well managed, would
maintain 150 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6200 Esquires,
and 100 Hospitals more than are now at present;
by which means the Safety of the Nations would be
better provided for, the Poor better maintained,
and the Clergy would be more Humble and Pious;
and therefore they humbly besought him to take them
into his own Hands, and order them accordingly.
In their Bill they alledged, That the Temporal-
ities of the said Bishops and Religious Persons a-
mounted to above 322000 Marks; which at the
Allowance of 3000 Marks to an Earl, a 100
Marks to each Knight, 40 Marks to an Esquire,
and an 100 Marks to each Alms house yearly, would
be sufficient for the said Number. But it is said,
that the King was displeased at this Motion,
which having before been made, he command-
ed them for the future never to meddle with
any such Matters. The Commons also peti-
tioned, That the Statute which past in the Se-
cond Year of the King against the *Lollards*
might be revoked or qualified with some Re-
strictions and Mitigations: But the King so
much favoured the Clergy, that he plainly

(k) This was *Thomas Beaufort*, younger Son of *John of Gunt*, and not *Swinford*, whom *Walsingham* erroneously stild Earl of *Surrey*, and the Modern Historians have erred, copying after him. *Thomas Beaufort* was created Earl of *Dorset* two Years after; and this Remark may also correct an Error in *Holinhead*, who says, that *Thomas Beaufort*, (Camb. Brit. Tit. *Surrey*.) the Chancellor died this Year 1411. pag. 536. And the very next Page he relates, That *Thomas Beaufort*, the King's Brother was created Earl of *Dorset*, Anno 1412. Now there was no other *Thomas Beaufort*, besides he who was the Son of that *Swinford*, that we read of in History, and he had the Fortune to be Duke of *Exeter*, Protector of the Realm, and to be a chief Man in the Government to his Death, which happened in the Year 1446. *Holinhead*, pag. 1079.

A. D. 1410. told them, ' That he was so far from disannulling or mitigating the said Act, that he would have it made more vigorous and sharp for the Punishment of such erroneous Persons. Then they further desired, ' That Clerks convicted should not be delivered to the Bishop's Prison, because they escaped the Punishment of their Crimes by that means: But they could not obtain their Requests. These Denials so sharpened the Commons against the King, that when he desired that he might have annually a Fifteenth of the Laity, and a Tenth of the Clergy, though the Parliament did not sit, they would not agree to it; nor had he gained a present Supply, were it not, that he tired them with a long Session, keeping them till *Mid-May*, and forcing them to purchase their Dismission with the Gift of a Fifteenth of the Commons, though with much Discontent.

The Martyrdom of John Bodby. In the Time of this Parliament was one *John Bodby*, a Taylor, of the Diocese of *Worcester*, convicted before *Thomas*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* of Heresie, and obstinately persisting in the same, because he had been convened before his Diocesan, and being admonish'd to leave his Erroneous Opinions, neither did, nor as yet would forsake them, and therefore was carried to *Smithfield*, and there burnt in a Pipe or Tun to Ashes. *Henry*, the Prince of *Wales*, was present at this Execution, and much compassionating his Sufferings, was very desirous to have saved him, offering him a Pardon if he would recant his Errors before the Fire was kindled; but he refusing, was tied to the Stake, and the Fire made about him. As soon as he felt the Flames he cried out most hedeously; which when the Prince heard, he caused the Fire to be put out, and then exhorted him again to renounce his Errors, and he should be saved; and since the Fire had made him Impotent, he promised him Three Pence a Day out of the King's Treasury, as long as he lived; but the Holy Man recovering his Spirits, deny'd the Prince's Offers; and being put into the Fire again, was burnt to Ashes: With miraculous Constancy, sealing the Doctrines he had resolutely maintained with his Death.

The Duke of Burgundy's Design to take Calais, defeated. The Duke of *Burgundy* intending to make a second and more effectual Attempt to take *Calais* for his Master the *French King*, (1) had brought down to *St. Omers* many Engines and Provisions for that End. The *English Garrison* at *Calais* were so much the more fearful of this Siege, because the Duke was enraged for his last ill Success against it; and had now resolved, either to take it, or utterly demolish it, for which Purpose he had brought thither many strange Engines newly invented and laid them up in the *Abby* there, till all things were ready for the Siege. The *Calaisians* had a watchful Eye upon the Duke's Motions; and their Fears suggested Methods to avoid the Danger, and disappoint his cruel Purpose: For hiring a young Man, who was both subtle and desperate, with a large Sum of Money to enter the Town of *St. Omers* and set it on fire; he did it so privately, that he escaped himself unsuspected, and burnt down, not only the *Abby* wherein the Duke's Provision and Ammunition lay, but the greatest part of the Town perished in the Flames, and so the Duke's Charge, as well as Aim was lost, and the *Calaisians* preserv'd.

Thomas Beaufort, Earl of *Surrey* died. The Citizens fell under the King's Displeasure for quarrelling with the Prince's Servants, attending their Master at a Feast in *Eastcheap*, and the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen were sent for; but it appearing, that the Mayor had done his Duty in suppressing the Disorder, and punishing the Offenders, the King pardon'd them, and so dismissed them. This Year also he laid the Foundation of a College at *Battle-field* in *Shropshire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry Percy*, surnamed *Hotspur*, and his Uncle, in grateful thanks to God for that Victory, it being by far the strongest Rebellion that was raised against him all his Reign; and through the Courage and Conduct of the Leaders most likely to succeed, which was the Motive to the King of building this College of Praise to God.

Robert Humphrevile, Knight, Vice-Admiral of *England* being employ'd against the *Scots* with Ten able Ships of War, much infested the Coasts of that Nation; and entering the *Forth* or *Frith* of *Edenburgh* he lay there fourteen Days, and landing every Day on one side of the River or other, took great Spoils, and many Prisoners; notwithstanding the Duke of *Albany*, and Earl *Douglas* lay with a considerable Body of Men upon the Shore to prevent their Incurfions. At his Departure he burnt the Galliot of *Scotland*, a Vessel of great Account with them, and many other Vessels, and brought away with him fourteen good Ships laden with Prizes of Cloath, both Woollen and Linnen, Pitch, Tar, Woad, Flower, Rye, and Wheat Meal, with which he so well furnish'd our Markets at home with Plenty, that Corn grew much cheaper, and the Poor much loved and admired him, giving him the Name of *Robert Mend-market*, in token of the Good he had done them, and with a Desire that it should be an eternal Honour to his Name, That whereas others made it their Business to raise Markets, he had in Charity to them beat them down. And thus he was called *Mend-market* in both Kingdoms; for in *Scotland* he had got himself that Name, by falling upon the Town of *Peebles* on the Market-day, and selling the Cloaths he had taken from the Traders at cheap Rates by their Bows for a Measure to the Country People, and then burning the Town: Shortly after his Return from Sea, he made an Inroad into *Scotland* by Land, with his Nephew *Gilbert Humfrevile*, Earl of *Angus*, and burnt *Jedworth*, with the greatest part of *Tividale*. This Year died 14000 of the Bloody-flux at *Burdeaux*, and proportionable Number in the Provinces of *Gascoigne* and *Guienne*, whereby the Country was so much dispeopled, that there wanted Men to dress there Vines, and press their Grapes.

A little after *Christmas* the King sent out *John Pendergrace*, Knight, and *William Long* to clear the Channel of the *French Rovers* and *Pirates*, who much molested the *English Coasts* and Merchants, which they did with so great Care and Diligence, that in a little time no Pirate dared to appear, nor any Merchant feared any Danger. But this Success which brought so much Safety and Gain to others, proved a Misfortune to themselves; for their Enemies envying the Honour and Favour which they had deservedly merited, accused them as the

(1) He is improperly called his Master, it should rather have been his Ally. The *French King*, *Charles* the Sixth was this Duke's Nephew, himself was Sovereign of great part of the Low-Countries, by marrying the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders* and *Heynault*.

A. D. 1411. only Pirates; and that though they had driven away the little Thieves from our Shores, 'twas but to take all the Prey for themselves, and do more Mischief, because they were more powerful: What Grounds they had to raise this Calumny upon them doth not appear; but 'tis certain, that they moved the King to so great Displeasure against them, that they dared not when called home, appear in the King's Presence, but *Pendergrace* fled to Sanctuary in *St. Peter's Church* at *Westminster*, and was forced to lodge with a Guard about him in the Porch, Night and Day, because no Man durst receive him into his House, for fear of the King's Anger, and his Enemies threatned his Life. *William Long* kept out at Sea; and though the Lord Admiral was sent out to bring him in, yet he could not catch him, and he would not be induced to resign himself, till the Admiral in the King's Name had promised him that no harm should come to him for what he had done: Upon which assurance he delivered himself to the Admiral, who brought him to the King; but the Admiral's Faith proved no Advantage to him, for he was imprisoned in the Tower, and there for some time kept close Prisoner.

1412. This Year the *Guild-Hall* in the City of *London*, which was but a mean Cottage before, was made a stately Building by the Mayor and Aldermen at the Charge of the City. And the Company of Grocers laid the Foundation of their Hall upon a peice of Ground, which they purchased for three hundred and twenty Marks in *Cunihope Lane*. Also *Rice ap Dee* an Esquire of *Wales*, who had joined with *Owen Glendour* in Rebellion against the King, was brought up to *London*, and there drawn, hang'd and quartered for his Crime.

The cruel War between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy in France.

This Summer broke out the furious Factions of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* in *France*, by which the whole Kingdom was involved in the Troubles of a Civil-War: The Occasion is said to be this. The Duke of *Orleans*, a Prince not only of great Courage, but of an equal Ambition, seeing the present King his Brother to be a Person unfit for Government, because of the Fits of Frenzy to which he was Subject, and often fell into, was desirous to have gotten the Throne for himself; and having contrived with the Queen to remove the *Dauphin*, and convey him into *Germany* to her Brother the Duke of *Bavaria*, intended to perswade the Pope, who in the Schism sat at *Avignon*, *Benedict XIII.*, to depose the present King, as Pope *Zachary* did King *Chilperick*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, the King's Uncle, who had married his Daughter to the *Dauphin*, was not insensible of the Duke of *Orleans's* ambitious Aims; and as he kept the *Dauphin* out of the Snares, so he laboured by all means to counter-mine his other Practices; but fearing least at length through his great Interests and Policy he might prevail, he hired certain Persons to murder him, which was soon after done in *Paris*, near the *Barbet-Gate*. This Cruelty being committed in the Night, the Actors were not known, but the Duke of *Burgundy* was vehemently suspected, and when after his Burial inquiry was made about the Murderers, the Duke fled, and confirmed all the Suspicions concerning him. He remained some Months about *Antwerp*; yet being again reconciled to the King, and invited to the Court, he became as much in Favour as ever: But still retaining his

Enmity to the Duke of *Orleans's* Family, he much discountenanced all his Friends, and put some of them out of their Places, and others to Death. *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, Son of the murdered Duke *Lewis*, being daily burdened with the Miseries and Complaints of his Party, began to harbour angry and malicious Resentments against the Duke; and as it often happens, that new Discontents revive the Memory of old Injuries, he became very hot and zealous to revenge the Death of his Father upon the Duke of *Burgundy*, which would seem to all the World a just and reasonable Cause of making War upon him, since he had not only escaped Justice, but as if it had been a meritorious Act, was in as great Favour as ever. Before he would appear in Arms he consulted with his Friends, and great Relations, the Dukes of *Berry*, *Burbon* and *Alençon*, Kings of *Navarre* and *Aragon*, and the Earls of *Albert*, *Richemont*, *Armeniac*, and divers other Nobles and great Persons, who approving his Design, and promising him their Assistance, encouraged him to go on in the Attempt. The Duke of *Burgundy* saw the Storm growing over his Head, and though he had the King and *Dauphin* on his side, yet he despaired of being able to withstand the contrary Faction, and therefore begged the Assistance of King *Henry*. There had been a Motion a little before made in the Court of *France*, for a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the French King's Daughter (*m*), which was an Encouragement to the Duke to address himself to King *Henry*, hoping by the Promises of the Marriage and other large Proffers to engage him to his Assistance; and for that End he sent an Embassy into *England*. King *Henry* received the Embassadors honourably, but told them, 'That the Duke of *Orleans* did only prosecute a just Revenge for his Father's Blood, and therefore was not to be fought with but appeased, and therefore he thought it reasonable, that he should be tendered all suitable Satisfaction, which yet if he refused to accept, then he would lend him all convenient Assistance; and so dismissed them to their Master with hopes of Aid, but with an Obligation to try all Methods of making a peaceable Conclusion of the Quarrel.

King *Henry* after their Departure considering, that this Civil Dissention in *France* might prove of good Advantage to him; and tho' it would not look well in him to encourage a Murderer openly, yet it would be impolitick to neglect his own Interests; sent into *France* twelve hundred Archers and Spear-men, under the Command of the Earl of *Arundel*, *Gilbert Humfrevile*, Earl of *Angus*, and Sir *Robert Humfrevile* his Uncle, Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Grey*, and *William Porter* to join with the Duke of *Burgundy*, if they saw occasion. They took Ship at *Dover*, and landed at *Sluis*, from whence by easie and careless marches they came to *Arras*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* lay with fifteen thousand *Flemmings* and *Picards*. The coming of the *English* was as welcome as unexpected; and the Duke having by many Kindnesses and Courtships oblig'd them to join with him, marched with them to *Paris*, where they arrived October the 23d, in the Evening. The Duke of *Orleans* with the main Body of his Army lay at *St. Dennis*, and with a small part of it kept the Town of *St. Clou*, which held Communication with the Grand

A. D. 1412. Reg. 12.

The King Henry engaged in assisting the Duke of Burgundy.

Reg. 13.

The English assist the Duke of Burgundy, and take St. Clou.

(m) Other Authors say, the Proposal was for the Duke of *Burgundy's* Daughter.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13. Army by a Bridge over the *Saine*. The *English* soon after their Arrival, not willing to lie still, undertook the Siege of *St. Clou*, and on November the 9th, by a sharp Fight won it, slaying and drowning nine hundred Men of their Enemies, which were set to keep the Bridge, and taking 400 Prisoners, besides 1200 Horses, and great Spoil, which they found in the Town. The Duke of *Burgundy* partly to encourage the *English*, but chiefly to gratifie his revengeful Temper, purchased the Captives of the *English*, and among them Sir *Manser de Bos*, a valiant Captain: The *English* glad of the Money sold all their Prisoners, not suspecting the Duke's Design; but when they saw, that contrary to the Law of Arms which secures the Lives of Prisoners, and permits their Ransome, he put many of the Chief to Death, they were much troubled, and repented of the Deed in selling them; and though they could not then help it, yet afterward they took this occasion to shew their Resentments of it to the Duke, and how ungenerous and unmanlike an Action it was: Within a few Days the Armies of the two Dukes had a Skirmish, and the *English* having again the upper-hand got a great many Prisoners, which the Duke of *Burgundy*, not having Money or Will to redeem, endeavoured to perswade the *English* to put them to Death, as Enemies to their Country: But the Earl of *Angus* and the *English* Men boldly replied. That they would not be guilty of such a breach of the Law of Arms, as he had been, and would rather die themselves, than any of their Prisoners should, but they would keep them for Ransome, and so they were secured from the Duke of *Burgundy's* Cruelty. After this Engagement the Duke of *Orleans's* Party finding themselves too weak for the *Burgundians*, withdrew themselves into the mountainous Parts of the Country, and dar'd not for the present appear openly against the Enemy; whereupon the Duke of *Burgundy* supposing himself able to keep them down, and to have no further need of the *English*, sent them home with large Rewards, and equal Thanks for their help.

The Duke of Burgundy's Cruelty,

Tenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

While these Things were transacting in *France*, King *Henry* assembled his Parliament on *All-Saints-Day* at *Westminster*: In it the two Principal Matters that were enacted, were, 1. About the Coin of the Nation, which being much embased by foreign Money, or other base Pieces was grown scrupulous and not current; whereupon a Law was made to forbid a certain bad Coin, called then, *Gally-half-pence*, which were still used, notwithstanding they had been prohibited in a former Act in the Eleventh Year of this King, and all foreign Money, as well of *Scotland* as of other Nations. 2. About Riots, and other seditious Assemblies. It seems, that King *Richard's* Ghost haunted this King to his dying Day. The People were never thoroughly satisfied, but Tumults threatened his Peace very often: Wherefore it was enacted, That all Justices of Peace should have a very strict Eye upon his Subjects, to prevent all riotous Meetings, and Sheriffs be as watchful to suppress them; which if they neglected, they should each of them forfeit a Hundred Pound to the King for every Neglect, or Offence in this Kind. There was no Tax given this Parliament; but the King so well managed the Business of the Coin, which needed Reformation, and was encour-

aged by Act of Parliament, that he raised as good a Fund by it; for partly by seizing the Forfeited Money, and partly by coining new Nobles, which he made a Groat lighter than formerly they had been, he much enriched his own Treasury; and so as he had no Tax, so he wanted none. Soon after the rising of this Parliament, the King made his Sons, the Lord *Thomas of Lancaster*, who was Lord Steward of *England*, and Earl of *Aumerl*, Duke of *Clarence*, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*, and his Brother *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorset*.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13.

Some new Creations of Noble Men.

John, Duke of *Burgundy* being now free from the Opposition of the Party of the Duke of *Orleans*, governed all at Court at his Pleasure; and having possessed the King, that it was not his own Cause, but the Crown, that was in Dispute, for all that he had done to the Duke of *Orleans* was only to secure the Kingdom against his ambitious Aims, was allowed to prosecute the Duke of *Orleans* and his Complices with the utmost Malice and Rigour, than which nothing was more agreeable to his Temper, as it was for his Interests, and he did not spare to act what he judged would be grateful to either. The Party of the Duke of *Orleans* being thus heavily oppressed, had no other Refuge left for their Relief but the King of *England*, who tho' he had been engaged for the Duke of *Burgundy*, yet his Army being sent Home, and that not very fairly, though with a French Civility, they hoped, that as he was free from all Obligations to assist the Duke of *Burgundy*, so by fair and advantageous Proposals they might win him over to them, and by that means rescue themselves from their Enemy's Hands. With this Confidence they dispatched over into *England*, *Albert Aubemont*, a Man of great Wit, Learning and Courage, and some other Persons as their lawful Procurators, who might in the Name of all the Confederates, of whom the Chief were, *John*, Duke of *Berry*, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, *Valois*, Earl of *Blois*, *Beaumont*, Lord of *Coucy* and *Ach*, *John*, Duke of *Bourbon*, *John*, Duke of *Alençon*, *Bernard*, Earl of *Arminiack*, and others, tender these following Articles and Covenants, viz. 'That if the King of *England*, as Lord of *Guien* would defend and succour them against all Men, which as their Sovereign (n) Lord he ought to do, especially, until they had executed Justice upon the Duke of *Burgundy* for the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, recovered the Goods which the said Duke and his Fautors had taken from them, had due Satisfaction for all Damages done by them to their Friends, Vassals or Subjects, and a firm Peace, so far as was possible; were concluded and established between both the Realms of *England* and *France*, then they promised, covenanted and agreed, That they would serve the King of *England*, his Heirs and Successors, with their Bodies, Lands and Finances, Castles, Towns, Treasures and Goods, in all Just Causes and Actions, without Impeachment to their Allegiance, which they knew he desired not; That he should and might bestow their Sons and Daughters, Nephews and Neices, and all other their Kindred in Marriage as he pleased; That their Friends, Allies and Well-wishers, which were the greatest part of the

The Duke of Orleans and his Party sollicite the King's Aid.

(n) The Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, and the Count *D'Armagnac*, had by other Articles engaged to hold the Counties, *Ponthieu*, *Angolessine*, *Perigort*, and some other Places by Homage and Fealty of King *Richard*, and to have them for Life only.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13. Nobles of France, Church-men, and chief Citizens should be always at his Service; That they would put him in Possession of the Dukedom of Guien, which they were ready to protest, did now as truly belong to the King of England, with all its Liberties and Franchises, as had done to any of his Majesty's Predecessors; and would recognise their Lands in that Duchy to hold of him, and do all the usual Homages and Services to him for them: That as much as in them lay, they would deliver to him all the Towns and Castles which were in their Hands, and did anciently belong to the Kings of England, and assist him to recover the rest out of the Hands of their Enemies, only desiring, that the Duke of Berry might hold the County of Pontbeu during his Life, and the Duke of Orleans the County of Angoulesm for Life, and County of Perigort for ever, and the Earl of Arminiack four Castles upon such Conditions and Sureties, as should be agreed on between them.

Kings Henry's Answer to the Duke of Orleans's Messengers.

King Henry having received these Proposals, gave the Messengers a kind and civil Entertainment; and consulting with his Privy-Council about their Message, who unanimously resolved, that it would be both for his Honour and Profit to assist these Lords, and so to uphold the Faction, which otherwise would soon be subdued, he gave them this Answer; 'That being their natural Sovereign he was sensible of his Obligation to protect and defend them his Vassals and Subjects; and to this he was the more inclined, not only because he had found the Duke of Burgundy a false and deceitful Man, who was forward to entice Men by fair Promises to his Friendship, but never performed more than was to serve his own turn; but chiefly because it was the Office of a King to help such as cried unto him for Justice, which they could not otherwise have, as he looked upon this Occasion chiefly to be; for he evidently saw, that the shameful Murder of the Duke of Orleans (which he could never think on without the deepest Horror and Detestation) could never be revenged, but by such Methods as they now were taking: And therefore they might assure the Lords, that he would not be defective in the Duty of a Prince, but would send them speedily such a Force, as should be able to defend them against all Men, and so sent them Home with Satisfaction to their Masters.

The Siege of Bourges.

These Things were not so secretly acted between the King of England, and the Duke of Orleans's Party, but that it was known in the French Court; and to prevent any Assistance that might come to the Lords that way, the Earl of St. Paul was sent down into Picardy with fifteen hundred Horse-Men, and a great Number of Foot to prevent the landing of the English; or if that could not be, to detain them in raising the Siege of Guisnes, which they sat down before, and the Duke of Burgundy in the mean time pursued the Party of the Duke of Orleans, called Arminiack; and having won many Towns, at last drove them into Bourges in Berry, and there closely besieged them. In the City were the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the Earl of Auxerre, Archbishop of Sens and Burges, Bishops of Paris and Chartres, with other great Men, and fifteen hundred Soldiers well armed, and four hundred Archers: Among the Besiegers were the King himself, the Dauphin, Dukes of Burgundy and Barr, with

many other Nobles: The Duke of Berry was very desirous of a Peace, because his Country was wasted, and the Besieged declared, That they had no Quarrel with the King or Dauphin, but were Enemies only to the Duke of Burgundy's Ambition and Cruelty; and therefore in their Sallies cried out, *God save the King*: The Dauphin, who was next Heir to the Crown, knowing his Father was unable through his Frenzical Disease to judge of the Miseries of his Country, was much disturbed at Affairs, and told the Duke of Burgundy, Things should not be long so; The Nation should not be Sacrificed to his Passions or Humour: And therefore resolved immediately to make Peace. These Words no sooner dropped from the Dauphin, but they were eagerly caught up by Two considerable Men in the French King's Camp, viz. Philip de Lignac, Lord great Master of Rhodes, and the Marshal of the Duke of Savoy, who was sent by his Master with some others to labour a Peace between both Parties. These Men knew very well from the Duke of Berry, how well the Besieged were disposed to Peace, and immediately upon the Dauphin's Words began to negotiate a Treaty between them, which was soon brought about; and though the Duke of Burgundy much feared, that *what was a Peace to others, would be a War to him*, yet he appeared as forward as any to make up the Breach, which in a little time was concluded, and was called from the Place, *The Peace of Bourges*. It was sealed July the 15th, and the King entered the City the same Day. While these Things passed at Bourges, the English under the Command of the Duke of Clarence, Edward Duke of York, and Thomas Earl of Dorset, which were sent by King Henry to assist the Duke of Orleans, being eight thousand Knights and Men of Arms, and a thousand Archers, arrived in Normandy. The Earl of St. Paul was not present to oppose their landing, being beaten from Guisnes, and withdrawn to St. Quintins. The Duke of Orleans had promised to meet them at their Arrival, but neglecting it, they fell to plundering the Country for their Sustenance and Pay, till the Duke of Orleans came down and made an Agreement with them, and so they withdrew into Aquitain; the Duke of Clarence taking of him his Brother John, Duke of Angoulesm as a Pledge for the 209000 Francks, which were further to be paid to the King towards the Charges of this Expedition.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13.

A Peace concluded between the Factions of Burgundy and Orleans.

But as War was the Disturbance of the French Court, so Peace seems a little to have corrupted the English; for Prince Henry being eased from the Employment of the Welsh Wars, and being a Person of an active and brisk Spirit, who could do nothing moderately, fell as eagerly upon the Sports and Pleasures, which usually debauch the Minds of Youth in times of Ease and Leisure, as he had been bold and adventurous in warlike Attempts. He kept a Court different from his Father, being of Man's Years, and able to move in a Sphere of such Greatness, as might become the Heir of a Crown, in which Station he maintained a Princely Port and Magnificence; but being a little over-indulgent turned them into vicious Excesses: So that his Court was counted a Paradise for Voluptuaries, where was an uncontrollable Enjoyment of all carnal Pleasures; and Venus and Ceres had routed out Mars and Bellona. His Palace was like a Camp, for multitudes of Persons that flocked thither, either to please

Prince Henry's looseness.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13. please the Prince's Genius, or gratifie their own, and as if he had put off the Nature of a Hero, which he once seemed to affect, he like a second *Sardanapalus* delighted in the Company of effeminate Persons; and pleased him self more in Dancings and Musick, Revellings, and mad Maskings, than he had ever done in the Manlike Feats of Arms. This Change in a Prince of such promising Hopes was very amusing to the Considerate, who silently lamented the Eclipse of such Virtues, as shined so bright lately in him, and did not spare to say, *That they must expect no great Happiness under such a corrupted Prince.* But though the Prince's irregular Behaviour was manifest enough to others, yet it seems either not known to the King himself, or else to be winked at by him: For though he affronted his Chief Justice on the Bench, by striking him on the Face, because he had condemned One of his Companions for breaking the Peace, and abusing a grave Citizen, for which the Judge committed him to Prison; yet he so pleased his Father by his Submission to the Law, that he rejoiced equally that he had an Impartial Judge, and an Obedient Son: So that he looked upon this Action, rather as a youthful Prank, or an effect of his Passion, than as prejudicial to himself or Realm; till some, who were about him, and being the Prince's Enemies, by their frequent Discourses of the Prince and his course of Life, buzzed clear different Thoughts concerning him into the King's Head: For having a Desire to ingratiate themselves into the King's Favour, by misrepresenting the Prince's Behaviour, they not only complained to the King of his Lewdness and Excesses, but insinuated into him, that though he drew such a Multitude about him under a shew of Sports and Pastimes, yet he carried on a secret Design of deposing his Father, and extorting his Scepter out of his Hand. These Suggestions easily found Entertainment in the King's Breast, to whom Jealousie was now become natural, being frequently frightened with Fears of losing his Crown, and he did not conceal his Resentments; for he did not only shew an aversion to the Prince in his Carriage, but removed him from being President of his Council, and put his Brother *John* into his Place. The Prince not having received the Cause of this Change from his Father's Mouth, seemed to bear it with an even Mind, as being always contented to submit to his Royal Pleasure, and went on without any Concern in his usual Sports and Pastimes, as not conscious of any real Guilt, though he was sensible enough what he was accused of; but in the mean time he expostulated by Letter with his Accusers, convincing them how slanderous their Accusations of him were, and how vast a wrong he had suffered by their injurious Abuses of him to his Father, whose Favour as he valued more than his Kingdom, so he could never enjoy an Happiness in the midst of the most flourishing State without it. This way of clearing himself, though it rectified the Opinions of the Generality, yet so long as his Accusers had his Father's Ear, did him no Service, as to Recovery of his Father's Favour; and therefore to do that, he made use of an unusual Stratagem, which was this: Having provided himself with a rich Sattin Suit of Cloaths, which he caused to be made full of Eylet-holes of black Silk, the Needle hanging at every Hole, he put it on, and on his Arm he wore an Hound's Collar set

Prince Henry accused of Disloyalty to his Father, and his Stratagem to clear himself.

full of SS of Gold, with Tyrets of the same Mettal: Being thus apparelled, he with a mighty train of Nobles and Gentry went to his Father's Palace at *Westminster*; where having entered the Hall, and given a strict Command to all that attended him, not to go further than the Fire-place, he desired to be admitted into his Father's Presence, which was without delay granted him; and though the King at that time was Ill, he caused himself to be set in his Chair, and carried into the Presence-Chamber to receive him. When the Prince was come before his Father, he was commanded to declare the Cause of his coming, and especially in that strange Garb. Then the Prince kneeling down said, 'Most dread Sovereign, and dear Father, I am at this time come into your Presence to declare my self your Dutiful Subject and Son, in all things obedient to your Commands; which though I have ever been careful in my Behaviour never to render suspected, yet since by the false Suggestions of bad Men and crafty Flatterers, your Majesty hath been induced to suspect my Affections toward you, and to fear, that my Heart is not rightly disposed towards your Highness, I am come to rectifie your Misapprehensions concerning me, and give you a convincing Proof of my Loyalty to you. My natural Relation to your Highness obliges me so strictly to take care of your Happiness and Safety, that if I knew any one Person in your Kingdom, whose Obedience were justly suspected, and of whom you deservedly stood in fear I should use my utmost Endeavours to have him punished, and as much as is possible remove those Fears and Jealousies from your Mind, which render your Life very uncomfortable and uneasy: Now then, since I have been so unfortunate, as through my imprudent Carriage, though not designedly, yet foolishly and ungratefully to raise some Suspicions in your Mind, that you are in eminent danger of your Life and Crown from me and my Practices, I here tender my Life as forfeited to your Majesty for giving you Cause to suspect me of Disloyalty, and do beseech you to take such Revenge of my Person, as may remove all Jealousie of me from your Heart, and restore you again to the Quiet and Ease of an undisturbed Mind. I have this Day by the Christian Preparation of an humble Confession, and receiving the Sacrament, fitted myself to suffer Death, and be made a just Sacrifice to your Wrath; and I humbly beg of your Majesty, that you would make this Dagger (which I now give you) an Instrument of easing my Grief and your Fears, by thrusting it into my Heart; for it is as little Comfort to me to enjoy Life, while I remain under your Displeasure, and am the Cause of your Fears and Troubles, as it can be to you to have such an undutiful Son, as you are jealous of. I am, ever was, and will be your dutiful Servant and Vassal, and desire not Life longer than I am thought so by your Majesty; and if you can't entertain such Thoughts concerning me as I deserve, I desire you to rid me of that Life which must ever be a burthen to me, while I remain in those unhappy Circumstances: And if you shall vouchsafe to do it, I do here in the Presence of your Nobility, fully and freely forgive you, and will in the Presence of God and all his Angels, at the last Judgment acquit you

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King Henry's Acts of Piety, and Expedition to the Holy-Land. King Henry being perfectly reconciled to his Son, lived in great Satisfaction and Ease of Mind, having Peace both at Home and Abroad, and spent his Time in Acts of Charity and Piety, and in providing for the Safety and Welfare of his People. He built a College at *Fodringbey* in *Northamptonshire*, which his Son Henry afterwards endowed with certain Lands which he took from the Fryar's Aliens: And because the Nation was much annoyed with Pirates, he sent Sir *John Pendergrace* with thirty Ships to scowr the Seas, who by his Courage and Diligence did great Service to the Commons, not only by causing a free Commerce, but by taking many Prizes of Wine and Corn, by the Sale of which he brought great Plenty into the Nation. But the greatest piece of Piety of those Days was accounted to rescue *Jerusalem* out of the Hands of the Infidels; who being Enemies to Christ, contemptuously treated the Sepulchre of our Saviour, and grievously abused the Christians and Churches of that Holy City. It much troubled the King, that the Christian Princes, whose Arms might have better been employed against the *Turks* and *Infidels*, were at War among themselves; and because it was foretold him, that he should die at *Jerusalem*, he hoped that he might be an Instrument of freeing it from the Oppression of the *Turks*, and was very desirous to try his Fate against them, and for this end he called a great Council at *London* to get all things ready for that Expedition, and by it it was ordered, that several Ships and Gallies should be built, and other necessary Things got ready.

Reg. 14. The English Forces which remained still in *Aquitain* after the Agreement made between the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Orleans*, spent their Time in spoiling and plundering the Frontiers of the *French* Dominions, from whence they took much Prey and Prisoners, which they carried into *Burdeaux*. The *French* being angry at these Depredations and Inroads of the *English*, sent the Lord *Helie*, one of the Marshals of *France* with an Army of four thousand Men to besiege one of the Fortresses of *Guien*, which Sir *John Blunt* being Governor of, kept with three hundred Men only, who behaved themselves with such Bravery and Courage, that they drove them from the Town, took twelve Noble Men, one hundred and twenty Gentlemen, and several other Prisoners. The Marshal himself was ta-

ken and sent over into *England* to the King, who imprisoned him at *Wishich*; but he escaped from thence a little after, and got into *France*, where he served the Duke of *Orleans* at the Battel of *Agincourt*, and was slain there.

The King kept his *Christmas* this Year at *Eltham*, being very sick of a kind of Apoplectick Distemper, in which by Fits he was thought to be dead; but it pleased God that he a little recovered, and passed the latter part of the *Christmas* in some Pleasure till *Candlemas*, when, according to his Summons, the Parliament met at *Westminster*. The Design of this Session seems to have been no other, but to furnish him with Money for his Voyage into the Holy Land, which he intended to begin at the Rise of the Spring, all things being ready for it. But God prevented his Design by a Relapse into his former Distemper: For being worshipping at *St. Edward's Shrine* to take his leave in order to his Journey, he was so violently seized with another Fit of his Apoplexy, that all the Standards by thought he would have died presently; but being removed into a Chamber belonging to the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*, and laid in a Pallat before the Fire, by the Warmth of that, and the Application of proper Remedies, he at length recovered his Senses and Speech again. After he had lain some time he enquired where he was, because he perceived himself to be in a strange Place, and was told he was in a Chamber of the Abbot's of *Westminster*. He then asked them whether the Chamber had any particular Name, and they said, *It was called the Jerusalem*; whereupon he said, 'That then he should die there, because he was long since told that he should die in *Jerusalem*, and accordingly he made suitable Preparations for his Death. And first calling for the Prince, he had several Discourses with him, as his Sicknes would give him leave. He said to him, 'That he had great Fears, that after his Death his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* would contend with him for the Crown, because he is a Man of an ambitious Spirit, and daring Courage, and would reach at the highest Dignity, by which the Nation would fall into great Miseries, and when I think of this I repent me, that I ever meddled with the Kingdom. The Prince answered to these Words, 'That it was his earnest Prayers to God, that his Majesty might long continue with them to rule them both; but if God hath so ordered, that he should succeed him in the Government of this Realm, he would honour and love his Brethren above all Men, so long as they continued true and faithful Subjects; but if any of them should conspire or rebel against him, he would execute Justice upon them with as much Severity, as upon any of his other Subjects. The King hearing this Answer rejoiced greatly at his Son's Resolution and Courage, and not doubting, but that it would establish him in his Throne, he proceeded to give him certain Admonitions to be observed by him in his Regal Dignity, and said, 'My Son, when it shall please God to call me out of this World to go the way of all Flesh, to thee, as my Son and Heir, I shall leave my Crown and Realm, and I advise thee not to take it as an Honour to puff up thy Mind with Pride, but as a Burthen and Charge to provide for the Good and Safety of all Persons in

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in the Realm: For as the Heart in the midst of the Body administers Heat and Nourishment to the whole, so must a King in his Realm provide for the Good and Safety of all. Let it then be thy continual Care to administer all Things well for the Encouragement of Virtue and Diligence, and the Punishment of Vice and Sin, and then thy People will be obedient to thee, and ready at all times to assist thee: Go before thy People in true Piety and Devotion, and what thou wouldst have thy Subjects be, be thou first thy self, for thy Example will make thy Subjects count it an Honour to be Good. Fear God; and dread him above all Things. Be zealous for his Worship, and discountenance all Atheism and Profaneness. Ascribe all thy fortunate Actions to him, and let him have the Praise of whatever Good befalls thee, as Victory over thy Enemies, the Fidelity of thy Friends, Obedience of thy Subject, Greatness of thy Power, Riches and Honour, and Number of thy Children. Think not thy own Desert, but God's Goodness the Cause of all these Things to thee. But above all things, administer Justice equally and impartially; for the Wealth of thy Body and Soul, and of thy Kingdom depends upon the due Execution of it. Defer not to do Justice till to Morrow, if thou canst do it to Day, lest God for thy unjust Delays do Justice on thee in the mean time, and take thine Authority from thee. Punish Bribery severely, relieve the Oppressed, zealously vindicate the Wronged, protect the Religious, and love the Virtuous: So shalt thou obtain the Favour of God, and Love of thy Subjects, and have a flourishing and prosperous Reign here upon Earth, and an everlasting Reward in Heaven. The King having given his Son this Advice, dismissed him with his Blessing; and not long after finding himself to grow every Moment almost Weaker, he caused the Crown to be set upon his Pillow, at his Bed's Head, that when he died, his Son the Prince might have it, as his right Heir. His Fits at length followed him very close; and that so severely, that he was often thought to be dead, and in one of them the Prince came and took the Crown from his Pillow to secure it: But he recovered again, and as he was accustomed in every Interval to look for his Crown, so he again called for it, and asked who had got it? When the Prince was said to have taken it, he commanded him to come before him, and with some Smartness said to him, 'Son, why dost thou thus misuse me? To whom the Prince replied with an undaunted Boldness; 'Sir, to me, and all Men present, you seemed dead in this World; wherefore I, as your next Heir apparent, took it as my own, and not as yours; but since I claim no Right to it, but from and after your Decease, therefore I restore it to you again, and God Almighty give you many Days to enjoy it. Then the King replied, 'Well fare you with it, my Son: And sighing added, 'What Right I had to it God knoweth. 'Well, said the Prince, if you die King, I will inherit the Crown, and trust I shall keep it with the Sword against all my Enemies, as you have done. Then said the King, I commit all to God, and advise you to do well: And so turning to the Wall, he shortly after gave up the

Ghost on St. Cuthbert's Day, March the 20th; in the Forty-six Year of his Age, when he had reigned Thirteen Years Five Months and One and Twenty Days; and being carried by Water to *Faversham*, his Corps was magnificently Entombed at *Canterbury*.

He was a Person of a middle Stature, but well Proportioned and Compact, and had much greater Endowments of Mind than Body; for he was very Wise and Politick, exceeding Bold and Courageous, and yet withal very Merciful and Pitiful, choosing rather by saving the Lives of his Enemies to make them his Friends, than by destroying them, to rid himself of his Fears. He was forced to execute several Persons, and that of Note, for their rebellious Attempts against him; but his Mercy to the Earl of *Northumberland* is a sufficient Demonstration, that not Cruelty, but Necessity obliged him to punish his mutinous Subjects; and if they would have ever amended, he would have forgiven them. He indeed was never loved, though he was really a very good Prince; because the Occasions of State required great Taxes, and People never love to buy even their own Happiness dear: Besides, the badness of his Title to the Crown was never forgotten; and though *Mortimer* was not much regarded, yet all his Kindness could never patch up that Breach, so much as to make him be loved, as he really deserved. In fine, in him we have an evident Proof of the People's Inconstancy, whose Affections are fierce, but never lasting. He came in with their Applause, because he saved them from the Miseries of the former Reign; but he could never keep their Love, because his Troubles created them much Charge, though they were no other than the necessary Consequences of yielding to their Desires; yet Fortune so attended all his Undertakings, that he died a Victor over all his Enemies Abroad and at Home, and laid the Foundation of his Son's Greatness, in whose Reign the *English* Power was got to its highest Pitch and Greatness.

He left a numerous Issue, viz. four Sons and two Daughters, but all by his first Wife the Lady *Mary*, the Daughter and Co-heir of *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, who died before her Husband came to the Crown; for he had no Issue by his second Wife, *Joanna de Navar*, the Widow of *John de Mountfort*, Duke of *Brittain*.

His eldest Son *Henry*, whom in his Life-time he made Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Chester*, was appointed his Successor in the Throne, and accordingly reigned after him, and proved the Glory of our *English* Kings, as in his Life will appear.

His second Son *Thomas Plantagenet*, he made and left him Duke of *Clarence*. He married *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Thomas Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, and Widow of *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Pomfrait*. He was slain at *Bosny-Bridge* in *France* by the Duke of *Orleans*, and died without Children (o).

His third Son *John* he made Duke of *Bedford*, Earl of *Richmond*, and Lord of *Kendal*. He had two Wives, viz. *Ann*, the Daughter of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Joqueline*, the Daughter of *Peter*, Earl of *St. Paul*, who outlived him, and was afterwards married to *Richard Woodville*, Earl of *Rivers*, by whom she had one Daughter *Elizabeth* married afterwards to King *Edward* the Fourth, but he

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(o) He had a natural Son, called *John*, the Bastard of *Clarence*.

A. D. 1413. Reg. 14. had no Issue by either of them. He shewed great Valour in the *French Wars*, and dying at *Paris* was buried at *Roan*.
 His fourth Son *Humphrey*, he created Duke of *Gloucester*. He was in very great Honour in his Nephew *Henry the Sixth's* Days, stiling himself, *Humphrey*, by the Grace of God, Son, Brother and Uncle to Kings, Duke of *Gloucester*, *Hennalt*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord of *Freezeland*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, Protector of the Realm, and Defender of the Church of *England*. He had two Wives, but was unhappy in both of them, the one being divorced for a Pre-contract, and the other being Infamous for Sorcery and Poisoning, but was so far fortunate as to have no Issue by them. He was found murdered in his Bed at *St. Edmunds-Bury* in *Suffolk*, and was buried at *St. Albans* in *Hertfordshire* (p).
 His two Daughters, *Blanch* and *Philippa*, he married to Foreign Princes in his Life-time, viz. *Blanch* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Philippa* to the King of *Denmark*, but both died without Issue.

(p) Neither the Duke of *Bedford*, nor the Duke of *Gloucester* were made Dukes by their Father, but by their Brother *Henry the Fifth*, in the Parliament at *Leicester*, Anno 1414. *Godw. Hen. 5. p. 41.*

The End of King HENRY the Fourth's Reign.

THE
 Remarkable OCCURRENCES,
 IN THE
Reign of Henry the Fourth,

Are interwoven by

The Author in the Thread of the History: So there is nothing to be added to it in this Place, but some Account of the Illustrious Men, and the Men of Learning of his Time.

THE most Famous Warriors were Prince *Henry*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Henry*, Lord *Piercy* surnamed *Hotspur*, his Son the Earl of *Westmoreland*, the Earl of *Worcester*, the Earl of *Salisbury* a Favourer of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, Sir *Thomas Rokesby* of *Yorkshire*, Sir *Robert Umfrevile* Vice-Admiral, and Sir *John Pendergrace*.

Among the Men of Learning, the Chief, and he to whom the *English* Tongue was more oblig'd than to all the Writers before him is, *Jeoffery Chaucer*, a Man of Quality, Wit and Learning. He married *Alice*, Daughter to _____ by whom he had *Thomas Chaucer*, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons in the Second Year of King *Henry* the Fifth. The Daughter of this *Thomas* married the Duke of *Suffolk*, and by this Match as well as her Father's Descent, the Family of *Chaucer* became ally'd to the Greatest Houses in *England*. He was the Father of the *English* Poësie. And the next is *John Gower*, of the Family of the *Gowers* of *Sittenham* in *Yorkshire*. He was *Chaucer's* Friend and Companion, and joined with him in his Endeavours to refine our Language, and give a Turn and Harmony to the *English* Verse, which were unknown to their Fore-fathers. The Learned before their Time used to write always in *Latin* or *French*; but they had made the *English* Tongue so Musical, and it was of its self so Significant, that it became common afterwards, and most Authors communicated their Thoughts in their Native Language, which wanted nothing of the Force, and as these Two Great Poets had Polish'd it, little of the Grace of the best of the Modern Languages. Besides these there flourished in other Professions.

Hugh Legate of *Hertfordshire*, he wrote *Reflections* on *Boetius's* Treatise de *Consolatione*.

Roger Allington, Chancellor of *Oxford*, a violent Enemy of the *Wicklivists*.

Nicholas Gorham, a Logician, the *French* King's Confessor.

Dr. *Walter Diffe*, Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and to his Dutcheß *Constance*.

Thomas of *Malden*.

John Eco of *Herefordshire*, a *Franciscan* Fryer.

Dr. *Nicholas Halkingham* of *Norfolk*, an Excellent Divine and Philosopher, Provincial of the *Gray-Fryers*.

Laurence Holbeck, who wrote a *Hebrew* Dictionary.

John Colton, Archbishop of *Armagh*.

John of *Marrie* in *Yorkshire*, a *Carmelite* of *Doncaster*.

Richard Chefer of *Norfolk*, a Divine and an *Augustine-Fryer*.

John Lathbury, a Monk of *Reading*.

Nicholas Pontz.

Dr. *Richard Scroop*, Archbishop of *Tork*. He wrote a Libel against King *Henry*, and was beheaded for Treason.

John Wrotham, Warden of the *Carmelites* in *Callis*.

John Colebie, a Monk of *Norwich*.

William Scroop, a zealous *Wicklivist*, he died in Prison. He was a Man of singular Piety and Learning.

Reginald Langham, a Monk of *Norwich*.

Actonus Dominicanus.

Thomas Palmer, Warden of the *Black-Fryers* in *London*.

Boston of *Burry*, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church.

Thomas Peverell, Bishop of *Worcester*.

William Holm, a Monk and a Physician.

John Botterel, a Logician.

Dr. *Nicholas Baiard*, Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*.

John Price, of *Lillesbull* in the West of *England*.

William Norton, a *Franciscan* Fryer of *Coventry*.

Nicholas Riston, who lamenting the Schism in the Church, occasion'd by the Antipopes, wrote a Treatise on that Subject, called, *De tollendo Schismate*.

John Walter, an Excellent Mathematician. He was bred at *Winchester* School.

Thomas of *New-market*, Bishop of *Carlisle*.

William Augur, a *Franciscan* Fryer of *Bridge-water*.

Peter Russell, Provincial of the *Gray-Fryers*.

John Langton, a *Carmelite-Fryer*.

Robert Wantham, a Monk of *Cernly* in *Dorsetshire*. He wrote a Book in Verse of the Original and Signification of Words.

Richard Falshamb, a Monk of *Norwich*.

William Norton, a Fryer of *Coventry*.

Hugh Sueth, a *Black-Fryer*, and a great Preacher.

Robert Wimbledin, a Famous Preacher.

In this King's Reign, the *French* Historian, *John Froissard* lived, and we have given him a Place here, because he resided sometime in *England*, and is very Particular in some Parts of our *English* History.

T H E L I F E and R E I G N O F H E N R Y V.

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Reg. 1.

The Nation

submit

to King

Henry

and

his Corona-

tion.

HENRY, surnamed of *Monmouth*, the Chief Town of the Shire of the same Name in *Wales*, and standing on the Banks of the River *Wye*, because he was born there, when his Father was Duke of *Hereford*, and resided in those Parts, entred upon the Throne of *England* after his Father King *Henry* the Fourth's Death, as his lawful Heir, and so by the Ancient Custom of the Nation, his Successor to his Crown and Dignity, the same Day that he died, viz. *March* 20. and was the next Day proclaim'd King by the Name of *Henry* V. He had given evident Proofs of his Love and Respect to Virtue and Learning, while he was at *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Uncle, Cardinal *Beaufort*, then Chancellor of that University, in shewing a particular Favour to those that appear'd most Eminent for both, of whom he afterwards made *Thomas Rudburn*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, and *John Carpenter*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and of his unparalleled Courage and Conduct in the Battel of *Sbrensbury*, and in the War which he maintain'd against *Owen Glendour* the Famous *Welsh* Rebel, whom he so often routed that he durst not shew himself against him, but lurking in Mountains and Woods perisht with Hunger, for which he was receiv'd into the Regal Authority with an universal Joy and Desire, and like the Roman Emperor *Titus*, as the Delight of all Mankind. The Liberties which a little before his Father's Death, in times of Peace, he had allow'd himself, had brought no small Blemish upon his former good Inclinations and brave Actions, the Extravagancies of himself and Companions being an Indication to some, that he was wholly degenerated into Lewdness and Effeminacy; but as if all Men had foreseen, what after indeed came to pass, that the Change of his Condition would work as great an Alteration in the Manners of so Noble and Generous a Mind, and being become their King would be a New Man, they welcom'd him to the Throne with full Consent and Liking, interpreting his former Looseness, as nothing else but such a peice of Experience as *Solomon* thought fit to make of the Pleasures of the World, which he indulged himself in for a small time, that he might with the greater Aversion subscribe them with this Motto, *Vanity and Frenation of Spirit*, as he did indeed, and much sooner than that wiser Man.

The Nation
submit
to King
Henry
and
his Corona-
tion.

The Nation being thus furnish'd with a King of such mighty Hopes, and though they had lost a good Father, yet believing themselves happier under his braver Son, began to give him

more than usual Testimonies of their hearty Submission and Respect to him within three Days after he was made King; for the Nobles and Commons by an unprecedented Zeal came to pay him their Homage and swear Allegiance to him, which was before neither required nor payed till after the Coronation. The King gave them his hearty Thanks for their Good-will towards him, and exhorted them to continue their forward Endeavours for the Publick Prosperity, but would by no means accept of their Tenders till he was crown'd, and had taken upon himself as serious Obligations to be a good King, as he could lawfully desire should be laid upon them to be Loyal Subjects: Saying, *That he earnestly prayed that God would not suffer him to be Crowned, or admit him to the Government of the Nation, but as he should rule well for his Glory, and the Good and Prosperity of his Subjects; which if God did foresee that he should not do, he desired he would rather take him to his Mercy, than permit him to live and reign.* This generous and virtuous Answer much raised their Admiration of their New King, and was a greater Obligation of their Love and Loyalty, than the most solemn Oaths could be, while they saw him more zealous to be a good King, than to have them good Subjects: And that he might give his People all the Assurances of his real Intentions of ruling well he hasten'd his Coronation, which was celebrated with all the usual Solemnities upon *Apr. 9.* by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and immediately after it he began such a Reformation both of himself and Court, as would be the surest Foundation of an happy Reign; for first summoning his old Companions and Servants together, who had been both his Associates and the Promoters of his former irregular Courses, he gave them such Rewards as was due for their former Services: Telling them, *That if they would reform their Manners, as he had begun, and was resolved to hold on, they might continue in their Places, and should upon that Account be the more in his Favour, but if any of them would still persist in their Evil Actions, he forbade them his Court, and charged them upon pain of Death not to come within Ten Miles of any Place were he resided.* (a) Having thus freed himself of his Vices, he provided himself of all things that might become a Virtuous King and Good Governour. He chose himself a Council of all the Gravest and Wifest Men of his Nobility, and made such Lawyers his Judges, as were as Eminent for their Integrity, as Knowledge. He sent out his Injuncti-

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His Council

Officers.

(a) He renounced their Company, gave them liberal Gifts and disinis'd them. *Gobwin's Life of Hen. 5. p. 1.*



KING HENRY THE V. th

A. D. 1413. Reg. 1. ons to the Clergy, commanding them as they tender'd his Displeasure, not only to preach the Word of God diligently and sincerely to the People, but to be Examples of Piety and Holiness themselves, and into such Preferments as were in his Disposol at that Time, he put such Persons as were recommended to him by their Merit. The inferiour Magistrates he selected with great Care, as being the main Instruments of a Regular Government; employing such only as he knew to be Men of Loyal Principles, competent Knowledge in the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and of great Probity and Sobriety, who might be a Curb and Restraint to the People in the Commission of those Crimes which were too much practised in those Times, and threatned God's Judgments upon the Nation, viz. Common Swearing, Whoredom, Drunkenness and Perjury, which he was resolved, as much as in him lay to root out, but was sensible, that nothing but good Magistrates could do it; for the best Laws will never be well executed, when the Officers, whose Place it is to see it done, are themselves the notorious Violaters of them.

His Piety to King Richard's Body, and Charity to his Soul. The King having thus provided for the Happiness of the Nation, began to shew his Disposition to Piety by a signal Act of Charity, as it was esteemed in those Days to the Body of King Richard, to which it is said, he looked upon himself to be obliged upon this Account. His Father King Henry the Fourth being in his Sickness touched in Conscience for the Sins he had been guilty of in deposing King Richard and consenting to his Death, had sent a solemn Embassy to the Pope to be pardoned for them, and in order to Absolution had been enjoyn'd this Penance. That since he had deprived King Richard of his bodily Life and earthly Honour, he should by the continual Prayers of the Church cause his Soul to live for ever in heavenly Glory. This easie Purchase of Pardon for two such great Sins his Father would certainly have made, had he not been prevented by Death; but leaving it unperform'd, this King made all possible haste to execute it, supposing, that his Father's Soul could not be at rest till the Penance enjoyn'd was finish'd. Wherefore soon after Easter he caused the Body of King Richard to be removed from its more ignoble Interment in the Church of the Fryer's Preachers at Langley in Hertfordshire, and being brought up to London, buried it by his Beloved Queen Anne, in the Abby-Church of Westminster with very great Solemnity and Expence, where he founded a frequent Memorial for him, providing that every Week a *Dirige* should be sung for his Soul, and the next Day a *Requiem*; which being ended, he order'd Eleven Shillings to be given to the Poor in Pence, and further appointed, that upon his Anniversary after the Mass of *Requiem* twenty Pounds should be distributed to the Poor in Pence, for which, and the Maintenance of Four Wax Tapers to burn upon his Tomb, Day and Night, he gave a certain Portion of Land to perpetuate them for ever: And that the Guilt of these his Father's Sins might not cleave to him, he is said to have undergone a strict Penance himself, and founded Three Religious Houses, viz. 1. Of Cistercian Monks at Shene. 2. Of Nuns of St. Bridget, which he called Sion; and, 3. An House of Observants, which he called Bethlehem, both at Richmond.

Three Weeks after Easter (b), the King assembled his Parliament at Westminster, and several good Laws of common Concern were then made, viz. concerning the Elections of Burgesses and Knights for the Parliament. Against such as forged or published false Deeds. Against Irish Beggars. About the Measures, that the King's Purveyors should buy Corn by, with other Things of less Importance. But the Convocation of the Clergy, which according to the usual Custom of those Times always sat with the Parliament, being conven'd in St. Paul's Church was more Active. The Archbishop, Thomas Arundel, being sensible how zealous the King was for the Church, thought this the fittest Opportunity to root out those Heretical Doctrines which had been indeed often attempted, but to so little purpose, that they still spread and got Ground, because that his Youth and Natural Courage concurring with his Religious Inclination would more earnestly engage him in a Work by which he might merit at once both the Favour of God and his People. Wherefore the Archbishop having, by Twelve Inquisitors sent out the Year before, made a full Collection of the Principal Doctrines and Opinions maintain'd by the Lollards, which he reduced into (c) two hundred forty-six Heads; and having discover'd who where the Chief Maintainers and Upholders of them, and by which means the said Opinions had been lately so much propagated in many parts of the Nation, and more especially in the Diocesses of London, Rochester and Hereford, represented the same to the Convocation, and desiring their serious Consultation by what Methods the said Doctrines and their Fauters might be suppressed; he put them upon many Debates about it, and at length drew them to these Resolutions and Decrees, viz. 'That it would not be possible to extirpate the Doctrines of Wickliff, unless certain Great Men, who were the professed Abettors and Maintainers of them were remov'd out of the Way. That Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, being the Chief of them, and the Person who had sent several Preachers into the Diocesses of London, Rochester and Hereford to propagate the said Heretical Doctrines, should be first dealt withal, and accordingly it was concluded: That without delay Process should be issued out against him as a most pernicious Heretick. But because the said Lord was in Favour with the King for his Conduct and Valour, it was advised, That the King himself should be acquainted with their Designs, and the Just Occasion of it, that having obtain'd his Leave their Proceedings might be more Successful and Inoffensive. This Counsel was approv'd, and order'd to be follow'd, and then the Convocation after it had ordain'd St. George's Day to be celebrated and kept as of the manner of keeping such a Feast. See Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, pag 513. *Duplex Festum Majus*, i. e. A greater double Feast broke up. The Archbishop endeavour'd to have raised St. Dunstan's Day to an equal Holiness, but could not obtain it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who had appear'd particularly Zealous in the Convocation against the Hereticks of those Times, did not abate his Heat when it was ended, but immediately went to the King with heavy Complaints against the Lord Cobham, as an Arch-Heretick and Enemy of the Church, and desir'd his Per-

A. D. 1413. Reg. 1. First Parliament, and the Acts of it, with the Acts of the Convocation.

Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham's Accusation of Heresy, Imprisonment, Examination and Condemnation, with his Escape into Wales.

(b) On the fifteenth of May, 1413.
(c) These two hundred forty-six Articles were drawn up by Inquisitors at Oxford, to be Exhibited against Sir John Oldcastle. Bares's *Hist. of Lord Cobham's Tryal*. p. 13.

A. D. 1413. Reg. 1. million to proceed against him according to the late Decree made by his Clergy, and according to the Laws of the Land against Hereticks. The King observing the Archbishop's Fury, and being cooler himself reply'd, 'That tho' he had a particular Desire to uphold and maintain the Church both in its Doctrine and Order, and was sensible that Unity was the Life of Christianity, because it keeps up that Love which is the fulfilling of the Law; yet he thought that the most prudent Course to reduce the Erroneous, was by mild Perswasions and convincing Arguments; for if the Truth were on their Side, it would prevail by its one Strength in the End, which if it could be done, it would be much better than to make use of those Engines, which have been for the most part used to subdue and destroy the Truth, and seldom do any Service to the Church further than to work dissembled Union and Conversion: And therefore advised the Archbishop to use all gentle Methods to reform and reduce him, promising, that he would himself treat with the Lord Cobham about his Opinions, and if he could not reclaim him, would leave him to the Church and Law. The Archbishop departed with this Answer, and the King sent soon after for the Lord Cobham, and having related to him the Charge of Heresy, which the Archbishop had brought against him, admonish'd him forthwith to renounce his Opinions and submit himself to the Church and Obedience of the Archbishop. The Lord Cobham thank'd him for his Kindness and Favour, but return'd him an Answer. 'That by the Law of God he owed Obedience to no Person on Earth but himself, who was his natural Prince, and God's Vice-gerent, and to his lawful Commands he would readily submit at all Times, but as for the Pope and his Hierarchy he owed them neither Sute nor Service, and therefore would pay them none, because he knew him to be the Antichrist, and Them the Abomination standing in the Holy Place, by the Description given them in Scripture. This resolute Reply something offend-ed the King, so that he dismiss'd him without any further Discourse or Perswasion, and the Lord Cobham departed to his Castle of Cooling in Kent, which having obtained by the Marriage of an Heiress of the Lord Cobham's, he became a Baron, and had upon that Account his usual Residence there. The Archbishop having waited some time for the Effect of the King's Promise, went again to Court to receive the Account of it, and finding the King displeased at the ill Success of his treating with the Lord Cobham, had full Authority given him to cite, examine and punish him according to the Canons of the Church, which he did not defer to put immediately in Execution: For having assembl'd a Council of his Clergy, and fram'd divers Articles of Heresy against him, he sent his Somner to cite him to answer personally before him to such Accusations as should be proved against him. The Somner not daring to deliver his Summons to the Lord, because he was reputed a Person of great Fierceness and Courage, returned again without doing his Message, and the Archbishop was forced to hire (d) one Butler to set up a Peremptory Citation upon the Doors of Rochester Church, (e) strictly charging him to appear before him, on September the 11th following at Leeds. The Lord Cobham was not at all care-

ful to obey his Summons; but fearing least the Archbishop should engage the King against him, and draw him to join his Power to gratify their Malice and Fury, which otherwise he valued not, he drew up the Sum of his Faith in Writing under several Heads, according to the Sense of the Apostle's Creed, and presented 'em to the King, hoping by satisfying him in the Orthodox Declaration of his Opinion to obtain his Protection and Favour: But contrary to his Expectation he found him so much prepossessed by the Archbishop, that he would not look upon it, but deliver'd it to the Archbishop, and his other Accusers, causing him to be again cited to answer his Charge before them; and because he would not swear to submit himself in all things to the Church, the King order'd him to be Arrested in his Presence, and commanded that he should be kept a close Prisoner in the Tower of London, till he should acquit himself of the Crimes laid against him, or be otherwise released by order of Law. The Lord Cobham used all means to deliver himself, alledging, that the Archbishop was his avow'd Enemy, and therefore in Reason and Equity ought not to be his Judge, that he had appeal'd to the Pope for Justice, and shew'd his Appeal ready drawn up with all due Reverence to the King: But this incensing the King much more, he protested, That he was willing to undergo any Punishment that could by the Law of God be inflicted on him, but could not be contented to have his cruel Enemies his Judges; yet if the King saw fit he would justify himself by Combat, either personally against any Man living, Christian or Heathen, the King and his Council only excepted, or with an hundred Knights or Esquires on each side, that his Faith is Sound and Orthodox. But all these Offers nothing avail'd, the King would have him appear before the Archbishop at a Day and Place then appointed, and so he was kept in Prison in the mean time. The Day being come for the Lord Cobham's Answer, which was September the 23d, Sir Rob. Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower brought him to St. Paul's Church, where the Archbishop with Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, and Henry Bullingbrook, Bishop of Winchester, sat in a Consistory in the Chapter-House to examine him, and there left him to them: But little was done at this Time, because he deliver'd in to them a short Paper of his Opinion about the Holy Sacrament, Images, Penance and Pilgrimages, which tho' not Satisfactory to them, yet he would then give no other Answer upon those Points, and so he had further Time given him for a more distinct Answer, which was till September the 25th. On that Day he was examined again in the Hall of the Black-Fryars within Ludgate; and because he asserted, That in the Sacrament of the Altar there was, after Consecration both the Body of Christ and Bread, after the same manner as in the Person of Christ the Divinity was united with the Humanity. That the Pope and his Prelates are Antichrist, and not the true Church of God. That Saints are not to be Worshipped, nor to be sought to by Pilgrimages. That Images cannot be an Object of Worship; and would not be induced to alter or change his Opinion in these Points, he was condemn'd as an obstinate Heretick by the Archbishop, who having Excommunicated him, deliver'd him over to the Secular Power to be

(d) John Butler, Door keeper of the King's Chamber.

(e) Butler went to him and Summon'd him personally to appear before the Archbishop. Sir John answered, He owed the Priests no Submission, and would not seem to approve of their Practices by obeying his Summons. The Archbishop afterwards proceeded another way, by affixing the Citation on several Church Doors. Ibid.

A. D. 1413. put to Death, and he was again remanded to the Tower only to wait for his Fatal Day; but he fortunately escaped by the Assistance of his Friends, or Negligence of his Keepers, getting out of his Prison by Stealth, and flying into Wales, where he remained from the Feast of St. Simon and Jude almost four Years.

Norwich burnt.

About this Time a very terrible Fire happen'd in the City of Norwich, which burnt down a great part of that City, and the House of the Fryars-Precursors, with others, two Fryars being consumed in the Flames.

A. D. 1414.

A pretended Conspiracy against King Henry, by the Lord Cobham and the Lollards.

The King kept his Christmas at his Mannor of Eltham in Kent, about seven Miles distant from London; and while he was in the midst of his Plenty and Delights on Twelfth-Day, an information was brought him of a Conspiracy laid by Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, and his Party, who assembling in St. Giles's-Fields to the Number of 20 or 25000 Men, intending to surprise his Person and kill him with his Brothers, that they might secure the open Profession of their Religion, which he was so Zealous to destroy. The King, tho' if he had allowed himself time to consider might easily have seen the Forgery; because if the Lord Cobham had been indeed resolved to revenge himself upon the King and Clergy for the late Wrongs done to him (which it was evident his Conscience would not suffer him to do) yet he being an Expert Commander would not have chosen St. Giles's-Fields for a Rendezvous for his Army, which was then a Thicket overgrown with Trees and Bushes, and so most unfit for that Business; but being amused with the sudden News believed the Truth of it; and having sent an Order to the Mayor of London Sir William Cromer to keep the City-Gates close shut, and let no Persons go out but such as he was well assured of their Loyalty to him, and to seize all suspected Persons, which the Mayor carefully did, and apprehended Seven Persons in one Burgal a Carpenter's House in Bishops-gate-street, who being sent to the King at Eltham, either by Periwasion or through Fear confessed that they had conspired with Sir John Oldcastle to fight against him and his Lords in St. Giles's Fields in Holborn: Then the King went himself at Midnight, with a considerable Force which he had gathered out of Westminster and the adjoining Parts, into St. Giles's-Fields, and there finding a certain Number of Men met, viz. about 80, he fell upon them, and having slain some of them without Resistance he took about 60 Prisoners, of whom the Chief were Sir Roger Aston, Kt. a Person of no great account for Wealth or Power, one (f) John Beverly a Preacher, John Brown an Esquire, and one Murby a rich Maltster. This Meeting seems to have been nothing else but a Religious Assembly for the Worship of God; which because the Lollards could nowhere safely enjoy for fear of their Adversaries, who were grown very Watchful and Insulting by reason of the King's Favour, they were forced like the first Christians in Persecution to celebrate in the Night in Woods and Thickets; but the Clergy having got Information of their Intendment improv'd it into a Plot, which was easily made credible, because the Party was numerous about London, and met in great Numbers, and that many times armed, not to create any Disturbance, but to defend themselves against the Injuries of the Papists: In which Posture the King taking them looked upon them

as a rebellious Assembly, and because some of them confessed they came to meet the Lord Cobham (tho' 'tis certain he was not there) he dealt with the Chief of them as Rebels; for being tried at Westminster and condemn'd for High Treason thirty of them were hang'd, and seven burnt and hang'd in St. Giles's-Fields, January 12. following: John Beverly the Priest, Burgal the Carpenter, and two others were hang'd, Jan. 19. and Sir Roger Aston was hang'd, Feb. 10. and buried under the Gallows he was executed on: And so this imaginary Plot was suppressed.

Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, a strenuous Champion for the Papal Church, and a bitter Enemy of the supposed Hereticks died Feb. 20. It is said, that as he was pronouncing the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation upon the Lord Cobham, he was stricken with a foreness in his Throat and at the Roots of his Tongue, which notwithstanding all Medicines that could be used so inflamed those Parts that he could swallow neither Meat nor Drink, and so he was starved to Death. This lamentable End was then thought a just Judgment upon him, not only for his Severity to the Lollards, many of whom, being generally accounted a well-meaning and good People, he condemn'd, and caused to be burnt for Heresie; but because he had made a Canon the Year before in a Synod held at Rochester against the Lord Cobham, forbidding the Translation of the Scripture into the English Tongue, and the Preaching the Gospel by the Lollards. He sat eighteen Years in that See, and was succeeded by Henry Chicheley, Bishop of St. Davids, whom the Monks of Canterbury had elected into his room, but he would not accept it till he had the Pope's Consent and Confirmation. He was as zealous a Persecutor of the Lollards as his Predecessor, and sat 25 Years in that See.

King Henry having an Account of the miserable Imprisonment of Henry Peircy the Son of the late Lord Peircy, surnam'd Hotspur, and Heir of the Earldom of Northumberland much pity'd his Condition and resolv'd to redeem him: And tho' by the Treason and Rebellion of his Father and Grandfather, his Honour and Estate was justly forfeited to the Crown; yet because he was an Infant and was no ways accessary to his Ancestor's Crimes, the King in Mercy purpos'd to restore him to his Birth-right, tho' in Justice he might have kept him out of it. This young Nobleman had been very unjustly dealt with by the Scots: For whereas his Grandfather had carried him to them when he fled thither after the Rebellion of Archbishop Scroop, and entrusted him with them to secure him, and educate him, they made him a Prisoner by way of Reprisal, because their young King James had been many Years kept a Prisoner in England, and would not release him till the King was restored. But King Henry found out another Exchange for him, viz. by returning the Duke of Albany's Son (g) who was taken by the English at Haledown-fight, and so he obtained him and restored him to his Honour, Dignity and Estate, tho' they had been given some time before to John, Duke of Bedford the King's Brother, by which Act of Mercy he gain'd much Love and Respect from his Nobility, and an equal Admiration from all his People.

On the last Day of April the Parliament by the King's Summons and Order met at Leicester.

(f) Sir John Beverly.
(g) The Earl of Fife.

A. D. 1414. Reg. 2. and settled many Things of great Concern to the Nation, and for the Honour of the King, tho' it prov'd very severe and fatal to the *Lollards*, as will appear in the brief Account of the chief Acts of it. The first Act of this Parliament was a very Pious own for the due Management of Hospitals, ordering, That the Bishops of the Diocesse should by the King's Commission inquire into the Revenues and other Endowments belonging to such Houses as have been erected and endowed for the Relief of the Poor, and correct and reform what they find amiss according to the Laws of the Church. Other Acts also of great Use were made for the keeping of Servants and Labourers within their own Counties. That Justices of *Quorum* be resident in the Counties where they are appointed to serve by the King's Commission, and that the Quarter-Sessions for the Peace be kept in the same Week quarterly throughout *England*. That it shall be High-Treason to rob or slay any Persons, either in the Ports or passing upon the Seas, having the King's Letters of Truce and safe Conduct, by which Act also Conservators of Truce in every Port both of *England* and *Wales* were appointed. That Justices of the Peace and Sheriffs should be diligent to suppress all unlawful Routs and Riotous Assemblies under the Penalty of an hundred Pound Forfeiture for every Omission. But those Matters which were carried on and manag'd with the greatest Heat and Zeal were, 1. The Act against the *Lollards*, and 2. The Petition about the Revenues of Religious Persons. The first of these was procured chiefly by the Clergy, who taking advantage of the King's Displeasure against the *Lollards* for their supposed Rebellion lately raised against him, willingly caused it to be Enacted. 'That whereas divers of his Majesty's Leige-People as well by those of the Sect of Heresie, called *Lollards*, as by others of their Confederation, Excitation and Abetment have been made to annul and subvert the Christian Faith and Law of God within the Realm of *England*, and destroy the King himself, the Estates of the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, and also all manner of Policy and the Laws of the Land: Therefore our Lord the King to the Honour of God, in Conservation and Fortification of the Christian Faith, and also in Salvation of his Royal Estate, and of the Estate of all his Realm, willing to provide a more open and due Punishment against the Malice of such Hereticks and *Lollards* than hath been had or used in that Case heretofore; so that for the fear of the same Laws and Punishments; such Heresies and *Lollardies* may the rather cease in time to come; hath by the Advice and Assent, and at the Prayers of the Commons Ordain'd and Establish'd, That the Chancellor, Treasurer, Judges of both Benches, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Officers that have, or hereafter shall have Government of our People, do made Oath in taking their Offices to extend their whole Pain and Diligence to put out, cease and destroy all manner of Errors and Heresies, commonly call'd *Lollardies* within all Places where in they exercise their Offices with all their Power, and assist, favour and maintain the Ordinaries and their Commissaries in doing the same as oft as they shall be thereunto required, their reasonable Costs and Charges being paid by them. This Act as it shews how ill an Opinion the King had of the *Lollards* whom he knew only by the Misrepresentations of their inveterate Enemies, so it raised a very sharp Persecution against them, in which many were burnt, many for fear fled into foreign Parts to secure their Lives, and others through a more unmanly Cowardize denied and abjured the Truth: This with other Acts of Parliament being passed, the Houses came to raise the King some Money, which being the first he had ever had, they were willing to do the more largely, and for that End put up a fresh Petition to the King (as they had before done to his Father) to this Effect, 'That forasmuch as the Temporal Revenues which had been devoutly given to Religious Persons, but were disorderly consumed and spent as well to the dishonour of God and Religion as the Prejudice of the Religious Persons themselves, might be much better employed for the safety and securing the Realm and relief of the Poor (as by a particular Computation in the same manner as it was given in to the King's Father they made it appear) they besought the King to take the said Revenues into his Hands, and to employ them for his own and the Nations Advantage. This Petition though put up and promoted by such Persons as bore some Affection to the *Lollards*, and hated the Clergy for the Cruelty they had used so lately against the Lord *Cobham*; yet being done by some or most of the same Persons who had concurred in the Act made this Session against them, was not suspected of Revenge by the King, but as if it had proceeded from the good Affection they bore to him, and the present Necessities of the Nation, he began to listen to it and shew a Compliance with that strong Party in both Houses which appear'd Zealous for it, insonmuch that (as *Hall* saith) the fat Abbots began to sweat, the Proud Priors to frown, the Poor Fryars to curse, and the silly Nuns to weep, least their *Babel* should now utterly be demolish'd: But their Sins were not yet full. The Clergy laid their Heads together, and entred into deep Consultations how to save themselves: The Houses of the Fryars Aliens which were 110, they were contented to part with to secure the Rest, and accordingly they were given to the King with all their Rents and Revenues; but least this small Morfel should sharpen his Appetite to a greater Prey, it was contrived, that *Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Person of great Eloquence and Policy should set on Foot the King's Title to the Crown of *France*, and by all the Cogent Flowers of Rhetorick endeavour to inflame the King's Youthful affections with Desires of attaining that Kingdom, as well to immortalize his Courage as recover his Right, which he did in a full Parliament in this Method and to this Effect. 'That King *Henry* being a Prince so well qualified both for his Piety, Courage, and wise Conduct to govern not only one part of a small Island but the whole World, if an universal Monarchy can be ever settled upon one Person, it would be a great shame if the *English* should suffer his Power and Rule to be confin'd within narrower Limits than Nature and Providence had given him; especially since nothing can be supposed to oblige him to it, whose Courage was always forward to attempt any just Enterprize, but their backwardness to assist him with Men and Money for that End: That though indeed King *Henry* ruled only *England* and *Ireland* at present, yet the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, and the Countreies of *Anjou*, *Gascogne*, and *Maine* in *France* did by Ancient Inheritance belong to the Crown of *England*, and the whole Kingdom of *France* was really and truly

A. D. 1414. Reg. 2.

The Commons Petition on the King to seize the Temporalities of the Monks.

Chicheley's Speech, encouraging King Henry to a War with France.

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truly his, as Heir to King *Edward* the Third his Great-Grandfather, whose Mother Queen *Isabel* after the Death of her Three Brothers, *Lewis* *Hutyn*, *Philip* the *Long*, and *Charles* the *Fair*, who all died without Issue, was the only lawful Heir of the Kingdom of *France*, and left her Title to her Son *Edward*, from whom King *Henry* is lineally descended: That tho' *Philip de Valois* had possessed himself of that Kingdom, upon a pretended fundamental Law, call'd the *Salick-Law*, by which it was enacted, That in *terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant*, Let not Women succeed in the Government of the *Salick-Land*; yet it is evident from the Original Constitution of the said Law by *Charles* the *Great*, and the common Custom of *France* it self in reference to the Succession of the Crown, that the said Law hath been unjustly made use of, and pleaded to bar the Kings of *England* from their Inheritance; for as to the making of it our Histories shew, that it was fram'd by *Charles* the *Great* when he conquer'd the Parts of *Germany* between the Rivers *Elb* and *Sala*, where having observ'd the Women to be very Lewd and Voluptuous, and consequently unfit to govern, he made the Law, That in these Countries no Woman should rule; which could in no wise include *France*, as is pretended it doth but fallily, as the Course of Succession to the Crown of *France* doth prove. For *Pepin*, King of *France*, who deposed *Chilperick*, claim'd the Kingdom as his Right by Inheritance, because he was descended of the Lady *Blithilda*, Daughter of King *Clothair*; and *Hugh Capet* who held the Crown in Prejudice of *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the only Heir-male of *Charles* the *Great*, made his Claim good by proving his Descent from the Emperour *Lewis* the Son of *Charles* the *Great* by the Lady *Lingard*, which Pleas could have no tolerable Grounds, nor would they have been admitted, had the *Salick-Law* as is pretended been in Force from the Time of their first King *Pharamond*. But that which renders this Argument most plain is the Case of *St. Lewis*, who being dissatisfied in Conscience about his Right to the Crown, because the Succession was a little confused and intricate, and being ready to resign what he feared he had no good Title to, he was shew'd, that he was lineally descended of the Lady *Ermengard*, Daughter and Heir to *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the sole Heir-male of *Charles* the *Great*, and was satisfied in the Justice of his Title, which he could not have been if the *Salick-Law* had been known and in force at that time in *France*; and since the Title of the succeeding Kings to this Day is deriv'd from the said *Lewis* of whom they all come, the Kings of *England* will have at least as good a Title as any of them could challenge, and so consequently is the lawful Heir of *France* as being from the Elder Family tho' by a Female Branch, and the *Salick-Law* is but a Trick set on Foot to debar the Kings of *England* of their Right: That if the *Salick-Law* were indeed of that Antiquity and Use in *France* as is pretended, yet it ought not to be observed in any Christian Commonwealth, because it is directly contrary to a Law of God (which no humane Law or Custom may contradict) and that allows the Woman to inherit her Father's Possessions in case of a Defect in the Male-Line, as is evident from the Case of the Daughters of *Zelophebad*, upon which God commanded, That if a Man died without Heirs-male his Daughters shall inherit, and by this Law the

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Daughter of *Shepham*, 1 *Chron.* 2. 34. obtained her Father's Inheritance, and held it to the Captivity. Wherefore it was not without good Reason that *Ottoman* the great *French* Lawyer call'd the *Salick-Law* an unjust Ordinance: That God himself had seem'd to declare in favour of the *English* Title to the Crown of *France* by the great Success he had given to *Edward* the Third and his Son the *Black-Prince* in endeavouring to recover their undoubted Right to it by Arms, who were so Victorious, that they in a few Years conquer'd the greatest part of *France*, took King *John* Prisoner, and braved his Successor *Charles* the Fifth at the Gates of *Paris* without Resistance; and though God for the Just Punishment of our Sins took away both those Victorious Princes (who if they had lived, doubtless had long since decided this Quarrel, and subjected the whole Realm of *France* to the *English* Crown) and so given *France* a Breathing time, yet their Title still remained; and though it was not claim'd by King *Henry* the Fourth by reason of his Troubles at Home, yet his Father having left him a quiet Possession of his Crown had as it were prepared all things for his Son to recover it. Wherefore he concluded with an earnest Exhortation to the King not to sit down in Sluggishness and Ease, but to atchieve the Conquest of so Noble a Nation, whereby he would not only recover his Right and enlarge his Dominions, but get himself immortal Honour, assuring him, That the Clergy would assist him with such a Supply of Money for that End as no King before him had ever received, and did not doubt but the Laity would willingly contribute their Proportion. This Oration of the Archbishop, tho' unexpected by the King and Parliament, yet being well studied and ordered by him had the desir'd Effect, for the whole House were convinced thereby of King *Henry's* just Title to the Crown of *France*, and immediately resolv'd to give him their utmost Assistance to the Recovery of it, and the King himself inflam'd with the Desires of Victory, could think upon nothing else but Armies and Laurels. The Bill against the Clergy was wholly laid aside, and a Subsidy of 300000 Marks given him from the Laity to carry on a vigorous War against the King of *France*; and so the Parliament broke up and this Session was ended.

While this Parliament was sitting, and the intended Recovery of *France* was debated hotly among them, there came over Embassadors from *France*, being sent to the King by the two great Factions of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, and solicited him earnestly, but severally, to assist them against their Adversaries, promising him (as was said) more than was in their Power to perform: The King gave them no other Answer at present but this. That he would shortly send over his Embassadors into *France* and signifie his Resolutions to both of them, because he waited to see what would be the Result of the present Debates, and accordingly would manage his Affairs and pursue his Advantage. As soon therefore as the Parliament was broke up, and his Expedition into *France* resolv'd on, and all eager Preparations for it determin'd, he sent a solemn Embassy into *France* by the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of *Norwich* with 500 Horse to King *Charles* the Sixth, to require of him in a peaceable manner (for the avoiding the Effusion of Christian Blood) to surrender the Kingdom of *France* and all the

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King Henry's
Embassy to
the King of
France, to
require his
Kingdom.

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A. D. 1414. Reg. 2. Appertenances to him as the lawful and undoubted Heir of it, which if he would do quietly, King Henry would then take the Lady Katherine his Daughter to Wife, and endow her with all the Duchies belonging to the Crown of France; but if King Charles refused to grant his just Demands, he would enter France with Fire and Sword to recover his Right from him or lose his Life. The French King hearing their Demands entertain'd them with Contempt, telling them in Scorn, *That their Business required Deliberation*, desir'd time, and sent them away without an Answer. The Dauphin was not content with such Modest Reflections, but knowing something of King Henry's effeminate course of Life while he was Prince, sent him a Tun of Tennis-Balls, scornfully intimating, *That he was fitter for a Game at Tennis than a Warlike Expedition*, and knew better how to bandy a Ball than shoot a Bullet, and that they must be as soft as himself who valued the Menaces of so unwarlike a Prince. King Henry not a little enraged at these Returns of his Embassy, said, *That as light as they made of his Demands, he'd make the French know that he deserv'd the Respect of a Prince from them*, and tho' they had sent him Tennis-Balls, he would send among them such Balls as the strongest Walls of France should not be able to withstand: And so with all the Zeal and Haste imaginable prepared for his Expedition into France; for having gathered up the 300000 Marks granted him the last Parliament, he rais'd a very puissant Army, and hired a great Number of Ships out of Zealand, Holland and Freizland to join with his own Fleet to carry over his Army: He also call'd a great Council at London about Michaelmas, in which he caus'd it to be ordain'd, that no French Men nor other Strangers should be promoted in the Church without his License for the future, and all such as did enjoy any Preferments already, should find Sureties not to disclose the Secrets of the Realm, nor assist the King's Enemies with Money, which Edict was at the same time confirm'd by a Canon of the Convocation sitting in St. Paul's to elect certain Persons to be sent to the General Council appointed to meet at Constance in Germany by the Emperor Sigismund to heal the Schism then in the Church (b).

The French prepare to defend their Coasts against King Henry, and excite the Scots against him.

The Preparations made in England against the French were not unknown to them, and the Dauphin who then had the Government of the Realm under his Father, call'd a Council of the Dukes of Alençon and Berry, with other great Lords to consult about the properest Methods of opposing the King of England, and by their Advice an Army was rais'd to lie on the Coasts, and the Maritime Garrisons strongly fortified against any Invasion. But the main Thing they depended upon was the Assistance of the King of Scots, who by their Instigation and Help was drawn to invade the English Borders with such a powerful Army as would, they hoped, hinder their Expedition into France. And indeed the Scots appear'd at first so Formidable, that it begat a Dispute in the King Council, whether Scotland or France should be first subdu'd. The Earl of Westmorland, who then was made Lord Warden of the Marches of Scotland, mov'd the King to go first against Scotland, alledging, that it would facilitate his Conquest over France to

subdue that Nation first according to the old Proverb, *Who will France win, must with Scotland first begin*. But the King's Uncle Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, a wise and learned Man, affirm'd and urg'd the contrary, *That it would be the most certain way to subdue Scotland to conquer France first*, because it was by the Policy and Money of the French that the Scots were able so well to defend and maintain themselves. Take away France and the Scots will fall of course. Besides the present Factions of Burgundy and Orleans would be so great an Advantage to the King in gaining that Nation, that it would be very impolitick to omit this Juncture to invade France. These and other Arguments of like Nature were so prevalent with the whole Assembly that it was resolv'd, that the King should go on with the War against France, and that Sir Robert Umfrevile with a small Body of Men, and with the Forces of the Bordering Counties should be sent to defend the Nation from the Incursions of the Scots. This Valiant Commander soon after his arrival, viz. upon St. Mary Magdalen's Day, July 22. came to an Engagement with them, and was so fortunate that he routed their whole Army, and took 360 of them Prisoners with great Spoil, and got safe into Roxborough-Castle, of which he was Governour. The News of this Success against the Scots much amaz'd the French, and taught them how little the Aid of the Scots was to be trusted to: Whereupon they altered their Methods, and sent over an Embassy to King Henry by the Earl of Vendosme, William, Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishop of Lisieux, the Lords Ipre and Braquemont, the King's Secretary, and many others, who being accompany'd with 350 Horse-Men as Attendants arriv'd at Calis a little after Christmas, and landed within a few Days at Dover.

King Henry being very earnest and diligent to make all possible Preparations for his design'd Expedition into France, took his Journey early this Spring to see in what Condition and Readiness his Fleet and Transport Ships were which lay at Southampton, and give such necessary Orders as were requir'd for his Proceedings; but in his Passage News was brought him, that a Pompous Embassy from the French King was landed at Dover and hastening towards him, which caus'd the King to desist from his Journey a while and retreat to Winchester to receive them and give them a speedy Audience, tho' without a prophetick Foresight it was easie to guess at their Business, that they now were afraid of him they so lately scorn'd and derided. As soon as they arriv'd they were admitted to the King, and the Archbishop of Bourges in an Eloquent Speech having shew'd the Barbarous Cruelties of War and the Advantages of Peace, especially between such two neighbouring Nations as England and France, dissuaded the King from his intended Design, and promised him from his Master many profitable Conditions if he would dismiss his Army, viz. That his Master the French King would give him in Marriage the Lady Katharine, and for her Dowry several Countries in France, with a large Sum of Money. (i) The King gave them no Answer to their Proposals presently; but having for several Days feasted them Royally at his own Table, he at length order'd the Archbishop of

(b) The Clergy chose the Bishop of Bath and the Bishop of Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of Worcester, and Robert Hylam, Bishop of Salisbury afterwards Cardinal. The King appointed the Bishop of St. Davids, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Fitzhugh, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Richard Rochford and John Hemyngham to be his Commissioners.

(i) 85000 Crowns.

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Canterbury to answer their Proposals in this Manner. ' That the Duchies of *Aquitain* and *Anjou*, with several Seigniories and Dominions, did of right belong to his Master the King of *England*, as they had formerly done to his Royal Progenitors; and though he was fully intended to recover them by force, as he did not doubt but he should be able to do thro' the Divine Assistance, which he could not doubt of in so just a Cause; yet for Peacesake, and to avoid the Loss of so many Lives as would probably perish in the Quarrel, he was contented to dismiss his Army and give over his intended Expedition, if their Master would restore them to him by a Marriage with the Lady *Katharine*, if not he would enter *France* with all his Force, and destroying the People and Towns with Blood, Fire and Sword, never desist till he had recover'd them, which were his Ancient Right and Patrimony. The King himself was present, and as soon as the Archbishop had ended his Speech assented to it, and (k) promised upon the Word of a Prince, that he would perform it to the uttermost. The Archbishop of *Bourges* an high and lofty Prelate heard all this with Impatience, and as soon as the King had done speaking, without Consideration, what or to whom he spake, burst out in his Passion and reply'd. ' That his Majesty the most Christian King, who was the most Renowned, Mighty and Excellent Prince of *Europe* without Competition both in Blood, Power and Preheminence, did not offer those Things which he had propounded out of fear of King *Henry* or his Nation, but merely out of a Compassion to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, and since his Proposals tho' very Advantageous were dispis'd, God and his good Subjects would soon put an End to the Quarrel, which was supported with so much Equity and Right, and then desir'd his Passport to depart. King *Henry* with a Princely Gravity and Mildness told the Angry Prelate, ' That he valu'd not his Bravadoes, and as he was satisfied in his Right, which they themselves could not be ignorant of, so he doubted not but through God's help he should find means to recover it; if his Master had many Subjects to assist him, he doubted not but to find their Equals in Number and Courage among his own, by whose help he would make the highest Crown in *France* to stoop, and proudest Mitre to kneel; and giving him his Letters of safe Conduct, bid him go tell his Master, ' That within three Months he would enter *France* as into his lawful Patrimony, and by God's Assistance take that by dint of Sword which he unjustly detain'd from him: And so sent him away (l).

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King Henry's Expedition into France.

The War with *France* being now unmovably determin'd, King *Henry* who was already in great forwardness for it, doubled his Diligence to have all Things ready within the Three Months, ap-

pointed to the *French* Embassadors, and accordingly gave out strict Orders to his Captains and Commanders to meet him every ways equipp'd at *Southampton* on *June* 24. and so pass immediately into *France* (m). In the mean time he set all Things in order against his Departure out of the Realm, that his Absence might not create any Disturbance among his Subjects, and for that End he appointed his Mother-in-Law, *Joan de Navar*, (n) a Woman of great Prudence and Judgment in National Affairs, to be Regent in his Absence with the Advice of his Privy-Council; The Earl of *Westmoreland*, the Lords *Scroop* and *Greylock*, and Sir *Robert Umfrevile*, with some other Valiant Captains he appointed to keep the Frontiers of the Nation against the *Scots* who had engag'd in the *French* Assistance, and would certainly be very troublesome as soon as they heard he was gone, and therefore he sent them with a sufficient Strength to prevent their Incursions. On *June* 18. the King left *London*, and began his Journey to *Southampton* where his Army was to meet him on the 24th, and accordingly did; all Things being ready, and all Persons cheerfully attending the King's Motions and Desires, with all speed possible to pass into *France*. But before they could take Ship a sudden Accident put a stop to all for a while. The *French* King who could not fairly oppose *Henry's* Courage, brib'd some of his Favourites to take away his Life by base Treachery, but the Conspiracy and its Actors were fortunately discovered to him before the time for its Execution was come, by this Means and on this Occasion. *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Brother to the Duke of *York*, *Henry*, Lord *Scroop*, the High-Treasurer, and Sir *Thomas Gray*, (o) a Privy-Counsellor, three Persons most in Favour with the King, and almost constantly in his Company, having received of the King of *France* a Million of Gold, had promised him to kill King *Henry* in his Voyage to *France*, or if they could not do that, to deliver him into his Power, and that they might make their treacherous Design to look the more plausibly, they discover'd it to the Earl of *March*, *Edmund Mortimer*, pretending that it was out of a real desire of restoring him to his Right that they had taken up such desperate Resolutions; and tho' they expected not his Concurrence, yet they must exact an Oath of Secrecy from him for their own Security, in a Matter of so great Danger to themselves, as well as of Importance to him. The Earl of *March* either not very desirous of the Crown when so worthy a Prince himself and so great a Friend to him was in Possession, or else suspecting that this Conspiracy arose from other Causes than what was pretended, refused at first to swear to them, but when they were very importunate with him to do it before they parted, he at length consented upon Condition they would allow him an Hour to consider of it (p) which they granted. The Earl of *March* having thus got his Liberty to

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A Plot against the King's Life discovered, and the Conspirators Executed.

(k) This Speech was made by the Bishop of *Winchester*; and when he had done, to shew it was the King's Sentiments, he had the *French* Embassadors see 'twas all written down on a Paper and Sealed with his Majesty's Seal. *Godwin*, pag. 60.

(l) This Arrogant Prelate upbraided King *Henry* in his Speech with the Badness of his Title even to the Crown of *England* and he said, *The Crown you wear appertains to the true Heirs of the Deceased Richard, and while they are alive 'tis with them and not you that our Royal Master should have made a Treaty.*

(m) From *Southampton* he sent *Antelope* his Pursuivant at Arms with a Letter to the *French* King, dated at that Place on the Sea, to shew he must expect no more Messages from him: In it he demanded the Restoration of the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, and offered still to marry his Daughter, otherwise he would recover them by Arms. The *French* King answered, *If that was his Mind, he would be prepared to receive him, and as to the Marriage he thought it a strange way of Courtship to address his Mistress covered with the Blood of her Father's Subjects.*

(n) *Joan of Navar* was made Queen Regent, and *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Protector and Lord Lieutenant of *England*.

(o) Of *Northumberland*.

(p) He desir'd time to consider of it, and they gave him till the next Morning. *Godwin*, pag. 65.

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King Henry proceeds in his Expedition, and lands in France.

The King having thus punished those Conspirators promised himself Security, and began to put forward his Expedition, but least any Remnants of this Treason should prove afterwards fatal to him, or prejudicial to his Proceedings, he called his Nobles to him, and having represented to them the Glory of this Achievement against France, and how much he depended upon their Fidelity and Courage, told them, 'That the Treason, which by God's Mercy he had so lately escaped, would make him value their Loyalty to him the more if they persisted in their Duty, and he would not be forgetful to reward it, and in Confidence of their Firmness to him he was resolv'd to proceed in his Design. The Nobles hearing these Words which favoured of a little Distrust, fell down on their Knees, and promised faithfully to serve and obey him, and rather die than suffer him to fall into the Hands of his Enemies: With this Encouragement the King put an end to those Delays which had given the French hopes that their Plot against his Life had been Successful, and went on board with his Nobles and Soldiers, August 11. to sail into France. His whole Army was but 6000 Spears and 24000 Foot, besides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and Labourers, and his Navy consisted of 1000, (or as others say 1500) Ships, with which he landed late on August 15. at Caux, a Town situate at the Mouth of the Seine in Normandy; for his Arrival struck the Inhabitants with such Terror that they made no Resistance. The King at his first landing fell down on his Knees, and with much Devotion besought God to favour his Cause according to the Justice of it, and give him Success against his Enemies as the E-

quity of his Enterprize deserved it, and that he might preserve a due Order in his Army he put out a Proclamation, forbidding his Soldiers upon pain of Death to take any thing out of any Church or Monastery, to abuse any Priest, Women or unarmed Persons, or raise any Quarrels with any Man to the disquieting either of the Country or Army. These things being done, the King sensible that Delays would bring Inconveniencies, proceeded to put all things in order for Action, and to encourage his Captains and Leaders he conferred the Order of Knighthood upon several of them, and disposed of the Banners and Standards to such Men as he knew to be of greatest Strength and Courage. The next Day he sent forth his Spies to take a view of Harfleur, an important Haven in Normandy, which would be a commodious Passage for the English into France upon all Occasions if it could be gained; and having received the Account of it set forward with his whole Army towards it, being three Leagues distant from Caux, and sat down before it August 17. The Town was well fortified, and a strong Garrison put into it to defend it; for besides the Inhabitants the French King had placed in it 400 Men of Arms under the Command of the Lord de Tonteville, chief Captain of the Town, the Lords Blainville, Haqueville, and others very expert Warriours who made a very brave and gallant Resistance, being as desirous of an Ominous Beginning in preserving, as the English were in conquering the Town. The Siege was carried on by the Care and Conduct of Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, (s) who by Mines, battering the Walls with his Engines and Ordinance, and by continual Assaults sought to reduce it soon into his Power; but the Inhabitants and Garrison by stopping the Course of the River which so swell'd that it became dangerous to the King's Camp, and by Countermining secured themselves for a while; that though they lost many, and their Town was much endamaged yet they kept themselves out of their Enemies Hands. The King of France thinking to relieve them sent a Force down to Candebeck-Castle, which was but a little distance from Harfleur, but it proved no help either to that Town or the Country about, for the English spoil'd the Villages, forrag'd the Countries, and brought much Prey to Harfleur, and the Town being reduced to very great Streights capitulated with the King of England, that if it were not relieved by the Dauphin or King within a certain time limited they would resign the Keys into his Hands, thirty of the Chief Persons being delivered to the King's Mercy, and the rest to be suffered to go whether they pleased, yet without Arms or Goods, and twelve Persons were delivered to the English as Hostages for the Performance of this Agreement. The Besieged immediately dispatched their Messengers to the Dauphin to come down to their Relief, but he returned them Answer, That he was not able to give them any Succour: Whereupon, at the Time appointed Sir Lionel Braquemont, Governour of the Town came, and on his Knees delivered up the Keys to the King, and yielded up himself with other Lords and chief Persons to the Number of thirty to the King's Mercy, September the 22d, and so all the rest as

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Harfleur besieged, and surrendered to King Henry.

(q) Before the King discovered that he knew of the Conspiracy he ask'd the Conspirators themselves, what those deserved that could be guilty of such a Treason. They merited, said the Traytors, to expire in horrid Torments to deter others from the like Crimes. Then the King examin'd them, and they confessed their conspiring to destroy him.

(r) The Earl of Cambridge and Sir Tho. Gray were beheaded, and the Lord Scroop was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd.

(s) The King manag'd the Siege in Person: He had his head Quarters at Gravelle, and next him the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Godw. p. 68.

A. D. 1415. well Soldiers as Inhabitants were suffered to depart unarm'd. (t) The King having return'd God Thanks in St. Martin's Church made his Uncle Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, Governor of the Town, and gave the Prey to the Soldiers whom he left in Garrison, and Peopl'd it with *English*, whom he invited thither by giving all such Families as would go over their Dwellings and their Childrens after them for nothing, which so many accepted, that the Town was well Peopl'd with *English* in a short Space.

King Henry's Army being sickly, he leaves Harfleur and went to Winter in Callis. King Henry having obtain'd his wished-for Success in taking *Harfleur* would have pursu'd his Victory and proceeded to take other Towns which would not have dared to stand out, but that he was sensible of the Condition of his Army, which by lying so long in the Field was grown very sickly, and many died of the Bloody flux, of whom some were Persons of Note, as *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, the Bishop of *Normich*, Lords *Beaumont*, *Molins* and *Barnell*, and others, and of the Common Soldiers above 2000. The Duke of *Clarence*, Earls of *Marshall* and *Arundel* were so dangerously ill of the same Distemper that he was forced to let them return into *England* to recover their Health, and many that remained were infected and Weak. This State of the Army with the Consideration that the *Winter* was coming on, made him take up Resolutions of passing immediately to *Callis* without further Action to recruit and rest his Army in the *Winter* there; but because the *Dauphin* was hovering about with some small Forces, he thought it convenient to offer him some Propositions of Agreement, or to decide the Quarrel with him by single Combat, (u) offering to stay eight Days for him about *Harfleur*, which if he refused; it would be a means to prevent his Attempt upon them in their Passage, but the *Dauphin* giving him no answer either way, the King began his March without delay to *Callis*, least the Bridges should be broken down, and so they must encounter many Difficulties to get thither, but could not be time enough to avoid it; for the *French* King having Intelligence of his Success before *Harfleur*, and his Design to Winter his Army at *Callis*, gathered a considerable Body of Men and sent them down under the Command of the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Aquitain* to obstruct their Passage, who broke down the Bridges, destroying the Forrage in the Field, and carried all the Provisions into the Walled Towns whether the People betook themselves also for safety. King Henry either not knowing what was done by the *French*, or else seeing it necessary to persist in his Design, kept on his March intending to pass the *Some* at *Blandretaquef*, the Ford which King *Edward* the Third had waded over with his Army to the Battel of *Crissy*, but found it staked and made impassable; whereupon he march'd up the River further and resolved to ascend up to the very Fountains of it if they could not get over before. The usual Bridges and Passages over it he tried, but found them either destroy'd or so strongly guarded that he dare not force his Way with so weak an Army: For these Reasons he passed by *Port-Remy*, *Amiens*, *Corby* and *Boves*, but at

length through the Negligence of the Garrison at St. *Quintins* he found a safe Passage near *Perons*. In this tedious Journey they encounter'd many Difficulties, partly thro' want of Victuals, and partly from the Assaults of the Enemies from their Garrisons; for tho' the King's great Justice in restraining his Army from Pillaging, and in hanging one that had stoln a Pix out of a Church, procured him great Love from the People of the Country through which his Army passed, and made them venture to sell 'em Provisions contrary to their own King's Prohibition; yet the small Supply that came that Way was not sufficient for so great a Number to subsist upon. The Garrisons also at *Em* and *Corbay* assaulted them Weak and Weary, and tho' the former was repulsed back with the Loss of a valiant Captain, (x) *Lancelot Peirce*, yet the other came upon them with so much Advantage, that they won the Standard of that part of the King's Forces which was commanded by the Earl of *Stafford*, (y) but were so bravely opposed, that the Standard was again recovered by a valiant Gentleman *John Bromley*, of *Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*, Esquire, and the *French* driven into the Town. The Earl of *Stafford* like a Worthy Commander, sensible of the Brave Action in regaining his Standard, whose Loss would have been so great a Disgrace to him, gave the Valiant Gentleman for a Reward forty Pound a Year out of his Mannors and Lands in *Staffordshire*, and by a Deed settled it upon him for Life.

King Henry having thus gotten over the *Some* King of France resolved to keep on his direct way to *Callis*, not attempting any thing by Arms, unless where it should be necessary for their Defence, because his Army was much lessened by Sicknes since he left *Harfleur*, and the Remainder was harassed and weakened by their long Marches and scanty Provisions, and so he went on softly and warily. But the King of *France* being very angry that the *English* had gotten over those Difficulties which he thought insuperable, and were in a fair way to get safe to their intended Rest, called a great Council of his Nobility at *Roan*, of whom the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Brittain* were Chief, to consult how to proceed further against the *English*, and it being at length determin'd to engage them to a pitch'd Battel, *Mountjoy*, King at Arms, was sent to King Henry to desie him, and demand Battel on the *Thursday* following, and for that End an Army under the Constable, the Lord *de Albret*, and the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* was sent down to block up their Way. King Henry receiv'd the Herald very kindly, but not being willing to hazzard his Army which was unfit to fight, return'd this Answer, 'That he would keep his direct Road to *Callis* without any Disturbance to any Man, and if they should hinder his Passage it should be at their Peril, he and his Army would endeavour to make their Way, and leave the Issue to God. It is said by some, that King Henry was so fearful of an Overthrow, when he saw the *French* on all sides swarming about him, that he offer'd to resign *Harfleur*, and restore all Damages done to it, if they would suffer him to pass undisturbed to *Callis*, but the *French* sure of Victory

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(t) He made all the Soldiers Prisoners of War, but suffered them to depart on their Paroles to render themselves at *Callis* in the Winter, and pay their Ransom which they did.

(u) He sent him this Challenge on the 16th of September while he lay before *Harfleur*, which City was not taken till a Week afterwards.

(x) This *Lancelot Peirce* challeng'd any *English* Man to fight him. His Challenge was immediately accepted, and the *English* Man killed him; but before he died he gave his Adversary a Wound that sent him out of the World soon after him.

(y) Sir *Hugh Stafford*, Lord *Bouchier*.

A. D. 1417. Re. 2. rejected his Proposals, as the *French* Historians relate, but ours deny the Story, as unbecoming Henry's great Spirit. After this Answer King Henry kept on his Way to a Village called *Forcelles*, and so by *Cherue*, *Emyers*, and *Bangy* to *Agincourt*, October the 22d, in the County of *St. Paul*, where he had a certain Information that the *French* Army, which was six or ten times bigger than the *English*, the former being 60000 or more, and the latter but 15000 (2), and those half starved and tired with Travel, and many of them sick and diseased, was ranged in order of Battel ready to fall on him if he lay still, or block up all Ways if he pressed forward. King Henry seeing the Battel unavoidable made the best Preparation so short a time would give him leave, and knowing that the Strength of the *French* consisted in their Horse, he ordered his Men to get every one a sharp Stake shod at both ends with Iron, which being fixed in the Ground leaning forward might keep off the Horse from rushing in upon his Foot (a). The Night before the Battel was to begin, King Henry having engaged them to stand up manfully in their own Defence and rather die than yield, they spent in Prayer and Confession, but the *French* as secure of the Victory, passed it in Jollity and Mirth, Drinking and Gaming, in talking of the Victory they should have, and parting the Prisoners. The next Day which was *St. Crispine's* Feast, October the 25th, the Battel began about Ten a Clock. King Henry being sensible of the Advantage which the *French* had of him by their Multitude, pitch'd with the Town on his Back, and a River on the one side, and thick Hedges on the other of his Army that the *French* might not surround them, the Stakes being fixed on the Front of the Army to keep off the Horse. The Vanguard he put under the Command of the Duke of *Tork* who desired that Service; the main Body was led by the King himself, and the Rere-Guard by the Duke of *Exeter*. The *French* Army was led by the Flower of the Nobility of the Nation. The Vanguard was led by the Lord *Albret*, Constable of *France*, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Richmond*, the Marshal *Bouciquart*, the Lord *Dampier*, Admiral of *France*, with other Captains. The main Body by the Dukes of *Barr* and *Alençon*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *Vaudemont*, *Blamont*, *Salinges* and *Grant prez*, and the Rereward by the Earls of *Marle*, *Damp-martin*, *Falconbrig* and Lord *Louray*. The Earl of *Vandosme* commanded one of the Wings, and Sir *Guichard Dolphin* the other. The Signal for the Battel being sounded, the *French* rushed forward upon the *English* with their Horse (b), and the *English* as they drew towards them overshadowed them with Clouds of Arrows, which by their fall wounded their Men and disorder'd their Horse,

The Battel
of Agincourt
with the
Stakes and
Consequents
on it.

who in their Confusion not observing the Stakes fell upon them and were pierced with them to Death. The Dukes of *Brabant* and *Alençon* broke in upon the *English* with a small Party but were slain, the Duke of *Alençon* and two of his Servants being slain by King Henry's own Hand (c). The Battel was hot and furious, and lasted three Hours, but at length the Victory fell to the *English*, who by their Courage had slain, taken or put to flight the whole *French* Army. In the Flight the Rere-guard of the *French*, which got off almost entire, set upon the King's Camp which was but slenderly guarded and pillaged it, taking the King's Crown, and a rich Sword set with Diamonds, and other precious Stones, which they carried in Triumph as if the Victory had been their. King Henry hearing a great cry in the Camp supposed that the *French* had been gotten together in a Body again, and seeing the King of *Sicil* (d) come in with some fresh Troops began to fear the Loss of his new-gotten Victory, and immediately gave order to slay all the Prisoners except some of the greatest Quality, least they joined with the Enemy should prove their Destruction, which was accordingly done, but this fear soon vanished, for the King of *Sicil* drew off and would not fight after he saw the *French* Army routed, and so the King caused a Retreat to be sounded about four a Clock in the Afternoon, and the Soldiers having plundered the Slain and Wounded retreated with the King to the Village they lay in the Night before, and refreshed themselves well with the Provisions of the *French* Camp. The King himself sensible of the greatness of the Victory, which nothing but the Divine Power joining with such small Forces could have effected, called his Army together, and caused his Prelates and Chaplains in the most solemn Manner to give Thanks to God for it, singing this Psalm, *When Israel came out of Egypt*, and making every one to kneel on the Earth when they came to these Words, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name, give the Praise*, and then adding *Te Deum* and other Anthems, gave most devout Thanks and Praise to God. This Victory was obtain'd with little or no Loss to the *English*, for they lost only the Duke of *Tork*, Earl of *Suffolk*, with two or three Gentlemen more, and 26 Soldiers, or as the *French* Historians themselves relate, (e) 3 or 400. But the *French* lost 10000, among whom were the Lord *Albert*, the Constable, the Dukes of *Barr*, *Brabant* and *Alençon*, the Marshal, Admiral, and Master of the Horse, with 11 Counts and 18 great Lords, besides a great Number of Esquires and Gentlemen, and 1500 Prisoners; (f) among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Richmond*, Count de *Vendosme*, Son of the late Duke of *Bretagne* by

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Re. 2.

A Party of
French Men
under the Eng-
lish Camp.

The Slain
on both
sides.

(2) *Hodine*, an *English* Historian who was present at the Battel says, King Henry's Army consisted of no more than 9000 Men. *Walsingham* reports, that they were but 6000. And the *French* Historians do not pretend that they were above 20000. Whereas the same Authors, as well *English* as *French* agree, that the Constable's Army consisted of 15000, or at least 14000 Men. *Enguerrant Monstrelet* affirms, the Horse were 150000.

(a) King Henry sent out Captain *David Gam*, Commander of a Company of *Welsh* Men to view the Enemy, who when he returned said. May it please you my Leige, *There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken Prisoners, and enough to run away.* Dr. *Barclay's* Chron.

(b) Sir *Thomas Espingham* and the *English* Archers began the Charge.

(c) He was going to surrender himself Prisoner to King Henry, but before the King could take his Gage, he was killed by his Guards. *Monstrelet*.

(d) The *Sicilians* were brought by the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Marshal *Louvigny*. *Fenin*.

(e) The *French* Historians, *Monstrelet* and *de Fenin* say the contrary, the former, that the *English* lost 1700 Men, the latter 4 or 500, which is most likely. *Coxton* affirms, there were but 26 *English* Soldiers killed, and *Walsingham* says not many more. viz. the Duke of *Tork*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, four Knights, one Esquire, and twenty eight common Soldiers. Of the *French*, *Le Beau*, who was in the Battel, writes, that 10000 were killed, of which 100 were Princes and 7000 Nobles.

(f) The Prisoners according to *Juvénal des Ursins* were 14000, and all Authors agree, that they were as many as the Number of the *English* Army.

the

A. D. 1415. Reg. 3. the Q. Regent of *England*, (g) and many other Persons of Quality. The next Day after the Victory the *French* King sent *Mountjoy* with four Herald's more to desire leave to bury the Dead and to have the Number of the Prisoners, which the King readily granted. But the *French* themselves had made them a miserable Spectacle, by stripping them of all their Cloaths, which the *English* had not meddled with, (for they took only Money and rich Things) and leaving them all Naked. This odious Spectacle so moved the Earl of *Charilois*, Son to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he buried 5800 in one piece of Ground at his own Charge, because their Friends not knowing them neglected their Burial. The Bishop of *Esquines* a little after made the Ground into a Church-Yard in respect to the Bodies of so many Persons laid there.

King Henry goes to *Callis*, and Duke of *Burgundy* punisheth the *French* who plunder'd the *English* Camp.

The Fight being thus fortunately ended in favour of the *English*, King *Henry* having ordered the Slain to be decently buried went to see the Damage of his Camp, which tho' being considerable yet not to be recover'd, he resolv'd to proceed with all Expedition in his Journey to *Callis* without any further Care about it. But the Duke of *Burgundy* would not so pass it over, and considering that the Party who had plundered the *English* Camp, had cowardly deserted the Army in danger, and by pillaging the *English* for their own Private Gain had been the Cause that their Braver Brethren who were taken Captive in the Fight had been kill'd in cool Blood, he determin'd to punish the chief Commanders of them very severely; but his Son the Earl of *Charilois* being made their Friend by the Rich Present of King *Henry's* Sword, so effectually interceded with his Father they they were all spared. King *Henry* after two Days march arriv'd at *Callis*, carrying with him the Bodies of the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Suffolk* to be interred in *England*, and immediately dispatched a Messenger over into *England* to the Queen Regent with the News of this Signal Victory, which filled the Nation with an universal Joy; for the *Te Deum* was not only sung in all Churches of the Nation, but a mighty Procession of the Queen, Nobility and Clergy, Mayor, Aldermen and Companies of *London* was celebrated with extraordinary Solemnity and Devotion from *St. Pauls* to *Westminster*, where they all made a great Oblation at *St. Edward's Shrine*, and then returned in Triumph. The King himself remain'd at *Callis* a while intending to have pursued this Victory closely had the Season permitted him, but it proving very wet and unfit for Warlike Enterprizes, he thought it convenient to look after his Affairs in *England*; and taking Ship *November* the 16th, he arriv'd at *Dover*, *November* the 23d, having had a very troublesome and dangerous Passage. He brought with him his Chief *French* Prisoners, and was received with Processions and Triumphal Joy by his Nobles and other Subjects; and being by them conducted towards *London*, was met by the Mayor, Aldermen and Clergy of that City with like Processions, (h) and Attestations of Joy at *St. Thomas of Waterings*: But the King himself seem'd very little taken with these outward Ceremonies, and forbad that any Songs or Ballads should be made of this Victory, because

Triumphs and Thanksgivings in *England* for the Victory at *Agincourt*

it was solely from God, and he would have him have all the Honour of it. The Citizens made the King a Present of 1000 l. in Gold in two Basons of equal Value, which the King receiv'd of them with a cheerful Resentment of their Love and Respect to him, and so retreated to his Palace at *Westminster*, where he made it his first Care to bury the Bodies of the Duke of *York* at *Fodringbey* in *Northamptonshire*, and of the Earl of *Suffolk* at *Emhelm* in *Oxfordshire*; (i) their Exequies being devoutly perform'd by the Archbishops and most of the Bishops in *St. Paul's Church* by the King's Order. But the good Fortune of this Battel was not more joyfully received by the *English* Court and People than the bad Fate of it was lamented by the *French*, for the King and his Court were under heavy Perplexities, and the *Dauphin* of *Viennois* the Heir of the Crown took it so grievously, that he soon after died of mere Sorrow. Great Care was also taken to chose new Officers into the Places of such as were either slain, or had behaved themselves so, as by their Cowardize to be unworthy of future Employment. All which shew'd under what Fears and Distractions the *French* were in after this Victory; which though they thought to recover by fresh Forces and Officers, yet it was such a Terror to them that they never dar'd to attempt any thing considerable after.

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The King being in *England*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Governour of *Harfleur* having a strong Body of Men under his Command, viz. 3000 *English* Men made an Inroad into *Normandy* almost as far as *Roan* where the King of *France* and his Court than lay, and got a great Booty of Money, Prisoners and Cattle; but it being heard at *Roan* the Earl of *Arminack* was sent to pursue him with 5000 Horse, who being newly made Constable was mighty desirous to gain himself Reputation by this Exploit, and thereupon followed them very hotly till he had overtaken them. The *English* unable to resist so strong a Force, were forced to withdraw into an Orchard well fenced with Ditches and Banks for their Security with the Loss of 300. of their Men and all their Prey. The *French* withdrew to *Villemont*, an adjoining Village that Night, and in the Morning pursued the *English* again as far as the Sand of *Cheif de Caux*, where setting upon them at a Disadvantage by reason of an Hill that hinder'd them from assisting each other, the *English* fell so fiercely upon them that they routed them wholly, and so got safely to *Harfleur*. The Constable was much blamed for his Rashness and Unskilfulness in this Exploit, and lost more Honour by his last ill Conduct than he got by his first good Fortune, and the *English* became more terrible for their Courage and Hardiness.

A. D. 1416.

The Earl of *Dorset's* Fight with the Earl of *Arminack*, Constable of *France*.

This Year the Order of the Church-Service was changed throughout *England* from the Use of *St. Paul* to the Use of *Sarum*. On *Candlemas-Day* seven Dolphins were discovered playing in the River *Thames*, and four of them were taken.

Divers Accidents.

The King on *Monday, March* the 16th summon'd his Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, and though he requir'd no Taxes in so great a War, yet he thought it necessary to summon his Great Council to settle Things well in his Absence, which he did by making several Benefi-

Third Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

(g) The Famous Marshal *Boucicault* who had done great Things in *Italy* and the *East* was taken Prisoner in this Battel, and being carried to *England* died there two or three Years after.

(h) In this Procession *Stow* says, the Priests brought forth the Relicks of seveny Saints.

(i) The Mannor of *Emhelm* came to the Family of *Suffolk* by the Marriage of this Earl's Son, afterward created Duke of *Suffolk*, to *Alice*, Daughter of *Thomas Chancer*, Esq; Son of *Jeffrey Chancer* the Poet. *Holinshed*, page 1.35.

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Reg. 2.

cial Acts for the common Good, viz. That a certain base Money, called *Gally-half-pence* brought hither from *Genoa*, and vented to the Damage of the People, should not be hereafter used in any lawful Payment in *England*; That all *Britons* who were not Naturaliz'd and made Free of this Nation should immediately depart out of it upon pain of Death, because the Duke of *Bretagne* was confederate with the King of *France* against him; That all Provisions, Licenses, Acceptations or Pardons sent into *England* by the Pope to disturb or deprive any Person who is in the actual and legal Possession of any Benefice, shall be *ipso facto* void, and the Persons that shall bring any such Provisions, and by them molest or disturb any Incumbent shall suffer and incur the Punishments contain'd in the Statutes of Provisors, to be inflicted by Process of *Premunire facias*; That the Clipping, Washing and Filing of the Current Money of the Land shall be adjudg'd Treason, and they who shall so Clip, File or Wash the said Coin shall suffer as Traytors. And lastly. That Justices of the Peace shall Award a *Capias* to apprehend all such Persons, and imprison them to be tried by the Judges of Assize who should have Power to hear and determine all such Matters: And then was the Parliament Prorogued because of the Emperour's coming.

Reg. 4.

the Emperor came in to England.

In the beginning of May, *Sigismund* the Emperour, Cousin-German to King *Henry*, and a very Wise and Learned Prince, came into *England* out of a pious Design to make Peace between the Kings of *England* and *France*. He had been before in *France* and brought over with him the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, an Agent for his Master the *French* King, who seem'd forward to conclude it. He was received at *Calis* honourably by the Earl of *Warwick* who was Governour there, and conveyed over to *Dover* in 30 great Ships. The King having Intelligence of his coming, sent the Duke of *Gloucester* with a large Train of the Nobility to receive and entertain him, yet ordering them to meet him on the Shore with their drawn Swords, and to demand of him the Cause and Reason of his coming, whether it were as a Mediator of a Peace only, and the King's Friend, or as an Emperour to claim *England* as a part of his Kingdom, if as the latter to resist his Entrance, but if as the former to give him a kind Welcome? Which they exactly performed entring into the Water with their drawn Swords in their Hands. The Emperour with a Smile mildly replied. *That he came as the King's Friend and to make a Peace*, and was then honourably conducted to Shore by 'em, and from thence to *London*. The King met him in Person at *Black-beath*, May the 7th, and carried him through *London* to *Westminster*, where he was lodged in the King's Palace. *Albert*, Duke of *Holland* came also about the same Time but staid not long. The Emperour was very earnest with the King for a Peace, and his Persuasions had almost wrought the King to a Compliance, but the *French* not giving over their Acts of Hostility while they knew Peace was in Agitation, but first falling upon the *English* about *Rouen*, and then laying close Siege to *Harleux* both by Sea and Land, so incensed the King of *England*, who by their Actions judged that they designed only to amuse him with Proposals of Peace till they could by Force reduce their country, that he would not hearken to any fur-

ther mention of it, but recalled his Ambassadors the Bishop of *Norwich* and Sir *Thomas Erpington* out of *France*, resolving to prosecute the War with the utmost Vigour; whereupon the Emperour gave over further prelling the Peace between *France* and the King, and entred into a firm League with *K. Henry* himself to this Effect viz. That the Emperour and King of *England* their Heirs and Successors would be Friends and Confederates to each other against all Persons whatsoever (the Church of *Rome* and Pope for the Time being only excepted). 2. That neither they nor their Heirs or Successors should be in any Council or other Place where either of them his Heirs or Successors should sustain any Damage in their Lands, Goods, Honour or Person. 3. That if either of them their Heirs or Successors should know of any Damage or Loss that was like to befall or happen to each other, they should give each other as speedy Information of it as they could conveniently. 4. That either of them their Heirs and Successors would use all lawful Means possible to advance the Honour and Interest of each other. 5. That neither of them would permit their Subjects to levy War against each other, and that it shall be lawful for the Subjects of both Nations to Traffick and Merchandize with each other without any Impediments. 6. That neither of 'em would wittingly receive and harbour, much less defend any Rebels or Traytors to them, but either resign them up to the injur'd Prince or drive 'em out of their Realm. 7. That neither of them should begin a War with any other Person but such as they now were at War with, without the Consent and Advice of each other, unless it were in case of necessary Defence of themselves or their Subjects and Dominions. Lastly, That it should be lawful for both of them to prosecute the War against *France* to recover their Rights so as should to them seem Expedient, and that they would afford each other Assistance in so doing. These Conditions and Agreements were sealed (k) *October* the 19th, 1416. and the Emperour having stay'd almost seven Months in *England* at the King's Charge, and being made a Knight of the Garter departed Home, and King *Henry* accompany'd him to *Calis* partly in Honour to him, and partly to look into the State of his Affairs on that side, where having taken his leave of the Emperour, and renew'd a League with the Duke of *Burgundy* for his Provinces of *Flanders* and *Artois* to continue to the *Michaelmas* Twelve-month following. He returned again into *England* to meet his Parliament, which had been adjourn'd till this Time for the Emperour's coming.

While the Emperour yet remain'd in England The Duke of
King Henry sent his Navy under the Command Bedford rais
of his Brother John Duke of Bedford to raise the les the
Siege of Harfleur, which was secured and carri Siege of
ed on by Sea by the French Fleet under the Com Harfleur.
mand of the Viscount of Narbon, who was assist-
ed by six large Genoa Gallies and several Car-
ricks. The Duke zealous for the Honour of the
King and Nation immediately pass'd over to
Harfleur, and engaging with the French Navy,
after a sharp Fight obtain'd a signal Victory, ta-
king three Genoa Carricks, and in them the Ba-
stard of Bourbon, Prisoner, the rest being all
sunk or driven shatter'd into Brittain. The Earl
of Arminack, Constable of France, who maintain-
ed the Siege by Land seeing the English Masters

(4) They were sealed August the 15th, and confirmed in Parliament, October the 19th. The Emperour returned to Collis, and was not accompanied, but followed by King Henry, who Embark'd at Sandwich, September the 4th, and arrived at Collis the same Day, the Emperour waiting on the Shore for his Landing.

A. D. 1415. such Relief both of Men and Provision as would render it almost impossible to take it, immediately raised the Siege and marched to *Paris*. The News of this speedy Deliverance of *Harfleur* being brought into *England* was astonishing to the Emperor, who heard of the Success of the *English* Fleet before he could have imagin'd them there, and with Admiration said to the King; 'Happy is the Nation who hath so good a King, but much more happier the King who hath such Valiant and Obedient Subjects.

Fourth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

King Henry being return'd from *Calis* met his Parliament at *Westminster*, and having shew'd his Lords and Commons by his Chancellor, *Henry Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, that tho' for the ease and quiet of his Subjects he had waved the pursuit of his Conquests which God had so Successfully begun, and condescended to disadvantageous Terms of Peace, yet the *French* had rejected all; and therefore since he could not give over the War with Honour, he hoped that they would give him such Supplies of Money as were Necessary for so great an Undertaking, which he did not doubt but would bring in greater Advantages to the Nation in a short time. The Parliament readily assented to his reasonable Desires, and having obtain'd his Assent to some Acts of Importance, 1. For punishing Masters who give greater Wages to Servants than is allow'd by Statute. 2. For confining Merchant-Strangers to certain places of Residence in the Port-Towns. And 3. About granting Letters of Marque or Reprisal to Persons that have been wrong'd by any Foreigners who are at Peace with the King; they gave him a liberal Supply of Money, a *Fifteenth* of the Laity, and two *Tenths* of the Clergy. After this Gift of Money the King appointed his Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, to be Regent of the Nation in his Absence, and made *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorset*, in Consideration of his many faithful Services, Duke of *Exeter*, allowing him a Thousand Pound a Year out of his Treasury, and giving him Forty Pound a Year out of his Free-farm Rents in and about the City of *Exeter*, and the Parliament confirm'd both to him, and was soon after dissolved and sent into their Countries. In the Time of this Session of Parliament a Beggar was hang'd for a barbarous Cruelty which he had used in dismembring Children.

A. D. 1417.

King's Zeal for the Honour of his Clergy.

The King kept his *Christmas* at *Killingworth-Castle* in *Warwickshire*, where while he remain'd multitudes of Lampoons were scatter'd up and down the Nation against the Church-men, but especially in Noble-Men's Houses, and in great Towns, as *St. Albans*, *Northampton* and *Reading*. The King was very much displeased at it, being sensible that the next way to bring Religion itself into Contempt and Disuse was to render the Ministers contemptible, both which Things were equally abominable to him: Wherefore he used all Means to apprehend the Authors and Dispersers of them, and was so Zealous to vindicate their Reputation, that he was call'd, *The Prince of Priests*: But the Clergy were so generally hated, that they found none so much their Friends as to discover their malicious Enemies, that they might receive their condign Punishment, neither for Love to the King nor hopes of Reward.

King Henry II. Expedition into France.

After *Christmas* the King set himself with all Diligence to make Preparations for his Second

Expedition into *France*, lifting great Numbers of Soldiers, who being invited by the Success of the last Year offered themselves willingly to his Service, and hiring several Ships to transport his Troops over into *France*. In the Spring he had gotten an Army of 25527 brave and lusty Men, and fifteen hundred Ships, but found his Charge so far to exceed the Supplies given him the last Parliament, that he was forced to borrow great Sums of Money to go on with his Design; for the Bishop of *Winchester* lent him twenty Thousand Pounds, for which he pawn'd his Crown to him, and the City of *London* lent him ten Thousand Marks more, for which the King left them his Jewels as a Pledge. With this Money he put all Things in Readiness for his Passage into *France* as soon as the Weather and Seas should favour him. These great Preparations in *England* being known in *France*, the *French* King endeavour'd to hinder his Passage by hiring many Ships and Carricks of *Genoa*, which being join'd to his own Navy, might not only infest the *English* Coasts, but keep the King of *England* and his Army from Landing in his Dominions; but the King of *England* was neither so hasty nor careless as to neglect this Danger, and though he was oblig'd to stay a little the longer, yet he took care to remove this Obstacle by sending his Fleet under the Command of *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington* (1) to scour the Narrow Seas of all *French* Vessels, who accordingly did his Business so effectually, by taking some and sinking others, that the King waiting ready at *Southampton* for the first Opportunity of sailing over, safely, took Shipping, and sailing from *Portsmouth* July the 28th, landed in *Normandy* August the 1st, at *Beville*, and immediately upon the Shore made Forty-eight Knights, of the most valiant and best of his Captains, that he might encourage them by these Marks of Favour to greater Boldness in the future Attempts. The News of the Arrival of the *English* was no sooner spread in *Normandy*, but all the People were affrighted, and fled either into the Wall'd Towns and Castles, or got them into *Bretagne*, leaving the Country open to the Will and Power of the Invaders, who having so much room left, soon made themselves Masters of the Towns and Cities.

A. D. 1417. Reg. 4.

Reg. 5.

Earl of Huntington clears the Seas for his Passage.

Several Castles and Towns taken by the English.

And the first Thing that the King undertook; after he had been at *Harfleur* and taken Notice of the Condition of it, was the Siege of *Tongue-Castle*, a Place not so Important in it self (m); but because the King would not leave it behind him to annoy or infest his Army when it should be busied about any thing greater. The Duke of *Gloucester* managed the Siege with one part of the Army, and took it August the 9th, by Resignation. He made Sir Robert Kirkby Captain of it. The Earl of *Salisbury* while this was a doing besieged the Town and Castle of *Ambervil-lers*, and with like Success became Master of it. The King gave him the Lordship of the Town and Territories adjoining, and to his Heirs; which Gift, tho' the first of that Nature, much raised the Hopes of the Nobles, and made them dare great Things in confidence, that from such a Beneficent King the bravest Attempts should have the greatest Rewards. The Army being a little flushed with these Victories, the King resolved upon a greater Enterprize, which was the Siege of *Caen*, one of the strongest and best Towns in *Normandy*, and in his March destroyed and plundered all the Villages in the Country leading up to it. The Town was well provided

(1) Son to the Duke of *Exeter*, who was Beheaded at *Cicester*, for the Duke of *Anmar*'s Plot.

(m) 'Twas a very strong Castle in those Days. *Godw.* p. 155.

A. D.
1417.
Reg. 5.

The Castle
of Caen fur-
thered.

with Men, Ammunition and Provision, because they expected nothing less except they would tamely submit. In the Suburbs of Caen were several Goodly Churches and Monastries, which the King was very unwilling should be destroyed, not only for Piety sake, but because they might be a Refuge for his Army, and therefore he sent his Brother the Duke of Clarence to prevent the Destruction of them from the Inhabitants, who according to the usual Methods of those Times would set them on Fire upon the Approach of the Enemy, that they might not be an Harbour to them. The Duke of Clarence made all possible haste with a 1000 Men to save them, but before he could get thither the Citizens had set them on Fire, yet by his Diligence he saved the Abby-Church of St. Stephens and one Nunnery. The King with the whole Army came before the Town, August the 17th, and began the Siege of it, casting up high Banks and making deep Trenches to keep the Besieged from flying out upon them; several Assaults he made against it, but to his own Loss, wherefore he resolved to trust to his Mines, and therefore set all his Pioneers to Work, by whom he so undermined the Walls, that they stood upon a few Posts only, ready to fall when there was Occasion. The Besieged he kept always awake with continual Alarms, that being weakened with much Watching they might be unable to make any considerable Resistance. When all Things were ready for a general Assault, he sent an Herald to them to offer them Mercy if they would resign their Town; but they having Promises of Relief rejected all Proposals of Peace, and so the King stormed the Place and took it by Force, September the 8th, slaying all Persons that were in Arms against him. All the Arms that were in the Town he commanded to be brought into the Market-place, and all the chief Magistrates he summoned to the Senate-House, and, such as had been most Stubborn and Inflexible in resisting him, he caused to be put to Death, and the rest he fined. The Fury of the Soldiers in plundering, insulting and cruelly killing their Enemies, upon such Success, he so far restrained by his Care and Prudence, that he was not thought a more Fortunate than Wise Commander; yet he took such Care to reward every one's Labour and Valour in the Siege by giving them a Share in the Plunder, that they were better contented with the King's Liberality than if they had been left to Carve for themselves. The Castle still held out after the Town was taken; but because they perceived that no Relief came according as they were promised, and it was impossible for them to hold out long without it against so great an Army, they yielded, September the 20th, upon a Capitulation, that the Captain and Soldiers might safely depart whether they pleased. King Henry Peopled the Town with English. The Example of this City was so terrifying, that Fourteen other smaller Towns and Castles immediately resigned to King Henry, and upon their taking an Oath of Fidelity to him he continued the Captains in their Offices, and suffered the Inhabitants to enjoy their Lands and Estates in as large or more ample manner as they had enjoyed them at any time before. Caen being then orderly settled under English Officers, viz. Sir Gilbert Umphreville, who was made Captain of the Town, Sir John Popham, Bailiff, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, Captain of the Castle, the King pursued his Victories, taking Courcy-Castle, Argenton, Alançon, and Sees with little or no Opposition, and appointing English Captains over 'em, and then he returned to Caen, where he put in

Execution his Proclamation which he had before put out, commanding all the Inhabitants of Normandy who were fled from their Habitations, to return again by a certain Day perfixed, or else he would give their Lands to his Soldiers; whereupon he conferred on the Duke of Clarence the Viscounties of Angou, Orb, and Pentinze, with all the other Lands of such as did not return according to his Command. While the King was thus busied himself with part of his Army, the other parts whom he had sent out under his several Commanders with equal Success enlarged his Conquests: For the Earl of Warwick, and Lord Talbot took the Strong Castle of Dampfront, The Duke of Clarence took Courton, Ranny, Bechelovin, Harcourt, Pantgernon, Crevener, Anviliers and Fresny. The Duke of Gloucester, with the Earl of March, and Lord Grey of Codnor took the whole Island of Constantine, except Cherbourg, and placed English Captains in them.

While the English thus carried on their Victories, the Kingdom of France was unable to put any stop to the impetuous Current. The King himself was not fit to attempt any thing of that Nature through his Indisposition of Mind, being afflicted with long and frequent Fits of a Frenzy, which made him not able to govern, much less to act in such Difficulties and Dangers. The Duke of Burgundy, who at that time was by the Queen's means constituted the Regent of the Kingdom in hatred to her Son Charles the Dauphin, was engaged so much upon her Account to execute a Female Revenge upon the Dauphin, that he could not attend to the more necessary War against Henry, who sought the Conquest of them both; though it may be thought, that if the Duke of Burgundy had been at Liberty, he would have made but a very feeble Resistance against the King of England, with whom he was in League for the Preservation of his own Countries in Flanders and Artois. The Dauphin, Charles was the only Person really solicitous for the Good of his Country, and was willing to have run the utmost Hazards to have rescued it from the Power of the Invader; but he had neither Friends nor Money to go on with his Design, till the Count De Arminack had advised him to seize upon his Mother's Jewels, Plate and Money, by which indeed he was enabled to raise some Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom, but thro' his Mother's Malice he was compell'd to make use of them another way, viz. to chastise her Fury and Burgundy's Folly, who to gain her Favour was forced to be the Instrument of her Revenge. While these Civil Broils were carried on by the French, King Henry was very diligent to improve this Advantage, and with wonderful Celerity run over Normandy, and laid such a Foundation for the Conquest of France, that the most hearty Union and strongest Forces could hardly have prevented it.

But though the French themselves thro' their Civil Discords did nothing against the English, yet they instigated their Old Friends the Scots to invade England, and that so powerfully as to draw the King himself, if it were possible, out of France; for they entered with a strong Army, and besieged the Castles of Barwick and Roxborough. And that they might have either the Assistance of the English themselves, or meet with a more faint Opposition, they brought along with them a Person whom they pretended to be King Richard, but to little Purpose; for though the Earl of Westmoreland, who was the Lord Warden of the Marches, was not then at Hand to defend the Borders, yet the Gentry of the Northern Parts were Active to raise the Forces of the Countries,

A. D.
1417.
Reg. 5.

The State
of France
this War.

Scots
invade
England
with
strong
Army.

A. D. 1417. Countries, and the Duke of *Exeter* who had lately levy'd fresh Recruits for the King's Army in France, was then in those Parts at *Bridlington* on a Pilgrimage, and caus'd his Forces to be march'd thither; so that they made an Army of an 100000 Men, who were mustered on *Baw-moor*, in order to go against the *Scots*. The Archbishop himself, though unfit to Ride, yet to encourage the Soldiers march'd with them, being carried in a Chariot: But the *Scots* hearing of the Greatness of the *English* Army, which in the King's Absence they thought impossible to be raised, departed in a Fright, and dar'd not stay their Approach, leaving the Sieges unperfect which they had begun.

Fifth Parli-
ment, its
Acts and
Taxes.

About the Feast of *St. Andrew*, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, then Regent of the Nation in the King's Absence, did by his Order call a Parliament at *Westminster* to represent to them the Charge of the War, and obtain further Supplies for carrying it on, which he obtain'd with no Difficulty, viz. a Fifteenth of the Laity and Tenth of the Clergy. Few or no Acts pass'd this Session: But the Tryal and Condemnation of the Lord *Cobham* made it as Remarkable as others, which was after this manner. The Lord *Cobham* having for four Years space shifted from Place to Place to secure himself from his Enemies, but being for the most part in *Wales*, was at length discovered to the Lord *Powis* to be in a part of his Barony, call'd *Powisland*. This Peer, a zealous Patriot of the Church, knowing how acceptable a piece of Service it would be to the King, as well as a Reward to himself, sent a certain Number of Men to seize and apprehend him, but it proved so desperate an Attempt, that they ran great Danger of their Lives; for the said Lord who had been always bred up in War, and a Person of undaunted Courage stood upon his own Defence, and dangerously wounded several of the Aggressors, but being over-powered and disabled by several Wounds he had receiv'd in the Contest, he was at length taken, and being carried up to *London* by the Lord *Powis*, was imprison'd in the *Tower* for his Tryal: With him were taken several Books which seem'd to reflect some Disgrace on the Way of Worship then in Use, viz. Mass-Books with the Faces of the Saints and Heads scraped out, and their Names blotted out of the *Litany*, which were delivered to the Archbishop, and by his Means expos'd to the Sight of the Auditors at the Sermons of *St. Paul's Cross* by the Preachers, who aggravated the Guilt of the Fact, and accus'd him and his Party of doing Injury to the Saints in Heaven. The People being thus wrought upon to think his Death deserved, he was at length brought before the Parliament to be examin'd and try'd; and the former Sentence against him being read, which he did not much oppose, he was condemn'd to be hang'd and burnt, hanging in *St. Giles's Fields*, which Sentence he accordingly suffered upon *Christmas-Day*. The Lord *Powis* who had been the chief Instrument in his Apprehension, had the particular Thanks of the Houses given him for his Pains, and the Parliament took effectual Care to put all former Statutes against the *Lollards* in Execution. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his Convocation then sitting made an Ecclesiastical Constitution, That all Suffragan-Bishops and their Arch-Deacons should twice a Year make a diligent Inquisition after all Persons suspected of Heresy; and for the most certain Discovery of all such Persons,

The Lord
Cobham's
Condemna-
tion and
Death.

A. D.
1418.

their Favourers and Books, he ordered, that they should Swear two or three Persons in every Parish to give a distinct Information, if any such Persons inhabited in their Parishes; thus hoping to crush the whole Sect, now the Head and Leader of them was taken off. But yet notwithstanding this Zeal shew'd for the Doctrine of the Church, it is remarkable, that the same Parliament stood up very manfully against the Encroachments of the Pope: For whereas Pope *Martin V.* had sent over into *England* to require a Tenth of the Clergy to carry on the War against the *Bohemian* Hereticks, they made an Act, That the Church and all Estates of the Realm of *England* should enjoy their Ancient Liberties, which were not Repealed nor Repealable by the Common-Law, by which they chiefly intended to exclude the Pope's Jurisdiction.

In the time of the Regency of the Duke of *Bedford*, Queen *Joan* was accused of a Contivance with her Confessor Fryer *Randolph*, to put the King to Death by Sorcery, and was thereupon apprehended with her Confessor, and she was first Imprison'd in the Castle of *Leeds*, and after in the Castle of *Pemsey*, and he in the *Tower* of *London*, where while he lay he happen'd to fall into an hot Dispute with the Chaplain of *St. Peter's Church* in the said *Tower*, and coming to Blows was slain by him. The Queen was not long after brought to her Tryal, was found innocent of the Crime laid to her Charge, and was thereupon released from her Confinement (n).

A. D.
1418.
Reg. 7.
Queen *Joan*
accused of
Treason.

While these Things were transacting in *England*, the King was busied about the Siege of the Town and Castle of *Falaise*, which he had begun in the beginning of *November*. The Town made a brave Resistance, but being reduced to great Straits for want of Provision, they desired to Capitulate the 20th of *December*, and agreed, that they would resign the Town to the King upon the 2d of *January* if they had no Relief from their King or the *Dauphin*, to which King *Henry* assented, and accordingly the Town was delivered up to him upon these Articles.

I. That all the Strangers that were in the Town should be left to the King's Mercy, and the *English* to his Justice to be punished for their Treason in fighting against their King, as they deserved.

II. That all the *English* Prisoners in the Town should be set at Liberty without any Ransom, acquitted from the Oaths made to them whose Prisoners they were.

III. That no Goods should be carry'd out of the Town, but the Soldiers should depart without any Damage to their Horses or Arms.

IV. That none of the Inhabitants of the Town should receive the Persons or Goods of any within the Castle, nor give any Relief in Victuals or Ammunition to them.

All which Articles were observed, and the King took Possession of the Town: But the Castle still held out; and tho' the King used all the Arts of War to reduce it, yet it kept him out a Month longer, and then beat a Parley, *Feb. 2.* and came to Conditions of Resignation on *Feb. 16.* following, if they had no Relief come to them before that time from their King, *Dauphin*, or Earl of *Arminack*, which not receiving the Castle was put into the King's Hands by Sir *Oliver Manny*, Governour of the Castle, and all the Persons in it resigned themselves to the King's

(n) She was Convicted, and forfeited all her Lands and Goods by Parliament. She was also continu'd in Imprisonment the Term of Ten Years: After that *Randolph* was kill'd.

A. D. 1418. Mercy, who had promised them not to damage them in Life or Goods, and accordingly they were all dismissed and sent away free, only Sir *Oliver Alamy* was detain'd till the Castle was repair'd at his Charge. *Falaise* being thus conquered, the King divided his Army into three Parts, and sent them out under the Conduct of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, to take the lesser Towns in his Way to a greater Attempt which he design'd shortly to Enterprize, which was the Siege of *Roan*, the Chief City of *Normandy*, with which all the Country must be his.

Reg. 6. On *Easter Day* in the Afternoon in *St. Dunstan's Church* in the *East*, in Sermon time, happen'd such a terrible Example of Female Pride as no History can match. The Ladies of the Lord *Strange* and Sir *John Trussel*, two Women of high Spirits and implacable Hatred one to another, met at the Sermon, and being in the same Pew vied so eagerly for Superiority (tho' in that place Humility had been the greatest Sign of Gentility) that thro' their rude Behaviour one to another they caused their Husbands to engage in their Quarrel, and draw their Swords to revenge the Disgrace done to each other's Wife. The Congregation was much alarm'd at this impious Fray, and several Persons who were much troubled at the unseasonable Disturbance of the Publick Devotion of that Day, in which most of the People had receiv'd the Sacrament, bestirred themselves much to appease their Fury and part them, but all in vain. These incensed Gentlemen would not hearken to any Advice, but looked upon them who sought to pacifie them as their Enemies, and wounded several of them, and killed one *Thomas Pedwarden* a Fishmonger, dwelling at *Sprat's Key*. But at length they were both seized for this Fact and imprison'd in the Counter in the *Poultry*. The Archbishop having an Account of this Notorious Misdemeanour, excommunicated the Offenders both in *St. Paul's Church*, and in all the other Parish-Churches of *London*, and suspended the Church wherein it was done from all Holy Services as defiled with Blood, and that a due Penance might be inflicted upon the Authors of it, sat in *St. Magnus Church*, *April* the 21st, upon an Inquisition to examine who were the Persons chiefly concern'd in it. The Lords *Strange* and his Wife upon full hearing were prov'd the Delinquents, and for this Prophane Act enjoyned this following Penance, viz. That on *May* the 1st, all their Servants should go before the Parson of *St. Dunstan's* in their Shirts from *St. Paul's* to his Church, the Lord and Lady following him, the former bare-headed, and the latter bare-footed, *Renald Kenwood* the Arch-Deacon of *London* following them: That at the Consecration of the Church (which they had profaned and polluted) the Lady should fill all the Vessels with Water, and offer an Ornament of Ten Pound Value to the Altar, and her Husband a Pix of Five Pound Value, which being done accordingly by way of a Satisfactory Penance they were absolved. The Murder of *Thomas Pedwarden* in this Examination seems not to have been regarded, because there was no Prosecutor; for the Lord *Strange* had made his Widow a large Satisfaction, and so escaped the Punishment of his Crime.

About this Time the general Council of *Constance* broke up having sat three Years: In it the three Antipopes were all deposed, and *Otho Co-*

lonna was chosen Pope by the Name of *Martin V.* *Richard Clifford*, Bishop of *London* (o) was first nominated for Pope by the Committee appointed by the Council for the Election, for as all the *English* Clergy were reputed among the most Eminent for Learning, so none was thought fitter for Pope than one of them. But the Bishop named, through Modesty and other Considerations, put off the Dignity to the Person who was first named by him and after chosen. The Prior of *St. John* supported the Triple Crown at his Instalment and Coronation. By this Council *Wickliff's* Books were condemn'd for Heretical; *John Huss*, and *Jerom of Prague* (tho' they had the Emperour *Sigismund's* Letters of safe Conduct) were accused, condemn'd and burnt for Heresie, notwithstanding the many Petitions sent by the *Bohemians* to the Council to beg their Lives, and they were much lamented by them. *St. Bridgit* was Canoniz'd, and *England* accounted one of the Five chief Nations of *Europe* and reckon'd before *Spain*.

Normandy being almost all come into the Power of the *English*, the Lawful Proprietors of it, the King resolv'd upon the compleat Conquest of that whole Country, and thereupon sent the Duke of *Gloucester* to besiege *Cherburg* a considerable Port and a strong Town in the Isle of *Constantine*, while his Recruits which he had sent for into *England* of 15000 Men could arrive, with which he intended to Besiege *Roan*, *Cherburg* being very well provided for a Siege which they expected made a strong and valiant Resistance; and tho' the *English* by their Batteries, frequent Assaults, Mines and other Warlike Devices annoy'd the Besieged, and fought an Entrance into it, yet they made such a good Defence, that they kept them out, till at length they were forced by Famine more than the Sword to Condition to deliver up the Town to the King of *England* if no Relief was sent to them within Sixty Days, which they did not doubt of, because the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy*, who had hitherto spent that Time and Force one against another, which should have been employ'd against the Invading Enemy, were made Friends by the Intercession of the Pope and Cardinals, and were at Liberty to mind the Nation's Interest better: But their Hopes and well-grounded Expectations proved in vain, and they were obliged to surrender their Town and Castle the last Day of *November* to the Duke, who made the Lord *Gray of Codnor* the King's Lieutenant there, but dying soon after, Sir *Walter Hungerford* succeeded him. While these Things were doing at *Cherburg* the King receiv'd his Recruits out of *England*, and soon after set forward to Besiege *Roan*, taking some smaller Fortresses in his Way, viz. *Louviers*, and *Pont de Larche*, which standing on each side the *Seine* was with some Difficulty encompassed: But the King by an ingenious Device of Wicker-boats laid over the River begirt it so closely that they were forced to surrender it within Fifteen Days. (p) From *Roan* he hence the King with all his Forces march'd to *Roan*, and sat down before it, *July* the 30th. The Citizens who had long expected this woful Day, had made as strong a Provision as was possible, for they had train'd 15000 of their Body in Arms, and had got a 1000 choice Soldiers from the Duke of *Burgundy*; they had laid into the Town Ten Months Provision, and burnt the Suburbs that they might not be an Harbour or Relief to their Enemies. The King of *England*

(o) The Bishop of *Winchester*, *Henry Beaufort* was nominated before him. *Godw.* p. 147.

(p) The Siege lasted Three Weeks. *Monsirelet.*

A. D. 1418. being come before the Town summon'd the Inhabitants to surrender the Keys to him by *Wind-Reg. 6.* for the Herald; but they gave him this resolute Answer, *That they had received none of him, and therefore would deliver up none to him, and thereupon made a brisk Sally out of the Town upon the King's Forces, but were driven back again with the Loss of thirty of their Men. The King after this made many Assaults upon the Town, but to little or no Purpose; for the Citizens were very Numerous, being above 200000 Men, and behav'd themselves with so much Boldness and Valour (for they had sworn never to resign the City to the English so long as they could hold their Swords in their Hands) that the Besiegers could get no Advantage of them; wherefore it was thought the most prudent Course to block up all Avenues into the City and starve them, which their great Number made them liable to the sooner, and to that end the English Navy which was made up of 100 Sail of Ships, was brought up the Seine to hinder all Relief by Water, and certain Ships sent by the King of Portugal to assist the King were laid at the Seien's Mouth to prevent all access up the River to them. The Lord (q) Kilmahain also came out of Ireland with 1600 Irish Men well Arm'd and Disciplin'd to help the King in this Siege, and they were very Serviceable to the English in the Blockade; for by the help of these Men he kept the City so closely Besieg'd, that there were no Avenues possible to it. While the King lay idle and without Action about the Town, he sent the Earl of Warwick to summons Caudebec, and Fourteen other Fortresses which lay at a small Distance round about, to surrender to him, but they answer'd him, *That they would follow the Fate of Roan, and would resign quietly if that City were taken without Relief*, which the King was contented to yield to, because he could not well spare sufficient Forces to subdue them from Roan, and so much the rather, because the Duke of Burgundy had promised the Inhabitants to raise the Siege. This made the King not only to keep his Army together, but to cast up a Trench round about it, and fill it with Spikes that the French might not Surprise them or remove the Siege. The Duke of Burgundy either not able to attempt so great a Matter, or else despairing of Success did not undertake it, but only sent his Soldiers to annoy the English Conquests at Kilbeuf, Eureux and Laviers, where they were with no great Difficulty repulsed by the English Garrisons. About December, which was full four Months after the Siege was begun, the City of Roan began to be much pressed for Victuals, and put out of their Gates many useless People who consumed their Provisions, but did no good in the Defence of the Place, and they miserably perished under the Walls, because the King of England would not suffer them to pass through the Army, yet in honour to Christ he gave them Relief upon the Day of his Nativity. The Inhabitants of the Town, notwithstanding this Ease of their useless Brethren, yet underwent by Christmas so great a want of Corn and other Food, that they were forced to eat Dogs, Cats, Horses, Rats and Mice, and drink Vinegar; yet they held out so long, that there died above 50000 of Famine, and had not at last yielded had there been any possibility of Relief; but being sorely Oppressed with Famine they came to a Parley upon New-Years-Day, and after several Meetings for Eight Days together, nothing being concluded, the People of the Town were*

so enrag'd with the Governour and Burgeses, because they did not yield to the King of England's Demands, that they threatened to slay 'em and deliver up the City to his Mercy unless they did it speedily: Whereupon they desiring another Meeting, it was fully agreed and accorded,

I. That the City and Castle of Roan should be deliver'd up to the King of England, at any time after Jan. 19. if no Relief came to them before, upon his Demand.

II. That all the Captains and People whatsoever, being and dwelling within the said Town and Castle, should be left entirely to the Mercy of the said King.

III. That they should pay to the said King 300000 Scutes of Gold, of which every two Scutes should be worth an English Noble.

IV. That every Soldier and Stranger being in the said Town or Castle, should swear upon the Evangelists before their Departure, not to bear Arms against the King of England in any Place whatsoever before the First of January next ensuing.

V. That the Inhabitants of the Town should receive the Poor People lying in the Ditches about it to their Habitations, and allow 'em sufficient Provision till Jan. 19.

These Articles with others of less Importance were sealed, Jan. 16. and on the 20th the King entred the City in a most Triumphant manner. The Clergy of the City with Forty Crosses, and Burgers meeting him to welcome him, by whom he was conducted to the Cathedral Church of our Lady to give solemn Thanks for the Conquest of it. Then the King went to the Castle to receive the Homages of the Burgeses, and having made Proclamation, that all Persons that would swear Allegiance to him should enjoy their Lands and Estates, many submitted to him, and he confirm'd all their Liberties and Properties and Priviledges to them. The Captain of the Town Alain Blanchart was beheaded, the Garrison was pillag'd and put out of the Town. Guy de Boutellier, Captain-General of the City-Forces submitted to King Henry, and had his Estate restor'd, and a Place given him under the Duke of Gloucester. Thus was Roan again in the Power of the English, after the French had been Masters of it 215 Years, and King Henry having re-edified the Castle and Walls, and built another strong Tower to keep the Towns-men in their Obedience, made it the Chief Chamber in Normandy, and order'd his Treasury, Mint and Exchequer to be settled there at the Suit of the Bishops and Abbots.

After the Surrender of Roan the several Castles which had agreed to resign upon that Surrender, yielded themselves up to King Henry, and he sent out his Captains to take in others, as Castle-Galliard, Vernon, Nantes, Baudmont, and many others, the King himself remaining still at Roan. The Duke of Burgundy (who rul'd all under the King of France and was upon that account hated by the Dauphin, tho' the outward Signs of Enmity were laid aside) seeing the Current of King Henry's Fortune to be irresistible, desir'd a Conference with him to establish a Peace between the Two Realms, and accordingly a Meeting for them was appointed at Melun and agreed on; but it prov'd nothing but a complimentary Interview, for they came to no Conclusion, because the Demands of the King of England were thought too unreasonable to be comply'd with, whereupon they parted with some Heat: King Henry telling the Duke, *That*

A. D. 1419. Reg. 6. Roan surrendered upon Articles.

Caudebec and other Towns promise to surrender if Roan were taken.

Other Places taken, and some Overtures of Peace made by the Duke of Burgundy and Dauphin.

A. D. 1419.

A. D. 1419. Reg. 6. *he would have his Demands or he would drive them all out of France: And the Duke replying, That he should be weary of it first, and thereupon entertain'd Resolutions to come to a Reconciliation with the Dauphin, that by their united Forces they might put some stop to his Victories. This Meeting enflam'd K. Henry's Courage, and with fresh Vigour he prosecuted the War, for he immediately surpriz'd Ponthoife and got the Town without Resistance; for the Captain Lisle Adam fled with all the Inhabitants, the English having scal'd the Walls and let in 3000 upon them before they could be provided to oppose them. The News of this Conquest being carried to Paris so terrify'd the King, Queen, and Duke of Burgundy that they fled from Paris to Troyes in Champagne, leaving that City under the Command of the Count de St. Paul, and the Chancellor Eustace de Laitre. About Candlemas the King left Roan and went to Eureux, where the Dauphin profered him a Meeting at Dreux to make a Peace, but disappointed the King, so that in great Displeasure he return'd to Eureux, and sent out of the Earl of Warwick to besiege La Roch-guion, which being taken Apr. 6. the King gave the Command of it to Sir Guy Butler, the Duke of Exeter to Castle-Galliard, and the Duke of Gloucester to Ivery, which he obtain'd with the Castle, May 13. The Duke of Clarence won Gisors, and the Earl of Huntington burnt Prieaux, Breteuil, Clermont and the Castle of Vendueil, by all which Conquests the English over-ran all the Country about Chartres, and brought the French into great Distress, which was to all considering Men among 'em the more Insupportable, because there appear'd no Hopes of Recovery.*

King Henry aims to get Paris.

The French endeavour to unite the Dauphin and Burgundy to save Paris.

King Henry having now made great Progress into the Country began to cast his Eye upon Paris, which being the Metropolis of the Nation would be a certain Means to gain the whole, if he could become Master of it, and to that end sent out his Army under the Duke of Clarence to subdue the little Towns that lay in his Passage, as St. Germans-en-Lay, Meulan, Montjoy, and many others, by which having clear'd his Way, he sent the Duke of Clarence to take a View of that City, and tho' he spent two Days in surveying the Walls of it, yet none appear'd against him, they were all so terrified at the Approach of the English. But the more prudent and grave Persons seeing their Danger, and considering that the Fate of France depended upon the Welfare of that City, entred into a Consultation how to secure themselves and save their Nation: And since a Peace had lately been proclaim'd between the Dauphin and Duke of Burgundy in their City and Amiens, they endeavour'd by all means to draw them to unite their Forces that they might rescue the Kingdom from the Power of the Conqueror; for tho' the English had under their Valiant King got no small part of their Country, yet it was chiefly thro' the civil Dissentions of the Heads and Governours of their Nation. They were still strong enough to recover all if they could bring their Leaders to an hearty Union, which they thought it no hard Matter to do by uniting their two Heads together: And to this End by much Labour and Intercession with those two great Persons they brought them to an Interview at Monstreusur-fault-yonne. The Dauphin here not forgetting the Wrongs which he had had from the Duke of Burgundy, whose present Greatness was built upon his Ruins, and was thought as well by others as himself to tend much to his Dishe- rison, believ'd this a seasonable time to vindicate his own Title and Right to the Crown. He

reproach'd him for usurping that Authority which was properly belonging to himself, charging him with breach of Promise in not withdrawing his Garrisons agreed upon to be remov'd by their League of Amity, and continuing the Civil War. The Duke knowing this no seasonable Time for Justification, least it should make a Breach, humbled himself on his Knees to the Dauphin, and made a modest Excuse for his Actions, hoping to pacifie him by a mild Answer and so unite for the Nation's Good; but while he remain'd on his Knees his Sword entangling in his Legs, he laid his Hand upon it to remove it, which the Dauphin's Followers observing immediately cry'd out, *Do you draw your Sword against the Dauphin?* At which Words Tanneguy de Chastel, a Knight in great Favour with the Dauphin, struck him with his Battle-Ax and cut off his Chin, and others encourag'd by his Example fell upon him with their Swords and kill'd him. This Fact made the Breach wider than before, and the Dauphin got himself a more zealous and furious Party of Enemies than ever, for the Queen was enraged for the Loss of her Favourite, and the Earl of Charilois of his Father, who being encourag'd to revenge his Death by her, was resolv'd by all means to prosecute so bloody and barbarous a Murder, which was the more Odious to all Men, because it was committed under the sacred Shew of Friendship, and so it tended much to the Damage of the Publick, which the Duke neglected his Guard to unite for the Defence of.

A. D. 1419. Reg. 7.

The Duke of Burgundy slain.

While the Union between the Duke of Burgundy and Dauphin was thus driving on, King Henry was very Active to compleat his Conquests, and strengthen himself against their conjoin'd Forces, like a wise Prince providing against the utmost Danger which could be suspected; for after he had taken several other Towns, as Veulquissin, Chaumont, Neufle and Dangu, he put strong Garrisons into them, and put them under the Command of such of his Captains as he knew most faithful to himself, most amulous of the English Honour, and most courageous in the most daring Attempts. Normandy which was now wholly under his Power unless Mount St. Michael, he was as careful to keep in their Obedience by putting their chief Towns into his best Friends Hands, viz. he made the Lord Bouchier his Lieutenant at Deep, the Earl of Warwick at Amarl, Sir John Gedding at Cherburg, and others of like Fidelity in other Principal Towns. The King himself kept his Christmas at Roan, having a stout Army about him ready to oppose any Accidents or sudden Assaults. But when he saw that the desir'd Union between the Dauphin and Duke of Burgundy was quite broken by the Murder of the latter, he than began to be secure against any present Resistance, and sent out part of his Army under the Earl of Salisbury to besiege Tresny, which resisted them courageously, but was at length surrendred up to him for the King's Use; the Earls of Marshal and Huntington, Sir John Green-Cornwal, Sir Philip Leech, and divers others to subdue the Country of Maine, where the Dauphin had a Garrison at Mens, and a strong Force in the adjoining Territories: With these the English were encountred briskly, but after a sharp Battel became Conquerours, with the Slaughter of 5000 French Men, and taking 200 Prisoners, among whom was the Marshal de Rous, and dives other Persons of Eminency. The greatest part also of the Country came into their Power.

A. D. 1420.

Maine subdued by the English.

These Successes following upon the former soon brought the Queen and Young Duke of Bur-

A. D. 1420. Reg. 7. *Queen of France and Duke of Burgundy resolve to make a Peace with h. Henry.*

Burgundy to a Resolution in their Design, which was to revenge themselves upon the *Dauphin* for the Murther of the old Duke of *Burgundy* his Father. Fortune had made *Henry* so much her unchangeable Favourite, that they judg'd it in vain to oppose the Current of his Victories. It seem'd to them to be an immutable Decree of the Fates, that *France* must be subject to him; and therefore they thought it much better to submit upon the best Terms they could make, than spin out a little Time and come under the Conquerour's Will; for by this means the King might perhaps hold his Crown for Life (which was as much as he need desire, the *Dauphin* being so undutiful and unworthy to Inherit) and the Blood of Thousands of People be sav'd which otherwise must necessarily perish in the Quarrel. Wherefore it was fully resolv'd and agreed upon by the Queen, Duke, and all their Party, who were then at *Troyes* in *Champaign*, that Ambassadors should be sent to the King of *England* to treat about a Peace for the good of both Sides, and Preservation of the Kingdom, which was accordingly done presently: But King *Henry* being often before deluded with the *French* Men's pretended Offers of Peace, would give no heed to their Proposals, as being intended only to stop the Current of his Arms, which he would by no means suffer to be interrupted, and therefore sent them away without an Answer according to their Desires, and went on in his Conquests, which scarce a Day passed but he something enlarg'd, and he never accepted but with a very thankful Heart to God the Giver of them. The Return of the *French* Ambassadors was very unacceptable at *Troyes*; but understanding that the former delusive Tender made by the *Dauphin* and the Old Duke of *Burgundy* were the Cause of the King's Distrust, and not any Averseness in himself either from his Vain-glory or Success, they dispatch'd the same Ambassadors back again to assure King *Henry* of the Queen and Duke of *Burgundy*'s real Intentions, and their Willingness to come to a Peace as Honourable and Advantageous to him, as they desir'd it should be Safe to them. King *Henry*, hearing this, was not willing to be thought Implacable and Cruel; and tho' he came over into *France* to gain his Inheritance by Conquest, yet 'twould be much better to obtain it peaceably if it were possible, especially since the Continuance of the Quarrel would cause the Effusion of so much Christian Blood on both Sides, began to listen to their Proposals, and sending the Earl of *Warwick* and Bishop of *Rochester* to the Duke of *Burgundy* to be better ascertain'd in Matters, after Two or Three times passing backward and forward, and much Intercession made by the Bishop of *Arras*, and other Persons of Quality, they at length came to an Agreement on certain Articles upon Condition, That the *French* King and his Parliament or Assembly of Estates would assent to them, which could not be much doubted of since all Things at Court were managed by the Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Friends: However for Form sake King *Henry* sent a solemn Embassy to the Duke of *Burgundy*, sufficiently Authorized to treat and conclude of all Matters then under Debate, who was to conduct 'em to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, where the *French* King then was, to procure his Confirmation of them. The Persons employ'd in this great Affair were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Lord *Fanbope*, the Lord *Fitz-bugh*,

Sir *John Robsert*, and Sir *Philip Hall*, who arriv'd at *Troyes*, March 11. in the Company of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and after a few Days entering into Consultation with the *French* Ministers, it was agreed and concluded between them, that King *Henry* should come to *Troyes* and marry the Lady *Katherine*, and after the Celebration of the Marriage a firm Peace, already concluded, and finish'd upon certain Articles, should then be seal'd and fully ratified by both Kings, and all the Nobles of the Realm of *France*, and other Estates, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and also the Cities and Commonalties, Citizens and BURGESSSES that were at that Time subject to the *French*, the King should take their Corporal Oath for the due and true Observation of them.

The Model of the Treaty being thus drawn up in the full Sense and Purport of it, tho' not reduced to Form, the Embassadors for the King of *England* return'd again to their Master, leaving only Sir *John Robsert* behind to attend on the Princess *Katherine*, and gave him a full Account of what had passed, and how far they had gone in the Peace; with which King *Henry*, who was then at *Roan*, was so well contented, that he immediately gave Order for a speedy Preparation for his going to *Troyes*; and all Things being ready, he began his Journey, May 8. He was accompany'd with his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Devon*, *Tankervil* and *Longevil*, with (r) 15000 Men of War. He went from *Roan* to *Ponthoise*, and by *St. Dennis* to *Charenton*, where he passed the Bridge over the *Seine*, but left a strong Detachment under the Command of Sir *William Gascoigne* to keep the Passage. Then entering *Brie* in *Champaigne* he besieg'd and took the Town of *Crispy* which was kept against him by the *Dauphin*'s Party, hanging the Chief Governor, and carrying some others of the Principal Men Prisoners with him. From hence he passed by *Provins* and *Nogent* to *Troyes*. He was met by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and a great Number of the Nobility Two Leagues from the Town, and by them conducted to his Lodgings prepar'd for his Reception. He arriv'd, May 18. and after Two or Three Days rest to refresh himself, he went to visit the *French* King and Queen and Princess *Katherine*, and within few Days being affianced to the Princess *Katherine* in *St. Peter's* Church, the Agreement before concluded by this Embassadors was alter'd in many Particulars, and then sign'd and fully ratified, both Kings swearing upon the Holy Evangelists inviolably to observe and keep all the Conditions and Covenants therein Specified and Concluded. After this the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Nobles present took an Oath to King *Henry*, who by the Articles sign'd was to have the Regency of *France* during the King's Life, and after him to enjoy the Sovereign Power of that Kingdom absolutely for himself and Heirs, in this Form.

Ego Philippus Burgundia Dux, &c. which is Duke of thus render'd into English: I Philip, Duke of *Burgundy* do swear upon the Holy Evangelists, for my self and my Heirs, to Henry, King of *England*, and Regent of *France* (s) under King *Charles*, that We will humbly and faithfully obey King *Henry* in all Things which concern the Crown and Civil Government of *France*, and after the Death of King *Charles* our present Sovereign will be faithful and obedient Subjects to the said King *Henry* and his Successors for ever; nor will we receive or quietly submit to any other King of *France* but King *Henry* and

A. D. 1420. Reg. 7.

Reg. 8.

King Henry goes to Troyes to marry the Lady Katherine.

Peace concluded between King Henry and the French King.

(r) Others say 1600. Godw. p. 264.

(s) His Title was Regent and Heir of France. Ibid. 269.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. his lawful Heirs; Neither will we be aiding, or enter into Council with, or consent to any Persons or Things, whereby the said King Henry or his Successors may have Damage in Life or Member; but if any such Design come to our Knowledge, we will endeavour either by Letters or Messengers to discover the same to them, that they may most effectually provide against it. The same Oath did all the Bishops and Peers of France then present take to King Henry, and then upon the Third (t) of June, being the Monday after Trinity-Sunday, the Marriage between King Henry and the Princess Katherine was solemniz'd and compleated, and King Henry thereupon declar'd and proclaim'd Regent and Heir to the Crown of France. After these Things King Henry entertain'd the King, Queen, and all the Peers of France which had sworn Allegiance to him, and attended his Nuptials, at a Magnificent Banquet, and at the Table declar'd, That as it had been the main Subject of his Labours and Endeavours to unite the Kingdom of France and England under One Government, which now by God's Providence he had effected, so it should be his daily Care to rule them both with that Justice, and in that Order as may make them the Happiest Monarchy upon Earth: And tho' I am an English Man born, yet much French Blood runs in my Veins, which with that fresh Alliance that I have to you by Marriage so inclines my Affections to you, that you may assure your selves of an equal Share of my Favours and Love as my natural Subjects of England; and so long as you defend my Right by your Aid and Assistance, you shall never fail of that Love and Defence which may be expected from your King, who like a Father of your Country will cherish and protect you as his Children. When the Banquet was ended the Kings and Queens tarry'd a few Days at Troyes, and then took their Journey to Paris, where they were receiv'd with outward Demonstrations of Joy and Welcome, and the English were entertain'd with Feastings by the Parisians.

King Henry Fealts the French King and Peers, and promises his Care and Favour to them, as to his Subjects of England.

The Articles of Peace between King Henry and the French King at large.

Peace being thus settled in both the Kingdoms of France and England to the general Satisfaction of the Subjects of both, it was thought necessary by King Henry that Copies of the Treaty thus made should be fairly Written, and being sent into every City and Market-Town in both Kingdoms be proclaim'd and openly publish'd to all Persons; which Articles, because they shew not only how honourable a Conclusion King Henry made of the War, and how very careful he was to satisfy his People in important Matters of State, but also the Right and Title which the Kings of England then had and still have to the Crown of France, it is convenient to set them down all particularly in the Form that King Henry sent them into England, and in which they were Publish'd in London, June 23. 1420.

Henry by the Grace of God King of England, Heir and Regent of France, and Lord of Ireland, to all Christian People, and all Our Loving Subjects.

WE being desirous to have it kept in perpetual Remembrance, do hereby Notifie, Publish and Declare, That altho' there have been many Treaties of Peace between the Most Excellent Prince Charles, the present King of France, Our Father and Us, without any Good Effect; yet We considering the great Harms and Damages that have redounded, not only to the Subjects of both Realms of France and England, but to the Holy Church by the long Wars

and Divisions between them, have at length made and concluded a Peace with our said Father in Manner and Form following, viz.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8

I. That since by the Marriage of our dearly belov'd Queen Katherine, the above-mention'd Charles, King of France, and his Queen Isabel are made Our Father and Mother, We will honour them as Our Father and Mother above all Kings and Princeesses of the World.

II. That We will not disturb or disseize, but quietly suffer the said King and Queen Our Father and Mother to enjoy and hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of France, with all the Rents and Profits, Dignities and Prerogatives belonging to the same during their Natural Lives.

III. That the Lady Katherine Our Queen shall have and enjoy such a Dower in England as the Queens of England in Times past were wont to receive, viz. Forty Thousand Scutes yearly, of which every Two shall be in Value an English Noble.

IV. That the Annual Payment of the said Forty Thousand Scutes shall be secur'd to our said Queen Katherine by the Laws and Customs of the Realm, that it may be constantly and duly paid to her after Our Death, if Our said Queen shall over-live Us.

V. That Our said Queen Katherine, if she survive Us, shall immediately after our Death, have and receive for her Dower out of the Kingdom of France the Sum of Twenty Thousand Franks yearly, of and from the Lands and Lordships that Blanch, Wife to Philip, the Grand-father of King Charles did hold and enjoy.

VI. That during the Life of King Charles, King Henry shall not assume the Title of King of France, and that the French King shall in Writings entitle him, Our Thrice Noble Son Henry, King of England, and Heir of France.

VII. That after the Death of King Charles Our said Father, the Crown and Realm of France with all the Rights and Appurtenances thereof shall come, descend, and remain to Us and Our Heirs for ever.

VIII. That his Queen Isabel Our Mother, in case she shall survive him, shall keep her Estate and Title, and all such Rights and Revenues, as Blanch the Wife of Philip Our Grand-father enjoy'd and held.

IX. That since Our said Father is unable thro' Sickness and various Distempers of Body to attend to the Government of his said Realm of France, the Management and Disposal of all publick Matters and Affairs in the said Realm shall be invested in Us, with the Advice and Council of such of the Peers of France as we shall think meet to consult with, to whom it shall be Lawful for Us to join some of the English Nobility, if thought convenient.

X. That the said King Henry as Regent of France, will labour and endeavour diligently and faithfully to manage the Government of the Realm of France in such manner, as shall make most for the Honour of God, the Establishment of Divine Worship, the Prosperity of Our said Father and Mother, and common good of the People.

XI. That we will by Our Power cause that the Court of Parliament in France, shall retain and keep their accustomed Sovereignty and Authority, in all Places subject to Our said Father Charles now King of France.

XII. That we according to Our Power will Protect and Defend, all and every of the Peers,

Nobles,

(t) The 30th of May. Ibid. 270.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. Nobles, Cities, Towns, Bodies Corporate, and Single Persons, now, or in Time to come subject to the King of *France* in all their Rights, Customs, Privileges, Freedoms and Franchises belonging and due to them in all manner of Places subject to Our Father the King of *France*.

XIII. That we will diligently and carefully provide that Justice be administred, and equally distributed to all Persons impartially in the said Realm of *France*, according to the Rights, Laws and Customs of the said Realm, and that We will preserve Our said Subjects in Tranquility and Peace, and defend them to the utmost of Our Power from the Violence and Oppression of all their Enemies.

XIV. That We will according to the best of Our Skill and Judgment prefer no other Persons to the Administration of Justice, or Offices of Trust in the Government, but such as are able and skilful in the Laws of the Realm, and of undoubted Integrity, that all Persons may receive impartial Justice from them.

XV. That We will with all Our Might endeavour, as soon as conveniently may be, to reduce to the Obedience of Our said Father, all Cities, Towns, Castles, Places, Countries and Persons within the Realm of *France*, as are now Disobedient and Rebels to Our said Father, siding with the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Arminack*.

XVI. That for the more effectual Accomplishment of this Our Design, it is Accorded and Agreed, That all the Nobles and other Estates of the Realm of *France*, as well Temporal as Spiritual, which are at this Day Obedient to Our said Father, shall take this Oath following to Us.

1. That they shall all, and every One of them, in their several Places and Degrees, be Subject and Obedient to Us, having the Rule and Government of the Realm in all Our lawful Commands, and Impositions for the Common Profit.

2. That all the Peers and Nobles of the Realm of *France*, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as also the Citizens, Burgeses and Commons, shall and will keep and observe whatsoever concerneth them in their Degrees, in the Treaty made between Our Father and Us.

3. That, from and after the Death of Our said Father King *Charles*, they will receive Us or Our Heirs, as their Sovereign and the very King of *France*, and that they will not be in Council with, nor consent to, or help any that shall conspire against Us, our Throne or Dignity, but if they know of any such Persons shall oppose it according to their Powers, and discover it as soon as they can to Us, that we may prevent it.

4. That all manner of Conquests that shall be made upon the said Rebels and disobedient Persons (except it be in the Dutchy of *Normandy*) shall be for the Profit of Our said Father *Charles*, but that all manner of Lands and Lordships of Persons who have sworn, or shall swear to obey Our said Father and Us, and keep the Articles of this present League, shall be restor'd to the said Persons again in all our Conquests.

XVII. That all Ecclesiastical Persons who are Benefic'd in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, or in any other Places subject to our Father the King of *France*, who shall favour the Party of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and swear to keep this present Treaty, shall peaceably enjoy their Benefices and Preferments in Holy Church, as well in *Normandy* as elsewhere.

XVIII. That all manner of Churches, Universities, Studies General, and all Colleges of Studies, and other Colleges of Holy Church, be-

ing in Places subject to our Father, or in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, shall enjoy their Rights and Possessions, Rents, Prerogatives, Liberties and Franchises belonging or due to them in any wise in the said Realm of *France*, saving the Rights of the Crown.

XIX. That when it shall please God that We come to the Crown of *France*, then the Dutchy of *Normandy* and all other Places conquer'd by Us shall be annex'd to the Monarchy of *France*, and pay their Obedience and Submission to the Kings thereof.

XX. That Recompence shall be made by our said Father, or by Us, when We shall by God's Grace arrive at the Crown of *France*; if it be not made in our said Father's Life-time to all such Persons as obey him, and favour the Party of the Duke of *Burgundy*, for the Lands, Lordships, Rents and Possessions taken from them by Conquest, either in the Dutchy of *Normandy* or elsewhere, and if the said Lands, Lordships, Rents or Possessions belonging to such Persons in the said Dutchy and other Places be not restor'd by Us, they shall have lawful Power to enter upon them without further Delay.

XXI. That during our Father's Life in all Places subject to him, all Letters of Common Justice, and all Grants of Offices, Gifts, Pardons, Remissions and Privileges shall be given out, and written in the Name of our Father, and if it be necessary in any Case to do otherwise, and write any Letters or Grants in our own Name, we shall take care to add our Father's Name, and our selves as Regent of *France*.

XXII. That we will not lay any Taxes or Impositions upon the Subjects of our Father without reasonable and necessary Causes, and for the Common Good of the Realm of *France* according to the Laws and Customs of the said Realm.

XXIII. That We will cause, that by the Assent of the Parliament of both Realms it shall be ordain'd and enacted, That from the Time that We or our Heirs shall obtain the Crown of *France*, both the Crowns of *England* and *France* shall be united under one Person, that is to say, From and after the Decease of our said Father to Us, and from and after our Death, to our Heirs successively, and that both Realms shall be govern'd not severally under divers Kings, but under the same Person, which for the Time shall be King of both Realms, reserving nevertheless to either of the said Kingdoms their Rights, Usages, Customs, Liberties and Laws, and not making either Kingdom subject in any wise to the Rights or Customs of the other.

XXIV. That We will from henceforth take effectual Care, that all, and all manner of Dissentions, Hatred, Rancours, Envy and Wars between the Realms of *England* and *France* and the People of the said Realms shall cease, and a perpetual Friendship and Concord be establish'd between the said Realms.

XXV. That the Two Nations being united in Common Friendship, shall help and assist each other against all Men that shall attempt any Harms or Wrongs against them, or any of them with all their Forces, Councils and Assistance.

XXVI. That both the said Nations shall freely Converge and Traffick together, with all manner of Merchandize, paying the usual Customs in the said Nations.

XXVII. That all the Confederates and Allies both of our Father the King of *France* and his Realm, and also our Confederates of our Realm of *England* shall, within Eight Months after the Publick Declaration of this Peace, declare by

A. D. 1420. their Letters, that they desire to come under the Articles of the said Treaty, saving nevertheless their Obedience to either of the said Crowns, and the Rights and Revenues to Us and our Subjects, and our Father and his Subjects, against all his and our Allies and Confederates.

XXVIII. That neither our Father, nor our Brother the Duke of Burgundy shall begin or make any Treaty, Peace, or Accord with Charles, who calls himself the Dauphin of Vienna, but by the Counsel and Assent of all, and each of Us Three, or of the Three States of either of the said Realms above-mention'd.

XXIX. That We with the Assent of our said Brother the Duke of Burgundy, and other the Nobles and Peers of the Kingdom of France, who ought to be consulted with in that Case, shall Constitute and Appoint, for the Governance of our said Father, such Persons as shall be most suitable to the State and Degree of our said Father, and will be careful to promote the Worship of God, Honour of our said Father, and Good of the Common-wealth.

XXX. That all manner of Persons, both Nobles and Gentlemen who give any Attendance, or shall hold any Office about our said Father, shall be such as have been born in the Realm of France, or Places thereunto belonging, wise, true and able to do him Service, and that our said Father shall reside in the Places subject to him, and no where else.

XXXI. That we for the Things aforesaid, and every One of them will give our Assent by our Letters Patents seal'd with our Seal unto our said Father with the Approbation and Confirmation of Us, and all other of our Blood-Royal, and of all the Cities and Towns obedient to Us; and our said Father shall do the like to Us for himself, Peers, and all other his Subjects under his Obedience.

Given at Troyes (u) the 30th Day of May, 1420.

Sign'd, Seal'd, Concluded and Agreed between the said Two Kings in the Presence of Queen Isabel, the Duke of Burgundy, the French King's Council, the Prince of Orange, Seigneur Chabailleux, Marshal of France, with many others of the Chief Nobility both of England and France, both the Kings with the Queen taking a Solemn Oath upon the Holy Evangelists for the Observation of them, and the Duke of Burgundy and the other Nobility, swearing Homage to K. Henry, as the Regent of France (in the Form above-mention'd.)

The Peace
receiv'd in
England
with Joy.

The News of this Peace in England was entertain'd with an universal Joy, and a solemn Procession was Celebrated at London, at which a Sermon was Preach'd at St. Paul's Cross, in which the Preacher shew'd the Advantageous Effects of the King's Marriage, and the Peace which has ensu'd upon it. That the King had obtain'd the Kingdom of France with equal Honour, as if he had won it all by the Sword, but with less Expence of Blood and Treasure to the English: That tho' indeed he was at present but Regent of France under his Father-in-law King Charles, yet he was to bear the Arms of France with the English, and exercised the Authority of a King tho' he had only the Name, and was declar'd Heir apparent of the Crown, which was as much as K. Henry, who is a Pious Prince, could reasonably desire, having marry'd the

Daughter of the French King, whom to Depose wholly would have been as Dishonourable to himself as Barbarous to his Father, and therefore could not decently be done.

Besides the League made between K. Henry and the French King, and whole Body of the Realm of France, there was also a Private League made between King Henry and the Duke of Burgundy to this Effect, and under these Articles.

I. That the Duke of Burgundy should to the utmost of his Power procure, that the Peace lately concluded between King Henry and King Charles should be observ'd and kept in all its Covenants and Articles. In consideration of which one of King Henry's Brothers should marry one of the Duke of Burgundy's Sisters.

II. That King Henry should ever shew a particular Favour to the said Duke of Burgundy as his most dear Brother, and support him in all his Rights.

III. That the said Duke of Burgundy after the Decease of King Charles should take an Oath of Fidelity to be true to King Henry and his Heirs, according to the Form of the League before-mention'd, and should in all Things be a Friend to King Henry and his Heirs for ever.

IV. That King Henry should do his utmost endeavours that due Punishment be inflicted upon the Murtherers of John late Duke of Burgundy, as well upon Charles, who calls himself the Dauphin, as upon all others that shall be found Guilty of the said Murther.

V. That if the Dauphin should chance to be taken either in Battel or in any Town besieg'd, or if any other chanc'd to be taken that should be found Guilty of or Privy to the Murther of the said Duke John, he shall not be released without a just Punishment for so foul a Fact, nor without the Consent of the Two Kings of France and England, Charles and Henry, and of the Three Estates of both Realms.

VI. That in consideration of the Fidelity and Diligence of the said Duke of Burgundy in settling the Peace and furthering the Marriage of King Henry, the said King Henry should labour with King Charles and Queen Isabel, that the said Duke may have an Annual Fee of Twenty Thousand Pound Parisien settled upon him by Patent from King Charles, and assign'd to him out of such Lands as border'd upon his Country, to be by him, his Lady and his Heirs-males enjoy'd for ever; and if he could not bring it to pass before King Henry should obtain the Crown of France himself, then he should cause the same to be perform'd at the receiving of his Homage.

Thus did the Duke of Burgundy revenge his Father's Death upon the Dauphin, and by his Serviceableness so advanced his own Interests with the King of England, that he was in Gratitude oblig'd to reward bountifully the Assistance he had lent him.

The Progress of the King of England's Settlement by the Treaty was not unknown to the Dauphin and his Followers, who tho' they could not but be displeased at these Proceedings, yet neither fear'd nor fainted, hoping for the Reverse of Fortune when all this Clue should be unravell'd and this curious Train defeated, but they were not insensible that they were in great Danger from King Henry's Power, which was very terrible before, and was now grown almost irresistible. Wherefore they call'd a General Consultation to consider, what was best to be done for their own Security in this difficult Juncture. They despair'd to do any good by Oppo-

A. D. 1420.
Reg. 8.

A League
between K.
Hen. and
the Duke of
Burgundy.

The Dauphin
displeas'd at
the Peace
with K. Hen.

(u) The 21st of May. Ibid. 268.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. *fiction when they were so much over-match'd in Power and could only provide for their own Safety, till Fortune should give a more favourable Opportunity of advancing their Cause. All therefore that could be resolv'd on was this, That the Dauphin's Life, upon which all their Hopes depended, should be in no case hazzarded, and that such Towns and Strong-holds as continu'd firm on their Side, and were most able to secure themselves and annoy their Enemies, should be better fortified, and so they would wait Fortune's Leisure, and stand only upon their Defence. The Burgundian Faction, who were most in Favour with King Henry, were equally Zealous to apprehend the Dauphin who had kill'd the Duke of Burgundy's Father, and therefore the Dauphin's Friends would not suffer him to go out with any Party, nor attempt any thing of Hazard, but kept him under strong Guards to preserve him.*

R. Henry endeavours to subdue the Dauphin and his Party. *King Henry having now arriv'd almost at the highest pitch of his Desires, had nothing to darken his Glory or Power in the least, but the Dauphin and his Party who were considerable for little but their Obstinacy: For their Number was small and their Strength not able to do much, save that they held out, and upon any Change or Discontent might easily increase into a formidable Body: Wherefore as soon as the Formalities and Solemnities of his Marriage were over, he set himself to reduce the Dauphin and his Party, and on June the 7th he began with the Siege of Sens, whither he went himself in Person with his Queen, Father and Mother, and Dukes of Clarence and Burgundy. It was a Town of good Strength, but made a very faint Opposition; for before the English could make any Assaults upon it they surrendred upon Condition, That all Persons should have their Lives spared, except the Murtherers of the Duke of Burgundy, if any of them should be found in the Town. From hence King Henry march'd to Montereau-faut-Yonne, and laid Siege against it. In this Town which was very strong and very firm to the Dauphin, was John, late Duke of Burgundy slain, and lay buried, which was the Reason that the Duke of Burgundy sat down with the firmer Resolution to take it, because he would interr his Father's Body more Decently. The Town was not daunted with the Approach of King Henry, but resolv'd upon a vigorous Opposition, yet held out but a few Days, because the English having receiv'd a fresh Recruit of Soldiers out of England under the Command of the Duke of Bedford, follow'd them with continual Assaults, so that the Place was taken by Force, June 23. but the Castle being well Victual'd and Mann'd would not surrender, and therefore the Siege was remov'd thither. While the Castle held out, the Duke of Burgundy was inform'd where his Father was buried, and thereupon commanded his Corps to be taken up, and being Embalm'd was carried to Dijon in his Dutchy of Burgundy, and there magnificently Entomb'd among his Ancestors. The Castle still stood out, and King Henry being willing to preserve it, sent Twenty Gentlemen whom he had taken in the Town, and who had render'd themselves Obnoxious to his Displeasure by abusing the King's Herald when he was sent to require them to yield, to perswade the Captain, whose Name was Guily, a valiant French Man, and true Friend of the Dauphin's to surrender, being threatned, that if they did not prevail they should be all hang'd. These Gentlemen were Guily's Friends, and true Men to their Country; but being in danger of Life, and seeing his Opposition to so great Forces fruitless, begg'd of him on their Knees, that he would surrender the Castle and save their Lives and his own, which otherwise would be lost. Guily was deaf to their Desires; whereupon the Petitioners were all hang'd in his Sight, yet he sav'd his own Life, tho' he held out the Castle long, by a Capitulation, that all should have their Lives, but such as were guilty of the Duke of Burgundy's Murther, upon the Delivery up of the Castle to him. Montereau being thus gain'd King Henry stopp'd not here, but following the Course of his Victory remov'd his Siege to Melun, a strong Town in the Isle of France which held with the Dauphin, and sat down before it, July the 13th. The Garrison which was 700 had well fortified themselves, and had very brave Commanders, viz. Seignior Barbason, a Gascoigne of approv'd Valour and Conduct, Pierre de Bourbon, a Prince of the Blood, Monsieur Preaux and Bourgeois. At the first Approaches of the King's Army Barbason call'd all his Soldiers to him with the Towns-men, who were equally concern'd to maintain the Siege, and having encourag'd them to behave themselves Valiantly against their Enemies, warn'd them all on pain of Death not to make any Motion, much less treat about surrendring the Town, or coming to any Composition or Agreement, until they had first acquainted him their Captain with it, and so set himself to the Defence of it. The King of England on the other side having a very strong Army commanded by his Brothers the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester, Burgundy and Barr, and being accompany'd with the Young King of Scots, Prince of Orange, his Father-in-law the French King, and many other great Persons, was as diligent in plying the Siege, which as it was likely to prove Difficult, so would produce a more noble Victory. The French Queen and her Daughter the Queen of England, with the Dutcheß of Burgundy lay during the Siege at Corbeil, and made divers Visits to their Husbands and Friends who lay about the City, whom the King of England nobly Entertain'd in his Camp. To this Siege for the King's Assistance came the Duke of Bavaria, who had married Queen Katherine's Sister, with 700 Men well accoutred, who being retain'd in the King's Service behav'd themselves very well. King Henry being thus provided with an Army, sought out all means by Mines, frequent Batteries, and Assaults to win the Town, but was so valiantly Opposed and Countermin'd, that he saw small Hopes of getting it otherwise than by starving them. While he lay before the Town, it chanc'd that two of the English Lords began a Contention about entering a new Mine, which to decide, the King himself went in first, and meeting there with the Lord Barbason fought with him over the Barriers made in the Mine by the French for that Purpose. The King and Lord engag'd each other with equal Courage, and having got little Advantage on either part discover'd themselves, and so parted with Admiration of each others Valour. After this the King begirt the Town in on all sides to prevent Relief, and laid a Bridge over the Seine to stop any Passage into it that way, and to uphold an Intercourse between the Armies on each. The Besieged made many brave Sallies, but were as bravely Repulsed though with Loss on both sides. The King of France himself came into the Camp of King Henry, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, which they ow'd him as their Natural Lord, to resign the Town to his Son the King of England; but they answer'd, That if he*

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. *Melun besieged.*

Sens surrendred.

The Town and Castle of Montereau taken.

The Duke of Burgundy's Body taken up and carried to Dijon.

A. D. 1420. *were at Liberty, and free from King Henry's Power, who was their Enemy, they would do him the Duty of Subjects, and obey him in all Things, as their Sovereign, but being as he was, they desir'd to be excus'd, for they would never yield to the Mortal Enemy of France.* But though no Humane Force nor Persuasions could prevail with stout *Barbason's* Heart to submit to his Enemy; yet the Inflictions of Heaven, Pestilence and Famine turn'd his Resolutions, and he came to a Capitulation upon these Conditions.

Melun surrender'd upon Conditions.

I. That the Town and Castle of *Melun* being deliver'd up to the King of *England*, both the Soldiers and Burgeffes should submit themselves to his Pleasure, to be dealt with as he should think fit.

II. That all such Persons as should be found Guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murther, should suffer Death.

III. That all the rest of the Soldiers should be receiv'd to Mercy, but should remain Prisoners until they should put in sufficient Securities for their faithful Obedience for the future.

IV. That the Natives of *France* should be dismissed to their own Homes.

V. That all the Moveables and Arms in the Town should be carry'd into the Castle.

VI. That all the Prisoners that had been taken during the Siege, or before, should be set at Liberty without a Ransom, and acquitted of all Promises.

VII. That Twelve Captains and Six Burgeffes should be Hostages for the Performance of these Articles.

VIII. That all the *English* and *Scots* should be deliver'd up to K. *Henry*, and left to his Mercy.

Thus was *Melun* resign'd up to King *Henry* about the midst of *November*, and most of the Besieged sent under the Conduct of the Duke of *Clarence* to *Paris*, of which the *French* King had made him Captain, and gave him Possession of the *Louvre*, *Bastile* of *St. Anthony*, *Hôtel* of *Nesle*, and *Bois de Vincennes*, where he placed *English* Garrisons. Among the Prisoners which were 600 and more, was Monsieur *Barbason*, *Pierre de Bourbon*, and *Seignior de Preaux*. King *Henry* put an *English* Garrison into *Melun*, and left it under the Command of *Pierre de Verrolt*, a valiant *French* Man, going himself by *Corbeil* where his Queen and Mother lay during the Siege, whom he took along with him to *Paris*, where they were receiv'd with Processions, and all other Magnificent Solemnities, and convey'd to their Palaces, King *Henry* and his Queen to the *Louvre*, and King *Charles* and his Queen to the *Hotel de St. Paul*, an homely mean One in comparison of the former.

The D. of *Burgundy's* Murcherers punished with Death.

The first Thing done after their Arrival at *Paris* was to put the Murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy* to Death, of which several of the Captives were found Guilty, and were accordingly Punish'd, and among them Two Monks, *Bertrand de Chermont*, a *Gascoigne*, much in favour with King *Henry*, was also punish'd with them with Death, because he had at the King's Entrance into *Melun* convey'd away one *Amenion de Lau*, who was prov'd guilty of the same Crime. The Duke of *Burgundy* himself, and the Duke of *Clarence* had much interceded with the King to save his Life, but could not prevail; for though the King protested he had rather have lost 50000 of his Nobles, yet he resolv'd that he should suffer Death to be an Example of Terror to all those, who out of Presumption of their Prince's Favour would venture to do Things Offensive to him, and Prejudicial to the Publick: And accordingly he was Executed with them.

While the Two Kings, *Charles* and *Henry* King of *England* remain'd at *Paris*, a great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobles met in the great Hall of the *Hotel* of *St. Paul*, where a Magnificent Seat of Justice under one Cloth of State was erected for both the Kings, as Supreme Judges of all Matters which might be examin'd in this Assembly. The main Design of this Parliament being to ratifie the late Alteration made by the Marriage and Peace with King *Henry*, very few or no Laws were made, but only every Member of the Assembly was sworn severally to keep, support, maintain and defend the Treaty and Final Agreement which was lately made and concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and every Noble Man, Spiritual Governour and Temporal Ruler set their Seals to certain Instruments containing the Sum of this Engagement and Oath, which Instruments were sent to the King's Treasury of the Exchequer at *Westminster* to be safely kept, and there they still remain. The *French* King also himself, being then in perfect Health of Body, and Soundness of Mind, publickly own'd and declar'd, That the said Treaty and Agreement was made with his full and free Assent, and with Advice and Consent of all his Council of *France*, and that he for his Part would observe it, as his Heirs and Successors were obliged to do, in all its Articles and Parts; and that he did strictly require, That all his Subjects of what Degree soever, should observe it, and do nothing prejudicial to it.

To this Parliament did the Dutcheß of *Burgundy*, and her Son the Duke of *Burgundy* send their Advocates, *Nicholas Rollin*, and a Doctor of Divinity to accuse the Dauphin, *Charles*, Viscount of *Narbonne*, *Seignior Tanneguy*, and *Barbason*, and Four others, of the Murther of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and desire impartial Justice against them, which they did in a long Invective; adding by way of Petition, That a Church might be Founded, and Furnish'd with Sacred Ornaments, and a sufficient Revenue to maintain Twelve Canons, Six Chaplains, and Six Clerks, to pray for his Soul for ever, every Canon to have Two Hundred Pound per Annum, *Paris* Money, every Chaplain a Hundred Pound, and every Clerk Fifty Pound, to be levy'd upon the Lands of the Dauphin, and his Associates in the Murther of the said Duke: To this Petition the Chancellor of *France* in the Behalf of K. *Charles* promised, that no endeavour should be wanting on his Part, and that all Justice should be done for them, and thereupon caus'd his Son to be solemnly call'd to the Marble-Table to answer the Accusations brought against him by the Name of *Charles*, Duke of *Tourenne*, and Dauphin de *Vienne*, which being done Three times, and he not appearing, he was by Arrest of the same Court of Parliament banish'd the Realm, and judg'd unworthy to succeed in any of the Seigniories, as well present as to come, that belong to the Crown of *France*. But the Dauphin valu'd not this Sentence of his Enemies, from whom he could expect no milder, and had been sure of a more severe, if he had been in their Power; he stood upon his own Defence, trusting to God's Providence and his Sword, which he doubted not would settle him again in his Right. But Valiant *Barbason* stood more Obnoxious to their Sentence, though less guilty, being vehemently accused for the same Murther by the Duke of *Burgundy's* Mother and Sisters, and many Circumstances produced against him tending to make him Guilty, but he so bravely defend-ed himself against the Charge, though he freely acknowledg'd himself to be a true Servant of the Dauphin's, that he was in no wise thought Guilty.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. A Parliament met at *Paris*.

An Appeal to this Parliament about the D. of *Burgundy's* Murther.

Seignior Barbason accused of the D. of *Burgundy's* Murther, but acquitted.

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. ty of it; yet whether he escap'd Judgment is uncertain, for tho' some say he was acquitted, others say, that King Henry in favour to the Duke of Burgundy pronounc'd him Guilty and gave Sentence on him, that he should suffer Death, which though he avoided by alledging a Military-Law, That any Man having his Brother in Arms within his Power, should not put him afterwards to Death for any Cause or Quarrel, proving himself to be the King's Brother in Arms, because he had Encounter'd with him Hand to Hand in the Mine above-mention'd, by which Law the King's Sentence was annull'd, yet he was kept Prisoner at Paris still, and after remov'd to other Places, not being able to recover his Liberty, till *Castle-Galliard* was taken by the *Dauphin* Nine Years after this.

R. Henry ruling in Paris as King.

Henry goes into England to have his Queen Crown'd.

A. D. 1421.

R. Henry gives publick Thanksgiving for his Victories in France, and Q. Katherine is Crowned.

King Henry being thus Establish'd in the Government of France as well as England, passed his Christmas in great Majesty in Paris, ordering all Affairs of State as he pleased, and being look'd upon by all Foreign Embassadors, as well as the Native French, as their King; Charles, the French King having indeed the Name, and keeping a Court, but very Private, and as a Prince whose Power was out of Date. All the Grandure of France was seen only in King Henry's Palace, where were many Military Shews and Pastimes daily, and all the State and Magnificence of a Court. All Commissions were given out in his Name, and he plac'd and displac'd Officers as he pleased. He also made a New Coin, which he call'd a *Salute*, wherein the Arms of France and England were quarter'd. Christmas being over, the King resolv'd to leave France a while and go into England to have his Queen Crown'd; wherefore leaving Paris under the Command of his Uncle the Duke of Exeter, with a Guard of 500 Men, he went to Roan and continu'd there some Time. Hither all the Nobles of Normandy came to him to pay their Homage, and the Earl of Stafford did his Homage for his Earldom of Perch, and Arthur Duke of Brittain for the County of Yury. Here he ordain'd his Brother the Duke of Clarence to be his Lieutenant in his Absence over all France, and his Deputy in Normandy, the Earl of Salisbury; leaving Roan he came by Amiens to Callis, and taking Ship came to Dover about Candlemas, and so pass'd to London, where he was receiv'd by the Citizens with as great Joy, as if he had been an Angel from Heaven, or a Victorious Alexander, who had subjeckt the World to him.

King Henry being thus safely arriv'd in England, he according to his usual Piety would not enter upon any Material Business till he had given his Subjects an Example of signal Devotion in returning God publick Thanks for the Success which he had given him in France, and therefore by his Proclamation appointed, that Processions and Solemn Thanksgivings should be kept by all his Subjects in all Cities, Towns and Villages through the whole Nation, which was accordingly perform'd with much Devotion. This Act of Piety being ended the King appointed, that all Things should be provided with convenient Speed for the Coronation of his Queen upon St. Matthias's Day approaching, February the 24th, on which she was Crown'd with great Magnificence by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, John (x) Stafford. Besides the constant Ceremonies used upon such Occasions, which were all perform'd with great Exactness; there was more than ordinary Cost and Magnificence

bestow'd in the Coronation-Dinner; for though it was in Lent, and so it consisted of Fish and Sweet-Meats chiefly; yet there was such vast Varieties of both, and such rare Devices in every Course, as were never seen upon the like Occasion. The Earl of March kneeling on the Right-hand of the Queen with the Scepter in his Hand, and the Earl-Marshal on the Left-hand, the Duke of Gloucester waiting bare-headed and over-seeing the Management of the whole Feast, made it one of the most splendid Banquets that was ever known in England. As soon as the Coronation was ended, the Queen return'd to her Palace at Westminster, where she remain'd till Palm-Sunday, when she remov'd to Windsor to meet the King, and keep her Easter there with him.

In the Interval between the Coronation and Easter, the King took a Royal Progress through several Parts of the Nation, to see in what State his Affairs were, and rectifie any just Matters of Complaint, which his People in his Absence might have receiv'd from his Officers and Justices. In his Journey he omitted no Opportunity of paying his Devotion to the Shrines of several Saints; so making it a Pilgrimage, as beneficial to himself (as he then imagin'd) as he intended it for his People. Many grievous Complaints with Petitions for Redress were presented to him against his Justices for the Male-administration of their Office, which the King received with much Willingness and Cheerfulness from the meanest Persons; all Abuses immediately reform'd, not sparing the greatest of his Ministers whom he found Guilty of Misdemeanours in their Places; telling them, 'That since they had no respect to his Honour, which was wounded by their Injustice and Partiality, he had no reason to shew them any Favour, but punish them the more severely, because for the sake of a little Gain or Friendship, they had robb'd him of what he most valu'd, his People's Love and Affections. These Affairs detain'd him longer in the farther Parts of the Nation, than he intended to to have staid; and therefore not being able to reach Windsor to keep his Easter as he had intended, he sent for his Queen to Leicester, and there kept his Easter with her.

A. D. 1421. Reg. 8.

R. Henry takes a Progress into some parts of the Nation.

Reg. 9.

While these Things pass'd in England, the Duke of Clarence who had the Supreme Government of France having summon'd all the Garrisons of Normandy to meet him at a Town call'd Buchy, from thence began an Invasion in Anjou, and ravag'd the Country as far as Angiers, burning and plundering the Villages and Towns as he went along; but having an Information, that the Duke of Alençon was come into those Parts with a considerable Body of Men of the Dauphin's Party, and that the Scots in a Body of about 700 (y) Men were coming to joyn with them under the Command of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and John, Earl of Buchan, he return'd back to a Town call'd Beaufort, intending to give the Duke of Alençon Battel before the Scots could come to him. Being on his March he took one Andrew Forgusa a Lombard and a Spy, who pretending he was fled from the French Camp, gave the Duke of Clarence an Account, that the French were but a small Party and might easily be vanquish'd by his Forces which were much greater, but this he said to encourage him to engage him rashly, and ruin himself and Army, as he did: For the Duke of Clarence being hastily and

(x) John Stafford was at this Time Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Henry Chicheley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.
(y) Seven Thousand Scots. Ibid. 308.

A. D. 1421. Reg. 9. credulous put forward and set upon them tho' much more Powerful than his *English*, and after a sharp Battel was himself slain by one *John Swinton* (2) a *Scotch* Man (for the *Scots* had joyn'd them before the Duke of *Clarence* could get up) as also the Earl of *Rime*, and the Lords *Grey* and *Refs* with 1500 *English*. The Earl of *Huntington*, *Somerset* and *Perche*, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, with several other Persons of Note, as well as common Soldiers, were taken Prisoners, and the Victory fell to the *French*. But yet it cost them many Lives, for they lost 1200 Men. The Earl of *Salisbury*, (a) the Bastard Son of the Duke of *Clarence* had Intelligence of this Defeat of the *English*, and made all the haste he could to recover the Loss receiv'd, but he came too late to do any Service, only the *French* being fled at his Approach left the Dead at his Disposal, and so he sent the Duke's Body to *Roan* in order to be convey'd into *England*, and buried many of the Slain. The Earl of *Buchan* who was a chief Leader in this Battel was made Constable of *France* for this Action by the *Dauphin*, and the Earl of *Alençon* immediately besieg'd the Town of the same Name. The Earl of *Salisbury* endeavour'd what he could to raise the Siege, but lost 300 Men in the Successless Attempt, not being strong enough to relieve it, tho' the *Dauphinists* had not the Fortune to obtain it. The King was still in his Progress, and had left *Leicester* to go to *York*; in the Way to which Place having visited the Shrine of *John of Beverley* he heard of the News of his Brother's Death, which he receiv'd with abundance of Sorrow, and resolv'd to revenge it severely upon the *French*. He sent the Earl of *Mortaign* into his Place for the Present, intending as soon as he could settle Affairs in *England* and provide Things necessary for his Expedition, to go over again into *France* and prosecute his Victory in the Conquest of the *Dauphin*.

K. Henry very sorry for his Brother's Death.

Sixth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

About the beginning of *May* a Parliament met at *Westminster* in order to the King's intended Expedition into *France*, and in it the King having given them an Account of his Victories in *France* desir'd their Assistance for the further Prosecution of them. The Laity return'd him Answer, That the Commons were so impoverish'd with the long continuance of Taxes, that they were unable to lend him any considerable Supplies, yet they opened their Purves before the Session was up. The King having in this Parliament pass'd some Statutes of Benefit to the Publick, and particularly an Act commanding, That no Gold should be Current in ordinary Payment but by Weight, according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*; for the Coin being then much abused by Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeiters of Money, was a great Hindrance to Commerce, and a Damage to the Subject, which was by this Statute in a great measure prevented. For this Act and some others of like Nature the House granted a Fifteenth of the Laity, and the Clergy being at the same time met in Convocation in *St. Paul's*, gave him Two Tenths. The King accepted the Assistance of his Subjects; but being too little to support so great a Charge, he borrow'd (b)

20000 *l.* of his Uncle the Rich Bishop of *Winchester*, giving him his Crown in Pawn for it, and with this he prepar'd for his Third Expedition into *France*. And having settled the Regency of the Kingdom in the Hands of the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, and provided his Queen with a well-attended Court, with whom he left a strong Army of 30000 to defend the Nation against the Invasion of the *Scots*, who had engag'd in the *Dauphin's* Interest, and would therefore be Troublesom in his Absence, he with a fresh Army of 4000 Horse, and 24000 Foot, began his Journey into *France*, and taking Ship at *Dover* landed at *Callis* about the beginning of *June*, having the King of *Scots* with him to allure the *Scots* from the *Dauphin's* Part, either by Promises of Rewards, or Menaces of Punishment.

K. Henry being landed in *France* in this Third Expedition would not enter upon any Action till he had pay'd the Dutiful Honour of a Visit to his Father and Mother the King and Queen of *France*, who lay then at *Bois de Si. Vincennes* near *Paris*, and therefore took his direct way towards that Place. At *Montreuil* in the Road the Duke of *Burgundy* met him with a Petition from the Bastard of *Thian*, who valiantly had held out Three Weeks the Siege of *Chartres* against all the *Dauphin's* Forces, and began to be straiten'd so much, that he could not hold out longer. The King after some Consultation with the Duke thought it necessary to raise the Seige, and having made him Commander of his Armies, sent him to relieve it speedily, the King proceeding in his Journey but slowly, till he could see the Success of this Attempt. (c) The Duke of *Burgundy* by moderate Marches proceeded towards *Chartres*, and being arriv'd at *Monte* the *Dauphinists* discover'd his Approach, and had an Information of the Strength of his Army, which being too great to encounter, they raised the Siege and retreated to *Tours* in *Touraine*. The Duke of *Burgundy* having thus reliev'd *Chartres* he return'd to the King, who sent him with a good Force into *Picardy* against Sir *Jaques de Harcourt*, who annoy'd the King's Conquests there. In the mean time the King went on to *Paris* to pay his design'd Visit, and was honourably receiv'd and entertain'd by the King and Queen of *France*. In his Passage he took a small Fort call'd *La Ferte*, (d) which being commanded by the Bastard of *Bellay* surrender'd unto him upon Summons, but was as easily lost as taken, for *Bowflers*, a *Picard* to whom the King gave the Command of it, betray'd it to the *Dauphin*. Great Invitations he had at *Paris* to pass his Time in Pleasures, every Person being Ambitious to please him with the most grateful Delights; but his Mind was wholly engag'd on the Glory of Conquest, which seem'd a little eclipsed by the small Advantages the *Dauphin* had gotten by taking *Bonneval*, *Galendon*, and some other Places; he could not be at Ease, till his Forces were employ'd for the Recovery of them, and utter Suppression of the *Dauphin's* Party if it were possible: Wherefore having raised a small Addition of *French* Forces to his Army he

A. D. 1421. Reg. 9. K. Henry's third Expedition into France.

K. Henry visits the King and Queen of France at Paris.

(2) *John Swinton* gave him the first Wound, but the Earl of *Buchan* killed him. *Ibid.* 309.

(a) The Earl of *Salisbury* was of the Family of *Mountacute*, and not the Duke of *Clarence's* Bastard; that Duke left a natural Son, whose Name was *John*, and he was commonly called the Bastard of *Clarence*. *Holinhead*, 1233.

(b) His Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* had lent 20000 *l.* for it once before, and it seems the Pawn was settled at that Sum, which is scarce the Value of one of the Jewels of the Imperial Crown of *England* at this Day.

(c) The Duke of *Burgundy* was ill of a Fever when the King came to *Montreuil*, from whence they went to *Ponthieu*, *Montenay*, *St. Riquier*, *La Ferte*, which Places King *Henry* took; and then return'd to *Montreuil*, where he dismissed the Duke of *Burgundy*, upon his Promise of returning suddenly to the Army. He march'd himself to relieve *Chartres*, and when he arriv'd at *Monte*, dispatch'd away Messengers to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to join him with his Forces. *Enguerant Mont.*

(d) The King took this Fort before he raised the Seige of *Chartres*. *Ibid.*

marched

A. D. 1421. Reg. 9. march'd himself towards the *Loire* to fight the *Dauphin*, who had given it out, That he would try the Fortune of a Field-Battel with K. Henry; but the *Dauphin's* Courage fail'd when he saw the Greatness and Boldness of K. Henry's Forces, and he withdrew towards *Bourges*, where he continu'd without giving King Henry any Molestation and Hindrance in his Victories, for which Quietness he was Nick-nam'd, *The King of Berry*. (e) King Henry having no Opposition to his Arms, proceeded with all Expedition to reduce all Places to his Obedience, and sitting down before *Dreux* (f) himself; he sent the Earl of *Dorset* and Lord *Clifford* with 1200 Horse and Foot against the *Dauphinists*, who ravag'd the Countries about *Paris*, and before his Arrival had put the Duke of *Exeter* in *Paris* to great Straits for Provision, but they soon left the Neighbourhood of that on the Approach of the King's Forces. *Dreux* endur'd an Assault or two, but the Inhabitants and Garrison being timorous of a Storm desir'd a Parley, in which they promised to surrender the Town upon *August* the 20th, if no Relief came in the mean time, which was accordingly done, and 800 of the *Dauphin's* Men were permitted to depart in safety, having sworn to the King not to bear Arms against him nor his Allies for a Year ensuing. The Towns-Men also who would swear Allegiance to King Henry were permitted to enjoy their Houses and Estates, but such as refused were sent out of the Town with the Garrison, and the Earl of *Worcester* was made Captain of it.

Dreux taken by surren-der.

K. Henry pursues the *Dauphin*, but was forc'd to retire for want of Forage.

Meaux be- sieged by K. Henry.

King Henry being made Master of *Dreux* pursu'd the *Dauphin* farther into the Country hearing that he lay at *Baugency*, but not finding him there he besieg'd and took divers Castles and Towns, as *Baugency*, *Raugmont*, and many other Places, intending to have at length gotten to *Bourges* it self, where the *Dauphin* lay strongly Fortified; but the latter had carry'd away or destroy'd all the Forage and Provisions of the Country, so that the King's Army was forc'd through mere want to retreat back to *Orleans*, where he stay'd two Days to refresh his Troops, and then passing through *Gastinois* and *Vigny-sur-Tonne* he arriv'd at *Paris*, and he was receiv'd with universal Joy and Respect. He remain'd there some time not only to recruit his Army, which was much Weaken'd by his late pursuit of the *Dauphin*, but to settle the Discontents of the City it self, which was disturb'd by some of the *Dauphin's* Party, and having finish'd it he march'd out again with his whole Army to lay Siege to the City of *Meaux* in *Brie*. This City was very well fortified, mann'd and furnish'd with Provision, and could not be taken without very great Difficulty, yet because it was almost in the midst of King Henry's Conquest, and was many ways Prejudicial to the Country which had submitted to him, the Siege of it was resolv'd upon, and the King himself undertook to subdue it. It was a large City, and besides the Suburbs which were very populous and great, it was divided into two Parts by the River *Marne* which runs through the midst of it, viz. the Town and Market-Place. The King being sensible that if his coming were certainly known the Inhabitants would burn the Suburbs, sent the Duke of *Exeter* before him with 4000 Men to prevent it, following himself within a few Days. The King lodg'd in the Abby of *Pharon*, and the Duke of

Exeter in the Abby of *Chage*, the Earl of *Morch* in an House of the *Gray-Fryers*, and the Earl of *Warwick* over-against the Market-Place. They began their Assaults about *October* the 6th; (g) and continu'd with all their Vigour to force the Town to yield. The Inhabitants being strengthen'd with a good Garrison under the Command of the *Bastard of Vaurus* and other Men of Name both for Birth and Courage, held out valiantly, and made as brave Resistance within as the *English* did without, being as resolute to defend their own, as their Enemies were to gain it. *Winter* was a great help to the Besieg'd, and had certainly rais'd the Siege if any thing could have broken the steady Hearts of the *English*; for the River over-flowing much endamag'd their Camp, the Cold and Wet brought in many Distempers among them, of which not a few dy'd; and there was great want of Provision, so that the surviv'd scarce had any Strength to attempt their Enemy. Besides these Difficulties which Providence seem'd to cast upon them to cross their Attempts, *Jaques de Harcourt* a steady Friend of the *Dauphin's* with 800 Men infested the Besiegers, but he was repulsed with the Loss of 300 of his Men, and was himself sav'd only by the Swiftens of his Horse: So much did the Courage of the *English* enable them to conquer all Dangers, and hold on boldly in their Undertaking till they obtain'd their Desires.

While Things were carry'd on thus bravely by King Henry in *France*, several Things of Moment pass'd in *England*. On *December* the 1st, the Duke of *Bedford* call'd a Parliament in the King's Absence, and because notwithstanding the Act of the former Parliament about the Coin, it was still found unfit for Commerce; therefore in this there were several Acts made for bringing in all Monies to be Recoin'd, and for the Weight of the several Pieces of Money with the Allay; and, which shew'd the King's Favour to his People, there was an Order sent to all Receivers of Money, that they should receive all Monies brought to them if it did not want above Twelve Pence in a Noble of the true Weight, and give them the New-coin'd Money for it, by which the King, though then under great Necessities for Money, yet was contented to lose almost Three Shillings in the Pound for the Benefit of the People. This Redress of the Coin by the King's Favour gain'd so much of the Parliament that they gave him a Fifteenth from the Laity, and the Clergy contributed a Tenth towards the carrying on the War, and so the Parliament was sent Home. In the Time of this Session, viz. on *December* the 6th, being *St. Nicholas's* Day was Queen *Katherine* deliver'd of a Son at *Windsor* to the equal Joy both of the Nation and King. The Queen in the King's Absence put forward his Christning, and therefore that solemn Act of Christian Initiation was perform'd by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* soon after his Birth, the Duke of *Bedford*, and his Great Uncle *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester* being his God-fathers, and *Jaqueline*, Countess of *Brabant* and *Holland* being his God-mother and Governess. The News of the Prince's Birth was sent over to the King with all convenient Speed, and was receiv'd with great Joy. He was then at the Siege of *Meaux*, and as soon as he heard it gave solemn Thanks to God, that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bestow a Son upon him that might succeed him in his Crown and Scep-

A. D. 1421. Reg. 9.

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Birth of Prince Henry at *Windsor*

(e) Of which Province *Bourges* is the Capital.

(f) He took *Dreux* before he march'd to the *Loire*. *Engu. Mont.*

(g) They invell'd the Town, *October* the 6th. *Du Chet: Antiq. des Ville's de France.*

A. D. 1421. *ter.* However it is said, that he was not pleased at the Place of his Nativity, which was at Windsor, because having some Information, that that Place would be Fatal to him, he had given a strict Charge that he should not be born there; but since an unavoidable Fate had cast his Birth there, he prophetically said, either from present Instinct, or from the Prediction of some other, unto the Lord Fitz-Hugh his Chamberlin and great Confident.

*I Henry born at Monmouth, shall small Time
reign and much get;
But Henry of Windsor shall long reign and lose
all, but as God will so be it.*

A. D. 1420. *R. Henry* lost many Men before Meaux, but at length took it by Assault. Christmas now approach'd, and though King Henry always kept it with some Solemnity, yet he chose rather to abridge himself of that Custom than break up the Siege of Meaux, though the Extremity of the Weather both for Cold and Wet, the Sickness of his Army, and the great Losses which he had sustain'd by the Besieged, who had kill'd many of his Men; and among the Rest the Earl of Worcester and Lord Clifford, might have been an Argument sufficient to have discourag'd his Proceedings, and forc'd him to have left it. But all these Things rather increased than disheartned him; whereupon with more fierce Assaults he batter'd the Walls of the Town, and having made Bridges of Planks over the River Marn, begirt it so close, that it was much distressed, and could hardly hope to hold out against his various Arts to ruin them. But yet they stood out as undauntedly as Men in so much Danger could, having Intelligence that the Dauphin's Arms had prosper'd in Normandy, and that Auranches was fallen into their Hands, by which means King Henry would be oblig'd to send away part of his Forces to secure his Conquests there, which accordingly he did under the Command of the Earl of Salisbury, who soon regain'd the Town. At this the Citizens took heart, and endeavouring to get another Captain of great Courage and Experience, viz. the Seigneur de Offemont into their Town, thought to maintain their Ground against him; but being unfortunate in their Attempts, their Captain as he was Scaling the Walls falling into the Enemies Hands they were so discourag'd that they despair'd to hold out long, and began to carry all their Goods into the Castle. The King perceiving their Fear made a general and fierce Assault, and by dint of Sword obtain'd the Town. The Castle and Market-Place still held out, and though the King batter'd it with his Cannon, that it could not long stand out, yet they so insolently behav'd themselves to him by reproachful Words and Abuses as if they had been Unconquerable, which was the Cause, that when they were oblig'd at length to yield, they were reduc'd to such hard Conditions as no Town before had had imposed upon them, which were to this Effect.

The Castle of Meaux surrender'd, but upon hard Terms.

I. That the Market-Place of Meaux shall be surrendred up the Eleventh Day of May next ensuing.

II. That Monsieur Lewis de Gast, the Bastard of Vaurus, the Captain of the Town, who had barbarously spoil'd and oppress'd the People of the Country subject to King Henry, Jean de Romieres, Bailiff of the Town, and Fromagon, and Barnard de Meureville, two Burgesses of the Town, who had been Assistants to their Captain in his Outrageous Acts should be left to King Henry to be put to Death for their Cruelties as he should think fit.

III. That Guichard de Siffay, Pierron de Luppe, Robert de Gerames, Philip de Gamaches, and John de Ouray should be deliver'd into the King's Power, and so remain till they had surrendred, or cause to be surrendred all the Towns, Castles, and Fortresses which they or any of them held in France, and then to be dismissed and secured of Life and Limb.

IV. That all the English, Irish, Welsh and Scots that heretofore had been in the King's Service, or were his Natural Subjects, should be left to the King's Will and Pleasure.

V. That all Persons who were found guilty of the Duke of Burgundy's Murther (and many there were in the Town who were accused of it) should be left to Justice for that barbarous Crime.

VI. That all the rest of the Inhabitants of the Town, as well Soldiers as Burgesses should also be left to the King's Disposal, their Lives only excepted.

VII. That the Count de Connerfon who had been Prisoner to Pierron de Luppe, but at the beginning of this Siege was deliver'd up to King Henry at his Request, and upon Promise of a certain Ransom, should now have his Liberty without the Payment of the said Ransom.

VIII. That all the Arms and Goods in the Market shall be brought to One Place, and being there safely guarded, an Inventory of the same shall be exactly taken and given to King Henry.

IX. That the Sacred Reliques found in the Churches, with all the Church-Ornaments and necessary Utensils shall be safely preserv'd and restor'd to the several Churches.

X. That all the Prisoners, as well in the Market-Place as in any other Place within the Jurisdiction of the Town, should be set at Liberty Ransom-free, and be acquitted of their Promises.

XI. That no Man until the Day appointed for surrendring of the Castle shall go out of the Market-Place, nor any Persons admitted into it, unless by the Allowance and Assignment of King Henry.

XII. That these Articles shall be Subscrib'd and Seal'd by an Hundred of the Chief Inhabitants of the Place, and Four and Twenty of them, such as King Henry shall think fit to choose out from among them, be left as Hostages in his Hands for the more certain Performance of this Agreement.

The Articles were accordingly perform'd, and the Market-Place of Meaux surrendred to the King at the Time agreed on; whereupon he sent some Selected Persons immediately Prisoners to Paris, Roan and England. The Bastard of Vaurus himself was hang'd upon the same Tree whereon he had formerly hang'd many English and Burgundians the King's Friends, and his Head fix'd upon a Pole on the top of the same Tree, his Standard, which used to be born before him in Battel, being also set up by it. The Bailiff of the Town and two Burgesses were sent to Paris and there Executed. The Goods of the Town found in the Market-Place were distributed by the King himself among his Captains and deserving Men. The Breaches of the Town and Castle were immediately order'd to be repair'd, and a strong Garrison left both in the Town and Market-Place of Meaux able to defend it from any sudden Assaults and Surprizes. The Surrender of this great and important Place was such a Terror, as well as Example to such other Towns of less Strength that held out still for the Dauphin, that most of them immediately yielded to King Henry's Arms, viz. Cresspi, the Castle of Pierre-pont, Merlaw, Offemont and many

A. D. 1421. many other Places, so that all the Isle of *France*, *Brie*, *Lainmois* and *Champaign*, became entirely subject to King *Henry*, who put his most faithful and valiant Captains into the most important Places of them, and then return'd to *Bois de St. Vincennes* to his Mother and Father the King and Queen of *France*, who joyfully welcom'd him, having escap'd the great Dangers and Hazards of War.

Reg. 10. Queen *Katherine* being now perfectly recovered of all the Distempers and Weaknesses of Child-bearing, was very desirous of enjoying the Company of King *Henry*, whose Glory sounded over all the World, and accordingly having prepar'd all Things ready for her Voyage, took Ship at *Southampton* and sail'd into *France*. *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, who was Regent of the Nation in the King's Absence, thinking it his Duty to take an equal, if not greater Care of the Queen than Kingdom, she being a more valuable Jewel than all earthly Power in the King's Eye, deputed his Brother *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*, to govern in his Absence, and with an Equipage of 800 Men conducted her over the Seas to *Harfleur*, and so by easie Journeys to *Bois de St. Vincennes* where her Father and Mother resided. King *Henry* had scarce settled Matters after the Surrender of *Meaux*, but hearing of the Arrival of his Queen, he hasten'd to meet her there. With great Joy was she receiv'd by her Parents, but with much greater by her Husband, who with a State of Splendor equal to his Love and Affection welcom'd her to his Embraces. They all stay'd a small Time at *Bois de St. Vincennes*, and on *Whitsun-Eve*, being *May 30*. remov'd all together to *Paris*, where King *Henry* in the Castle of the *Louvre*, and the *French* King in the Hostle of *St. Paul* celebrated the Feast of *Pentecost* in the greatest State and Magnificence. *K. Henry* and his Queen sitting upon that Festival in their Robes with their Crowns on their Heads, and keeping their Courts with a wonderful Confluence of People, while the King of *France* seem'd but like some Petty Prince or Nobleman to him. King *Henry* govern'd and dispos'd all Things, and the *K. of France* contentedly suffer'd him to act like a Sovereign, as tho' while King *Henry's* Power and Glory daily increas'd, his own could never be eclipsed: So much did the Honour of the Son satisfy the Mind of the Father.

The *Dauphin*, who had constant Intelligence of the Motions and Condition of King *Henry*, and his Army, was not careless of this Opportunity of regaining what had been conquer'd by him; for though the King had conquer'd all *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Brie*, the Isle of *France* and *Champaign*, yet still the greatest part of the Nation remain'd unconquer'd, and held with the *Dauphin*, whose Fortune though it was not equal to King *Henry's*, yet his Power and Greatness of Mind was not much inferior. The *Dauphin* therefore having an Army of 20000 Men, and thinking his Adversary now taken up with Pleasures and Ease, enters upon his Conquests, and takes with no Difficulty the small Town of *La Charite* upon the *Loire*. Being encourag'd by this Success he proceeded and laid Siege to a Town call'd *De Cone* on the same River, which not willing to undergo the Miseries and Straits of a Siege, agreed to surrender to him if the Duke of *Burgundy* did not come to their Relief before *August* the 16th, to which the Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay not far off with a Body of Men, but much inferior to the *Dauphin's*, assented; and having appointed a Day for the Fight, the Duke sent Word of their Appointment to King *Henry*, desiring, That he would send a greater Enforce-

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ment to his Army. King *Henry* hearing this Message, and being sensible that a Field-Fight might possibly put an end to the Quarrel between 'em, return'd an Answer, That he would certainly be with him in Person with all his Forces upon the Day prefix'd, but his brave Mind was cross'd with a Crazy Body; and tho' he had begun his March, yet he was forced to yield to the Violence of the Distemper upon him, being a Fever and Flux, which he had contracted by the long Fatigues he had undergone in the Wars, and therefore remain'd at *Senlis*, sending his Army under the Command of the Duke of *Bedford* to assist the Duke of *Burgundy* upon the Day appointed, who accordingly joyn'd with the Earl of *Warwick* march'd hastily thither, and the Day before the Battel was to be, encamp'd near the Walls of *de Cone*. The King, who never miscarry'd in any of his Personal Enterprizes, and was desirous to be present in all dangerous Attempts, because a good Fortune seem'd ever to attend him, was discontented that the Army had left him, and therefore march'd forward after them in an Horse-litter, intending to animate his Men by his Presence, though he could not engage with them, and was carry'd as far as *Aielun*, but there finding himself unable to travel he was oblig'd to cease his Design and return to *Bois de St. Vincennes*. The *Dauphin* who readily accepted the Proffer of Battel, and by his Herald had faithfully promised to abide the Field and try his Fortune; as soon as he saw the *English* Colours display'd, and his Army as he imagin'd inferior to them, notwithstanding his Vaunts dislodg'd them and march'd to *Berry*. This unexpected Flight of the *Dauphin*, as it gave Relief to *Cosney*, so it encourag'd the Duke of *Bedford* to go on and undertake something which might be for his Master's Honour, and gratifie the Soldiers eager Courage, who were unwilling to return back without Action: Whereupon the Duke led 'em to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, and began the Siege of that important Place, but before any thing considerable could be attempted, the sad News of the King's Danger by his Sickness arriv'd in the Camp, which drew away their Leader, who immediately posted to *Bois de St. Vincennes* to the King, and so damp'd the Hearts of the whole Army, that they could not go on with the Siege, tho' left under the Conduct of the Duke of *Burgundy*, but soon after departed, and so the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* with the rest of the Nobility return'd to the King.

The Duke of *Bedford* being arriv'd at *St. Vincennes*, and seeing the low and dangerous Condition of his Brother, much lamented his approaching and untimely End, as did also the other Noblemen about him; but the King as unconcerned at his own Death, look'd cheerfully upon them, and comforting them for his Departure from them, gave them such Directions, for the Management of his Kingdoms for his young Son after his Decease, as he thought necessary and suitable in his Farewel-Speech, to this Effect. That he knew his Death would be born by them with great Sorrow, but when their Passions were a little cool'd, they upon Consideration would have as little cause to be troubl'd at it as he himself had: For tho' indeed his Life and Reign had been but short, yet that was so far from disturbing him, that he plac'd it among one of his Felicities, that he should not outlive his Glories, as long Reigns do almost inevitably cause the most successful and brave Princes to do: Fortune either being tried with long Attendance, or Old Age being Nauseous to her. That he should carry flourishing Lau-

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A. D. 1421. Reg. 10.

King *Henry* falls sick of a Fever and Flux.King *Henry's* Death approaches, and his Preparation for it.

He comforts his Nobles, and gives them direction about the Education of his Son, and Management of the Kingdom in his Minority.

A. D. 1422. Reg. 10. *reels out of the World with him; and though he was laid in the Dust, the Glory of his Courage and Victories, Virtue and Goodness should live for ever: That though indeed much Blood had been shed in his Quarrel, and Blood-shed be one of the most crying Sins in the Ears of Divine Justice, yet his Conscience accused him of no Guilt in that kind, since he could protest in the Sight of God, that it was not any ambitious Desire of enlarging his Dominions, or of purchasing himself the Vain-glorious Name of a Conquerour, nor any other sinister Consideration had mov'd him to take in hand this War, but the Recovery of his Inheritance, to which he had an undoubted Right from his Ancestors by the Judgment of the most Learned and Conscientious both of the Clergy and Laity of his Realm, who both instigated and encourag'd him in the Prosecution of this War till he had gotten his due; assuring him, that he might do it without any Danger of God's Displeasure, or Peril to his own Soul; That he was sensible his untimely Death would create great Troubles to them, and all his People, because he should leave them in such a Multitude of Business depending, and without a Prince to succeed him, who shall be able to govern in his stead, but the Consideration of the Frailty of all worldly Things ought to mitigate their Sorrow; for when we have done all we can, there will still be something wanting which we desire.' Having thus comforted them concerning his own Death, he went on and gave them Directions about his Son: And first conjur'd them all to follow and observe the Council that he should give them. 'He earnestly entreated them to love his Infant Son and their King, Prince Henry, and to take care that by their Wife and Prudent Instruction he may be made Able and Worthy to rule so great Kingdoms, and manage so great Scepters, and that they would comfort his Queen, the most afflicted Creature living, and love her with the same Affections as he had always done them while he was alive. He exhorted them to live in Unity and Concord one with another, and continue the League of Amity with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, which would conduce much to the Security of the French Dominions in their due Subjection, if by their Breaches among themselves they did not endanger all. He propounded to them for Deputy-Governour of his Kingdoms in his Sons Minority, and desir'd they would quietly submit to them, his Brethren, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to govern England, and enjoyn'd him not to depart out of the Realm upon any Occasion soever, till his Son was arriv'd at an Age able to assume the Government, and John, Duke of Bedford, with the Assistance of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to govern his Kingdom of France, commanding them (who were both present) to prosecute the Dauphin with all their Force, till they had either totally subdu'd him and his Party, or driven him out of the Realm, for, said he, you will never be quiet so long as he hath any Power to disturb you, and it is absolutely necessary, that either you must lose what you have, or he be driven out of all. Then he commanded them (however Time or Occasion might invite them to the contrary) that Normandy, which is the Ancient Inheritance of the Crown of England, and hath been purchased and regain'd with so much Labour and Expence of Blood, should not be alienated from that Crown upon any Occasion whatsoever. Lastly, He enjoyn'd them, that the Duke of Orleans, the Earl of Eu, the Lord Gaucourt, and Guiccard de Sisay should be kept Prisoners in England till his Son came of Age, least if they were set at Liberty they might raise greater Troubles in France, than they should have Power or Policy enough to allay. The Noble Men full of Grief stood silent about him, but promised to perform all his Desires to the full.*

The King having thus order'd the Matters of his Kingdoms, that his Son might be well Educated and enjoy a prosperous Reign, betook himself to prepare for the State which he was sensible he was just ready to enter upon, because of the Violence and Strength of his Distemper; wherefore calling his Chaplains and Physicians, he enquir'd of these latter how long it is possible he might live, who answer'd, *Not above two Hours*; whereupon he order'd the former to do their Office, and fit his Soul for its Dissolution. He first made a very devout and penitential Confession of his Sins, and then receiv'd the Holy Sacrament, after which he caused the Seven Penitential Psalms to be recited, and as the Chaplain who read them mention'd the Name of (h) Jerusalem, he burst out into this Ejaculation. *Lord thou knowest that it was in my real Purposes to conquer Jerusalem, and rescue it out of the Hands of the Infidels, if it had pleased thee to lengthen out my Life, but thy Providence hath defeated my Design; Thy Will be done*; and then before the Chaplain could read many Verses further, he gave up the Ghost at Bois de St. Vincennes, on the last Day of August, 1422. having liv'd Thirty Six Years, and reigned Nine Years, Five Months and Fourteen Days, (i) leaving a Son of Eight Months Old Heir of all his Dominions, whose Education was, at the Desire of his Father, committed to the Duke of Exeter. His Bowels were interr'd in the Church of St. Maur de Tosses, and his Body being embalmed, was inclosed in a Coffin of Lead, and being accompany'd with all the Lords and great Men, as well of France as England, and the whole Army, was brought with much Honour and Lamentation to Paris, and there being set in the Church of our Lady, solemn Obsequies were said for him (k) several Days, and a great Distribution of Money given to the Poor. From thence he was remov'd to Roan, where his Body remain'd till all Things could be made ready for his Burial and Conveyance into England, and then being carry'd to Calais, he was convey'd to Dover, and from thence to London, where his Corps being set in St. Paul's Church, his Exequies were again celebrated. The Entrance into, and Passage through London (l) was very Magnificent. An Effigies representing his Person as near as could be, the Head whereof was Massy Silver, was laid in a Bed upon the Top of the Hearse where his Body lay, painted curiously in Imitation of his Burial and Interment.

(h) The Place is in the Fifty First Psalm, the Words, *Build up the Walls of Jerusalem.*

(i) He began his Reign March the 20th, 1413. He died the 31st of August, 1422. So he reign'd Nine Years, Five Months and Eleven Days. We must here Correct a Contradiction in Mr. Goodwin's History of this King, He says, Page 1. *He was Crown'd the 9th of April, 1413. in the Twenty Sixth Year of his Age.* And pag. 337. *He died the 31st of August, 1422. in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and Fortieth of his Age:* If he was but Thirty Six Years Old in 1413. he certainly was but Thirty Five or Thirty Six in 1422.

(k) The Archbishop of Paris sung the Mass of Requiem for his Soul.

(l) It past in the same Pomp from Roan to Abbeville, Hesdin, Montreuil, Boulogne and Calais, the Queen following at a League's Distance with a great Retinue. Engu. Mont.

A. D. 1421. Reg. 10. tion of a Man in costly Robes; on his Head was set an Imperial Crown of Gold and Precious Stones, and in his Right-hand a Scepter, and in his Left a Globe of Gold. The Covering of the Bed was of Cloth of Gold, and a Canopy of very great Value was born over his Body by certain Noble Men. His Corps was attended by the King of Scots, all the Nobility, and most of the Gentry of England besides those of France, who likewise after the Exequies perform'd at St. Paul's attended his Body to Westminster; where it was interr'd among his Royal Ancestors in November following, by St. Edward the Confessor, and his Effigies laid upon his Tomb erected over the Body, where it remains still, but Headless, the Covetousness of such as were employ'd to sweep the Church clean from Superstition at the Dissolution of the Monastries, being so great, that they spared not the Monuments of the Dead to advance their own Interests and Estates. But the Preservation of that was the more necessary, and so their Sacrilege the more intolerable, because they swept away those Monastries at Richmond, viz. One of Carthusians, and another of Monks and Nuns of St. Bridget which he had erected and endow'd to say Three Solemn Masses for his Soul every Week for ever: So that were not his Virtues and brave Actions more lasting than Iron or Brass, his Memory had perished ere this, but so long as either England or France remain, or any Memoirs continue in them, he will be Celebrated as the Glory of the One, and the Terror of the Other. His Queen, who not long after his Death came over into England with her Son King Henry, was afterwards marry'd to Owen Theodore or Tudor, a Gentleman of Wales, one not Eminent either for his Noble Birth, (m) or Plentiful Fortune, but being of a very graceful and beautiful Personage found such Favour with her as to receive him into her Bed, and by him had Three Sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen. Edmund was after by her Interest made Earl of Richmond, and marry'd to Margaret, Daughter and sole Heiress to John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, (n) natural Son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and by him she was Mother of Henry the Seventh. Jasper was made Earl of Pembroke by K. Henry the Sixth, and requited his Favour by continually adhering to him against the Family of York in all his Wars. Q Katherine surviv'd Owen, and retreated into the Nunnery of Bermondsey in Surrey, where she dy'd in the Fourteenth Year of her Son Henry's Reign, and was bury'd in our Lady's Chappel in St. Peter's Church at Westminster: Her Corps was taken up in King Henry the Seventh's Reign, her Grand-Child, and set by her Husband's Tomb, where it still remaineth unbury'd to be seen and touch'd by any that please. Thus ended the most Glorious King Henry, and his Beautiful Queen Katherine.

Queen Katherine the first marry'd to Owen Tudor.

Having given the Reader a View of this glorious Reign, it may be thought Presumptuous to add a Character of a King whose Victories and Virtues were so illustrious, that Eloquence itself is too weak to describe them. He was possess'd of every Quality which forms a good Man and a Hero. His riper Years made a sufficient amends for the Extravagancies of his Youth; and yet even those were but the Sallies of that Martial Fire which afterwards shone out so brightly, to the Immortal Honour of his Name and Empire. That he was as Brave as the Bravest Captains of Old Rome, appears by the Facts which adorn his Annals. He undertook no Enterprize that he thought too Perilous for himself to engage in, and never put his Troops upon Action to which he durst not lead them in Person. As he was the most Brave, he was the most Generous Prince of his Age, and did nothing that a true Father of his Country might have occasion to repent of. He treated his Subjects like his Children, and never was so much displeased with his Condition as when it oblig'd him to burthen them with Taxes, which he always laid as sparingly and equally as possible. He was truly Religious according to the Religion of the Times, and his Zeal for the Prosperity of the Church was as warm as his Passion for the Interest of England. Indeed he was too severe with the Lollards. He was the first who Prosecuted them for their opposing Popery, which is the only Blot in his Reign; and yet that, if we consider they were Hereticks in his Judgment, was the Fault of his Religion, and not an Error of his Mind. He attributed all the Glory of his Conquest to God the Giver of all Victory. He was always devout in his Prayers for Success on his Arms, and hearty in his Praise for the Blessings with which they were Crown'd. He was strict and impartial in the Distribution of Justice, and as he furnish'd the Church with the best Bishops, he supply'd the Courts with the best Judges. He delighted in the frequent Meeting of his People in Parliament, and never refused the Royal Assent to any one Bill that was presented him for the Publick Good. In his Wars abroad he was as merciful as in his Government at home, and spar'd even the Blood of his Enemies. He lov'd his Queen with Tenderness and Constancy, and in a Word was too Great and too Good for so Wicked and Idolatrous a Generation, having left an Example of Heroick Virtue behind him, which the Favourites of Fame have endeavour'd to imitate but could never reach. He was graceful in his Person, tall of Stature, his Presence Manly and Majestick. His Hair was Black, his Neck long, his Look Gracious and Lovely, his Speech Grave, his Wisdom Conspicuous in all his Actions, and his whole Life from his Man-hood to his Death the Wonder of his own Age, and the Admiration of Posterity.

A. D. 1421. Reg. 10. King Henry's Character.

(m) He was descended from Cadwallader the last King of Britain, of the British Race.

(n) He was not natural Son to John of Gaunt, but Son to John, Earl of Somerset, who was Son of Kat. Sainford by the Duke of Lancaster, and all the Children of that Duke by that Lady were Legitimated in Parliament after the Duke had married her.

THE
Remarkable OCCURRENCES,
IN THE
Reign of HENRY the Fifth,

Are related among

The Actions of his Life, in the same manner as the Author has done in the History of his Father, and in all the King's Reigns which he wrote from *RICHARD* the Second down to *HENRY* the Seventh; only some few memorable Things which he omitted, we shall insert in their proper Places.

ON the Day of his Coronation there happen'd a Tempest of Wind, Snow and Hail, the Snow was most taken Notice of because 'twas most Prevalent, on which the People made various Superstitious Observations. Some thought it presag'd, that the New King would be Cold and Negligent in the Administration of the Government, or Wrong and Oppress them, others took it for a good Omen, that having dispell'd those Clouds of Vice which had darken'd the Nation, Brightness and Serenity would succeed the Storm.

'Tis no Wonder that a Reign so Glorious as this should produce a great Number of Hero's. 'Twould be endless to put down all the Illustrious *English* Names that shine in the History of the Conquest of *France*: Some of the Chief and these who distinguish'd themselves most, we think it our Duty to mention, as *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*, the King's Brothers, of whom the Two latter made greater Figures in the Reign of his Son *Henry* the Sixth. *Thomas*, Duke of *Exeter*, and *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, his Uncles, Princes worthy of their Relation to *Henry* the Conqueror of *France*. *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas Mountacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Beaumont*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Lord *Fitz-ugh*, Sir *John Falstaff*, Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Philip Hall*, Sir *John Cornwall*, Sir *Lewis Robisart*, Sir *Gilbert Umphreville*, and the Brave *Welsh* Captain *David Gam*, whom King *Henry* knighted, when he was dying of the Wounds he receiv'd in the Battel of *Agincourt*, fighting in Defence of his Royal Person.

As the King was great in War, so he shew'd by his Favour to Men of Learning that he would have been a Promoter and Patron of the Arts of Peace, if he had liv'd to have given Rest to his Arms. He was himself bred up at *Oxford* under the Tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and took delight in the Conversation of *Thomas Redburn*, Bishop of *St. David's*, *Stephen Patrington*, Bishop of *Chichester*, and *John Carpenter*, Bishop of *Worcester*, Men noted for their Learning and Eloquence: Besides these, there were many others Eminent in his Time, viz.

Dr. *Alain* of *Lun* in *Norfolk*, Prior of the *Carmelites* in that Town, a Divine and Philosopher.

John Seguarde a Poet. He taught Polite Learning in *Norwich*, and wrote against the Abuse of Poetry by writing Lewd Verses.

Dr. *Robert Rose*, Prior of the Monastery of *Carmelites* in *Norwich*. He was Noted for his Moderation in the Disputes between the *Wickliffs* and *Papists*.

Dr. *John Luck*. *Ant. Wood* says, he was a great Friend, and Bale, that he was a violent Enemy of the *Wickliffs*. See *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* and *Bale, de Scriptor. Britan.*

Richard Caistre of *Norwich*, a secret Friend to the *Wickliffs*.

William Wellys, General of the Order of the *Black-Fryers* in *England*.

Richard Smetisham, a Famous Disputant.

William Taylor, A. M. a zealous *Wickliff*. He wrote a Book, *De non invocando Sanctos*, and was a Martyr, being burnt in *Smithfield* in the last Year of this King, whose only Blot was the Blood spilt in his Time by the *Papists* to

support their Idolatry, and the King out of Bigotry or Interest too much encourag'd their Cruelty.

Dr. *William Lyndwood*, a Civilian, Author of the Book call'd, *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliae*.

Bartholomew Florarius, call'd so from a Book he wrote, which he Intitul'd, *Florarius*.

Adam Hemlington, famous in the Universities of *Oxford* and *Paris*.

William Batecomb, an Excellent Mathematician. *Robert Mascall*, one of the *English* Deputies at the Council of *Constance*, and Bishop of *Hereford*.

John Purvey, A. M. *Wickliff's* Pupil, a Man of extraordinary Learning. He wrote a Comment upon the *Revelations*, publish'd afterwards by *Luther* without the Author's Name, in which he asserted, that the Pope was the Whore mention'd in the *Apocalypse*. He dy'd in Prison. He wrote many other Treatises.

Bertram Fitzallen of *Lincolnshire*, a Philosopher.

John Beston, one of the best Orators of his Time.

John

John Leland, Senior, a Grammarian and Poet.
Dr. John Bale, Learned in the *Greek* Tongue.
Dr. Richard Ullerston, a violent Enemy to the *Lollards*.

Peter Clark, A. M. He disputed against *Thomas Walden* in the Schools at *Oxford*, vindicating *Wickliff's* Doctrine, he fled for it to *Bohemia*, and dy'd there.

Roger of St. Ives, He wrote against Sir *John Oldcastle*.

John Tartas, a Logician.

Roger Whelpdale, Bishop of *Carlisle*.

John Waynesfleet, a Divine and Philosopher.

Richard Fleming, He was first a great Favourer of *Wickliff's* Doctrine, but was brib'd off by the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*.

Nicholas Pont, of *Merton-College* in *Oxon*. He disputed with *Richard Fleming*, while the latter was a *Wickliffist*.

Thomas Cranly, Archbishop of *Dublin*, a Poet, being Distressed by the *Irish* Rebels, he wrote

an Epistle in *Latin* Verse to King *Henry* for Succours.

Thomas Walden, He was sent to the Council of *Constance* to Dispute with the *Hussites*, being a violent Papist.

Thomas Otterburn, a *Franciscan-Fryer*.

Dr. John Langden, Bishop of *Rochester*.

Robert Grasdale.

John Shirburn wrote *Chron. Britan*.

John Henfield, a Monk of *Battle-Abbey*, and *Peter Bassel*, Esquire, the King's Chamberlain, who wrote his Life, were Historians.

And that brave Soldier, Courtier and Christian, Sir *John Oldcastle*, who defended himself at his Tryal with more Learning and Eloquence than all the Doctors his Adversaries accused him with. He wrote Three Pieces. The *First*, To the Parliament of *England*. The *Second*, The Complaints of the Husbandmen. The *Third*, A Confession of Faith.

T H E

T H E L I F E and R E I G N O F H E N R Y VI.

A. D.
1422.
Reg. 1.
King Henry's
Age and
Succession.

His Deput-
ties and
Tutors.

HENRY the Sixth, the Son of that most Heroick Prince *Henry V.* but rather of his Piety than Courage, was left Heir of the Crowns of *England* and *France* when he was not above Nine Months Old, by the untimely Death of his Father, and accordingly was Proclaim'd King of all his Dominions, *August* the 31st, 1422. both at *London* and *Paris*. (a) The State of Affairs was so Intricate and Troublesom, that it requir'd a Prince of equal, if not greater Magnanimity and Conduct than the Nation had so lately lost; but so great was the Religious Respect which the People then had to the Right of Succession, (b) that tho' a much fitter Person might have been Elected for the Government, yet they chose rather to submit to a Child the Rightful Heir, than to the most Brave Hero who wanted that Lawful Claim. And indeed the late King *Henry* who was not able to preserve a Kingdom by his Wisdom, as to get it by his Valour, had taken such effectual Care upon his Death-Bed to supply all the Deficiencies in Government during the Minority of his Son, by putting in sufficient and able Deputies in both Kingdoms, as well as Tutors for the Education of his Person in all Virtuous and Prince-like Endowments and Accomplishments, that instead of One he may seem to have left us many Kings. For he made his Elder Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, and his Younger *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester* Governour of *England* during the Non-Age of his Son, both Persons of that Wisdom, Valour and Integrity, that as they knew how to manage so great Trusts with the greatest Skill and Fidelity, and uphold the Interests of the Crown in their own Family without an Ambitious Usurpation of it, so they were both admitted to those high Stations with the general Approbation and Content of the Nobility and Commons of the Nation. *Thomas Beaufort*, Duke of *Exeter*, and his Brother *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester* were appointed Guardians of his Person, and to take care of his Education, as soon as he was capable of any Impressions of Honour and Goodness; which Choice shews that his Royal Father, who indeed himself was the perfect Model of a good Prince, accounted Religion as necessary for a Prince, as Policy and Martial Skill,

and in the mean time he remain'd under the Care and Government of his Mother Queen *Katherine*, who with the Indulgence and Kindness fit for so great an Infant and so good a Mother, nourish'd him in his Child-hood, till he was Old enough to receive the Instructions of his Wiser Tutors and Guardians.

Due Care being thus taken of the King's Royal Person, and the Government being put into the Hands of so Wise and good Men, Necessities of State requir'd speedy Action; and tho' greater Time might have justly been allow'd to their Grief for the Loss of so loving a Brother, and so great a King, yet since Ceremony might bring irrecoverable Damages upon both Nations, the Two Dukes upon whom the Charge of them lay were forced to offer some Violence to Nature, and betake themselves immediately to the Management and Settlement of Publick Affairs. The Duke of *Gloucester* being as desirous to please as benefit the Nation, and sensible that the best Government is always establish'd upon good Council, made Choice in the first Place of such of the Nobility to be his Council, as were more Eminent for their Wisdom and Virtue, and provided such Under-Magistrates, as by their Justice and Impartiality might give a general Satisfaction to the People, and by their Fidelity and Loyalty might secure the Constitution, and preserve the Peace under their Infant-King. The Duke of *Bedford* also was equally diligent and careful to preserve his Dominions in *France*, which being hardly impossible to be done but by the subduing of the *Dauphin* (as his Brother King *Henry* the Fifth in his dying Speech had order'd) he kept on Foot the same Forces which he had left in *France*, and with the same Zeal and Courage sought to suppress both him and his Adherents, which no doubt he might have done, had not that fatal Alteration, the Death of the *French* King *Charles* the Sixth, soon happen'd, for he dy'd within Fifty Three Days after King *Henry* his Son-in-law, on *October* the 21st following. The Life of King *Charles* was many ways an Advantage to the *English*; for tho' the Settlement made by him upon *K. Henry* and his Heirs after his own Death, could be reasonably thought of little Validity against *Charles* the *Dauphin's* Claim, because he was so dissem-

A. D.
1422.
Reg. 1.

Duke of
Gloucester's
Govern-
ment.

Duke of
Bedford's
Care of
France.

Charles the
French
King's
Death.

(a) He could not then be Proclaim'd King of *France*, because *Charles* the Sixth was living, and by the Treaty of *Troyes*, the King of *England* was not to be Stiled King of *France* till after *Charles's* Death.

(b) 'Twas rather their Respect to the Memory of his Father than to the Right of Succession; for besides, that they shewed they did not value much that Right when they placed *Henry* the Fourth, the King's Grand-father on the Throne, The Divine Right of Succession was in *Edmund*, Son of *Roger Mortimer*, late Earl of *March*, who was the Son of *Edmund Mortimer*, by the Princess *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, the King's Great Grand-father, which Title we shall hear more of to this King's Cost before the End of his Reign.



KING HENRY THE VI. th

A. D. 1422. Reg. I. per'd in his Understanding by his Disease, and so over-rul'd by his Queen, who to revenge her own Quarrel, valu'd not her Son's Right, that no Act of his in these Circumstances could be of any lasting Obligation, yet so long as he was alive, and had confirm'd the Title of the *English* to all they had already gotten by their Arms, and joyn'd further with them to subdue his Son, the *English* met every where with more Assistance, their Proceedings were more justifiable, and the Opposition that the *Dauphin* and his Party made against them, thus joyn'd with his Father, look'd like a most unnatural Rebellion, and so no doubt was accounted by many, who otherwise would have assisted him; and though they thought it a glorious Act to rescue their Kingdom out of the Power of the Conqueror, as the *Dauphin* rightly pretended, yet their Consciences would not suffer them to engage in that Action which carry'd so great Sin, under the fair Pretences of recovering their Country and Liberty, as Rebellion is; for they could not fight for the Son, but against their Father, nor save their Country from the Conquerour without Wrong to their lawful Prince. But the Death of *Charles* now releas'd them from these dubious Perplexities, and put a new Spirit into the *French*, who were weary of the *English* Power and long'd for Liberty.

King Charles
his Death.

His Frenzy,
and the
Cause of it.

Charles the *French* King dy'd at *Paris*, and was bury'd at *St. Dennis*, after he had been a Crowned King of *France* Forty Six Years (or according to the *French* History, Forty Two Years.) He was a Prince of that Excellent Disposition and Temper in his Younger Days, while his Understanding was clear and vigorous, and govern'd his People so well, that he was universally lov'd by his Subjects, who therefore call'd him, *Le Roy Charles le bien aimé*, i. e. K. *Charles* the Well-belov'd: But the Happiness which *France* might have promised her self under so good a Prince, was soon eclipsed by the Disease which seiz'd him within four Years after he came of Age, thro' a great Fright, which he was put into as he rode thro' the Forrest of (c) *Mans*, by the sudden Appearance of a Man (or rather a Spirit in Human Shape) which boldly laying hold of his Horse's Bridle and stopping him, said, O *King* ride no further, but return back immediately, for you are betray'd. These Words much surpriz'd the King; and tho' his Guards forced the Man by Blows to let go his Bridle, yet his sudden Disappearance, as if he were more than a Man, made such a strong Impression upon his Mind, that he fell into a Fit of Frenzy, which plainly discover'd it self to be nothing else but the Effects of those Fears, and the excessive Jealousy of Treason, which he had conceiv'd in his Mind from the former Words; for he look'd upon all about him as Traytors, and with all his might would strike any Person that he could come at, with any thing he could lay hold of. In which miserable Condition, saving some short Intervals, he reign'd Twenty Nine Years, or rather was govern'd by Factions and Parties, for he was in no wise able to govern himself. This Misfortune brought many Troubles upon the Kingdom,

creating strong Divisions among his Nobles, and giving his Enemies an Opportunity to encroach upon his Territories, which the *English* had done so effectually, that he was in his Life-time become a King only in Name, tho' not without his own Consent, and saw his Kingdom and Regalities in the Power of a Foreign Prince, *Henry* the Fifth, King of *England*. Death was never a greater Happiness to any Person than to him; for though he had nothing blame-worthy in him but his Affliction, yet that made his Life so troublesome to himself as well as others, that nothing could be so desirable to him as Death, which restor'd him to a right Mind, a sweet Repose, and eternal Happiness at once. After his Death his Kingdom was immediately seiz'd on by Two Rivals, who with equal Zeal, and as they thought, or pretended Title, sought to establish themselves Kings of it. The Duke of *Bedford* almost as soon as he had given up the Ghost, caused his Nephew *Henry* VI, then King of *England*, to be proclaim'd in *Paris* after this manner: Two Heralds at Arms in their usual Formalities, and many Nobles to attend them, were sent into the most eminent Streets of that City, and one of 'em having cry'd out, *King Charles is dead*, another immediately said with a loud Voice, *God save King Henry the Sixth, God give a long and happy Life to Henry the Sixth, (d) King of France and England, Our Sovereign Lord*: And after the same manner was he proclaim'd King in other Parts of the Realm. *Charles*, Duke of *Touraine*, commonly call'd the *Dauphin*, on the other side was also proclaim'd and crown'd King of *France* by his Party at *Porchiers*, as being Legitimate Heir to the Deceased King, and by the Laws and ancient Edicts of the Nation as well as Nature, the lawful Heir to the Crown of *France*. The *English* indeed at this Time were grown so Powerful, and had gotten so large Dominions in *France*, that they derided this their Competitor, and call'd him in Contempt, *The King of Berry*, because his Fortunes were at so low an Ebb at his Father's Death, that little of *France* was in his Power, but the City of *Bourges* in *Berry*, and the Territories adjoining; yet the Justice of his Title, his undaunted Courage in his worst Condition, and constant Resolution to recover his Right, and restore the Liberties of *France*, were such Endearments of him to his Country-Men, that it soon appear'd, that tho' *Henry* had largest Territories, *Charles* had most Hearts, which tho' under some Fears and Confinements, yet as Opportunity offer'd fell so by Degrees to him, that the *English* were quite expell'd *France*, and *Charles* regain'd all his Hereditary Rights, and an absolute Dominion over that Kingdom, yet not without some Difficulty and Struggling with a various Fortune, as the History of the following Years will shew us.

A. D. 1422. Reg. I.

Henry VI. proclaimed King solemnly in *Paris*.

Charles the *Dauphin* crowned King of *France*.

Duke of *Bedford's* Care to preserve *France*.

The great Change which had thus happen'd by the Death of King *Charles*, the best Friend of the *English*, much awaken'd the vigilant Mind of the Duke of *Bedford*, who could easily foresee the approaching Dangers of the *English* from the present King, who was not more Contemptible to others, than Formidable to him. He knew that

(c) *Mezeray*, the most Authentick Historian among the *French*, writes, that he fell Distracted by this means. He was going upon an Expedition against the Duke of *Bretaign*, and as he rode on a very hot and sultry Day arm'd from Head to Foot, his Page that carry'd his Lance following him, he happen'd to drop asleep, and the Page by chance let the Lance fall on his Helmet, which not only awaken'd him, but threw him into such a Fury that quite bereft him of his Senses, insomuch, that he fell upon all that were about him, and had certainly killed some of them had he not been prevented by being laid hold on. His Distemper, says the same Author, grew greater by a Fright the next Year, when dancing in a Mask, the Cloaths of his Fellow Maskers being daubed with Pitch and Rosin, took fire, and before they could be undressed they were burnt or stifled, the King was snatched out of the Flames by a Lady of Masculine Courage; and this Accident so frighted him, that he never entirely recovered the Use of his Understanding.

(d) As King of *England*, styled *Henry* the Sixth, and as King of *France*, *Henry* the Second.

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1. the *English* Yoke could never be made easie to the *French* Necks, and that since now by the Death of the late King they had no Bond to hold them to their *Allegiance*, tho' never so often sworn and promised, but Conquest, they could expect Subjection from them no longer, than either Fear or lack of Opportunity could prevent their Revolt. This put him upon using all means to secure the Dominions of his Master, which he was sensible could not be always effectual, yet he hop'd it might preserve them to some advantageous Accidents. And the first Thing he did was to reinforce the Army which King *Henry* his Brother had left in *France*, and place over it such Commanders, as were not only eminent for their Loyalty, but ready to undertake the boldest Attempts to maintain the Rights of their Country. With part of which he well fortified all the Garrisons on the Confines of the *English* Pale, and the rest he kept on Foot to oppose any sudden Invasion upon them by the *Dauphin* or his Party: Then he assembl'd all the Nobility, as well *French* as *English* to him at *Paris*, and having in a grave Speech reminded them of their Duty and Allegiance to King *Henry VI.* their undoubted Sovereign, to whom they had not only oblig'd themselves to be faithful and true by the solemnest Oath made to his Father, but were ty'd by their present Interests; for as by their voluntary Subjection they were now settled in the quiet Enjoyment of their Honour and Estates, so by their Revolt they must necessarily expose themselves to all the Miseries of a renew'd War, which they must expect would be so much the more Merciless, by how much a treacherous Friend is always accounted as the worst of Enemies, he perswaded them to renew their Faith to the King, and take a fresh Oath of Fidelity to him. This Advice was readily comply'd with by all the Nobles and others present, who did their Homages to him in the King's Behalf, and took a solemn Oath of Allegiance to him, which being so good a President to all of inferior Degrees, the Regent impos'd the like Oath upon all Persons as well *English* as *French* within King *Henry's* Dominions in *France*. Besides these Things, he took the most effectual Care he could to keep *Normandy*, the Ancient Inheritance of the *English*, in Subjection, by encouraging the Nobility, and placing strong Garrisons among them, and that he might establish the *English* Sovereignty as firmly as he could among the *French*, he call'd in all the Ancient Coin, and had it new made and stamped with the *English* Arms quarter'd with those of *France*, strictly forbidding, that any Money coin'd by the late King *Charles* should be Current in King *Henry's* Dominions, and ordering, that no Money should pass in Payment, but what had both the *English* and *French* Arms upon it. Two new Pieces were Coin'd as Badges of the *English* Sovereignty, one of Gold, call'd a *Salus*, of Twenty Two Shillings Value, and another of Silver, call'd a *Blans*, of Eight Pence Value. Thus did the Regent as wisely and cautiously provide for the Continuance of the *English* Power and Dominion in *France* as Human Prudence could devise, so that whatever might after fall out, he secur'd himself from any Negligence or deserv'd Blame.

First Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

But the Regent's Care was not thought sufficient to maintain so considerable a Part of the *English* Dominions, as *France* was deservedly accounted; the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was equally concern'd to defend his Nephew's Right, thought it a Subject fit for the Consultation of a Parliament, which he summon'd for that End to meet, *Novemb. 9.* The Design of their Meeting

being only to provide for the War in *France*, little of Publick Concern was enacted, but what Necessity requir'd, and therefore only Three Acts of that Nature pass'd, viz. 1. To invest in the Lords of the King's Council, a Power to appoint Officers and Workmen to coin Gold and Silver, in as many Places as shall seem to them convenient. 2. To enjoin all Sheriffs, four times a Year, to proclaim in their Jurisdictions all Statutes in Force concerning Purveyors, that they may not abuse the People's Ignorance or Credulity in Buying. 3. To banish certain *Irish* Men out of the Realm, who having taken Sanctuary in *Oxford*, committed many Rapes, Murthers, and heinous Disorders in the Nation, to the great Disturbance of the adjoining Countries. Most part of the Session was spent in contriving Supplies for the carrying on the Conquest of *France*, and it was at length unanimously granted, That for every Sack of Wool exported, Five Nobles should be paid to the King for Three Years next ensuing; and an Act was made at the same time for an Allowance to be given the maim'd and decrepit Soldiers, who had serv'd King *Henry V.* in his Wars with *France*, out of the Territories conquer'd by their Assistance, and Spoils taken in the War. With this Supply of Money the Protector, the Duke of *Gloucester*, rais'd a Body of able Men, and in the Spring sent them over to assist his Brother against the Power of the New *French* King, whom they had reason to suppose would be struggling for his Right, as indeed they soon found he did.

While the *English* Governours were thus providing to secure their Conquests in *France*, King *Charles*, then call'd King of *France*, was no less Active to raise an Army to regain his Kingdom, of which he had left little more than the Title, for scarce any Province adher'd to him but *Languedoc*, and that able to do him little Service, being assaulted on the one Hand by *John De Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, and on the other by the Lord *Rochebaron*, Governour of the Diocese of *Velay*, Friends to the *English*; but yet the lowest Ebbs of Fortune could not make him despair, having as he frequently used to say, *God and Right on his side*. With his Friends in *Languedoc* he began to lay the Foundation of his ensuing Power, and with such an Army as he could pick up, which he put under the Command of the Count *de Foix*, encountred the Prince of *Orange*, and Lord *Rochebaron*, whom he easily overcame, being but weak in themselves, and at too great a Distance to receive any timely Aid from the *English*. This Province being thus settled, he put it under the Government of *Charles de Bourbon*, Count *de Clermont* a Prince of the Blood, and as grateful to the People as faithful to himself, and being encourag'd by this Success he return'd to *Poitiers* to proceed in his Affairs, and raise an Army great enough for his Design, if it could be done with all his Interests. The *Scots* were his Friends, as they had always been to the Kings of *France*, but he was forced in so desperate a Condition to give them greater Encouragements than Ordinary, preferring some of their Nobles to the greatest Offices about him, as *Charles Steward*, Earl of *Buchan*, he made Constable of *France*, and gave him the Lordship of *Aubeny*, which his Posterity long enjoy'd, and *James*, Earl of *Glascoe*, Marshal, and besides choosing one Regiment of his Guards out of them (which is continu'd to this Day.) These Favours shew'd to the *Scots*, gain'd them readily to his Assistance, and made them not sparing in lending him Aid to recover that Dignity, which they were ready to believe by these Earnests would be their Gain

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1.

King Charles, his endeavours to regain France, and recover Languedoc.

The Scots assist Charles.

A. D. 1423.

A. D. 1423. Reg. 1. The Italian's assist King Charles. as well his own. He sent also to his Friends into *Italy* and *Spain* to require their Aid, who were not backward to his Desires, but lent him a convenient Force, which so elevated the Hopes of his Friends at Home (of which he had some Persons of Note in every Province of his Kingdom) that they also set all Engines at work to draw off the People from their Subjection to the *English*, and invite them to recover their ancient Freedom and Rights, in which they were so successful, that in a few Weeks they had gathered a great Army able to compass their Designs, and were assur'd privately of the Fidelity and Obedience of many considerable Towns, yea, even of the greatest part of the *Parisians* themselves, who tho' they dar'd not declare for him, yet would be ready as Opportunity should offer to act for his Advantage, which perhaps they should be the better able to do by being reputed Friends to the *English*. Thus did the Affairs of the Two Rival Kings stand. *Henry* had most of the Kingdom of *France*, but *Charles* had the most of the *French*. *Henry* was fear'd most, but *Charles* lov'd best. *Henry* was forc'd to trust his Enemies, but *Charles* to fight against his Friends: And then it was easie to guess which way the Victory would at length turn; for what Prince can be so Powerful that Treachery cannot undermine, and what Prince so Weak as not to conquer where his Enemies are loth to strike and glad to yield, thereby to throw the Victory into the Hands they'd have it.

Duke of Bedford makes Alliances for the Safety of King Henry.

The D. of Bedford with a watchful Eye observing the Growth of the *Dauphin's* Interest, fear'd that he would soon be, what he had as yet only the Title of, *King of France*, unless all speedy Means were used to crush him in the Beginning; and tho' he had a very good Force by him, yet he found it necessary to strengthen himself by a strict Alliance with such neighbouring Princes as might prove most prejudicial to the *English* by joining with their Adversaries: Whereupon he invited the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Peter*, Duke of *Bretagne*, with his Brother *Arthur*, Earl of *Richmond*, *John*, Prince of *Orange*, and *Amadeus*, Duke of *Savoy* to an Interview at *Amiens*, and there enter'd into a League both Offensive and Defensive with them against *Charles* the pretended King of *France*. And that he might oblige them firmly to hold to their Promise, he marry'd *Anne* the Duke of *Burgundy's* Sister, and the Earl of *Richmond* his other Sister *Margaret*. From this Confederacy sprung almost an irresistible Opposition to all the Pretences of *Charles* to the Crown, for they all agreed to guard their several Parts of *France* against him and his Adherents, and to keep so strict a Watch upon all his Motions, that he should never be able to make any considerable Resistance. The Duke of *Burgundy* undertook the Defence of *Picardy*, and put in *John* of *Luxemburg* to drive out the *Dauphinists* (as they were call'd) out of the Towns they had possessed themselves of. The Earl of *Salisbury* was placed with a strong Body of Men in *Champagne* and *Brie*, not only to suppress any Insurrections, but keep the *Parisians* in awe. The valiant Earl of *Warwick* was sent into *Guyenne* to take those Towns that held out for the *Dauphin*, and the Prince of *Orange* was sent with a good Army to suppress his Interests in *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*. Thus did the Duke of Bedford provide as strong a Force to resist, as *Charles* had to oppose, and made as firm Alliances to uphold and to maintain K. *Henry's* Dominions, as *Charles* had to regain them, so that they seem'd almost an equal Match, scarce able to subdue each other, unless some special Decree of Heaven

should turn the Scale, as it may seem to have done in favour of the *French*, as the following History will manifest.

Both Parties being thus provided for Action, they were as eager to try their Fortune one against the other, as they had been to fit themselves for it. The *English* are said by the *French* Historians to have begun the Game, and the *French* by the *English*; Report perhaps having out-run the real Attempts of either side: But this is credible, that they began to assault each other's Territories with equal Fury and Courage almost at the same time. The *English* besieg'd *Bazas* in *Guienne*, and took it without much Difficulty, being a small and weak City; but *Charles* undertook a more important Attempt by the Siege of *Pont-Meuhan*, a fair City, then well fortified by the *English*, and standing upon the River *Seine* at a convenient Distance from *Paris*; where he was certified he had many Friends who would be helpful to him, if he could make himself Master of a Place so fit for Communication with them. The eager Desire he had to gain this City made him carry on the Siege with the greater Diligence and Severity; for having obtain'd it by Force before the *English* could send any Relief, he put the whole Garrison to the Sword. The Duke of *Bedford* was sensible of the Inconvenience of this Loss, and so much the more because he found the *Parisians* more uneasy under his Government, and endeavouring by all means to get him out of their City, under a Pretence, that the adjoining Castles were troublesome and hurtful to them, which he easily discern'd was only contriv'd to declare for their own King without Danger, and therefore resolv'd upon the Recovery of it whatever it cost him. *Thomas*, Earl of *Salisbury*, a Person not inferior to the most eminent *Roman* Captains, was thereupon sent with a strong Army to besiege it; but because K. *Charles* was sensible that the Garrison was unable to make any considerable Defence, and he was loth to lose the Advantage he had got, he sent a Relief to them under the Command of the Earl of *Annerli* the Constable of *France*, and the Lord *Anechy*, who having with them a good Body of hardy *Scots* endeavour'd by a pitch'd Battel to raise the Siege. The *English* as valiantly under their brave Commander maintain'd the Siege, and so a bloody and fierce Fight began, which concluded after some Hours in favour of the *English*, and with a great Loss to the *French*, for there were slain 1800 *French* Men, and above 3000 *Scots*, and among them several great Men and Commanders, viz. of the *French*, the Earls of *Lestrake*, *Comigens* and *Tonnoire*, the Lords *Coquart de Cameron*, *De Port* and *Montmorancy*, the Bastards of *Arminack* and *Forrests*, and the Viscount of *Touraine*; and of the *Scots*, the Lord of *St. John's Town*, Sir *John Baggary*, Sir *John Turnbel*, Sir *John Holiburton*, Sir *Robert Lisle*, Sir *William Douglas*, Sir *Alexander Hume*, and many others. The Constable who had lost his Eye in the Battel was taken Prisoner, with the Earl of *Vantadour*, Sir *Alexander Meldrum*, Sir *Lewis Ferignie*, and 2200 Gentlemen of the *French* side. The *English*, tho' Conquerors, yet kept their Ground with the Loss of several of their Commanders, as Sir *John Grey*, Sir *William Hall*, and Sir *Gilbert Halsall*, one of their Marshals of the Field, and 2100 common Soldiers. The Misfortune of the *French* in this Attempt so disheartned the Besieged, who were Spectators of the Battel, that they immediately surrendered the Town upon these Conditions.

I. That the *French* Garrison should depart out of the Town without Damage or Impediment,

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Several Places taken by the French and English.

Montacute. Pont-Meuhan retaken by the English, and the Conditions of the Surrender.

A. D. 1423. but should leave behind them all their Horses, Armour, and other Habiliments of War.

Reg. I. II. That all the Riches of the Town, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and the like, should be a Spoil for the *English*.

III. That all Persons who had serv'd Henry V. in his Wars against France, or had sworn to a final Peace with the *English*, as also all the Soldiers within the Garrison, that were either Scots, Irish or *English*, should be left to the Mercy of the *English*; and all others who would swear Fealty and Homage to King Henry should have their Liberties given them immediately without Ransom.

IV. That if there were any Person found in the Town who was either actually guilty of the Death of the Duke of Burgundy, or had been consenting any ways to his Death, that he should have no Benefit of this Agreement, but should be deliver'd up to the Regent to be punish'd, with some other Articles of less Importance. The Recovery of this Town was of great Advantage to the *English*.

Duke of Bedford punishes the Parisians, and prefers the Earl of Salisbury and Sir John Falstaff.

The Regent having thus remov'd the Danger which the near Approach of K. Charles's Forces threatned him with, set himself with all Diligence to secure the *English* Interests more firmly; he first inquir'd into the design'd Revolt of the Parisians, and punish'd the Leaders of it with Death. Then he sent Sir John Falstaff to reduce the Castles of Pacy and Courfay, which being in the Hands of the French, who pretended themselves Friends to the Regent, were become troublesome to the *English* at Paris upon K. Charles's Success. These Sir John Falstaff with a good Force of *English* Soldiers soon reduced, and returning with a good Booty and many Prisoners to the Duke, they were put into the Keeping of more Faithful Persons. But the Regent, who was of as eminent Wisdom as Fidelity, thought it not more Prudent to curb his Enemies than encourage his Friends, and therefore prefer'd the Earl of Salisbury and Sir John Falstaff to Places of greater Trust for their Services of this Year. The Earl of Salisbury he made Lieutenant and Vicegerent for the King in the Counties of Brie and Champaign, and Sir John Falstaff, Great Master of his Household, his Deputy in the Dutchy of Normandy, lying on this side the River Seine, and Governour of the Countries of Anjou and Main, which Honours, as they shew'd what Respect the Regent had for their Fidelity and Valour, so they became a strong Obligation upon them to be indefatigable in his Service, as indeed they were ever after. (e)

Transactions in England, and Accidents.

During these Transactions in France by the French and *English*, many Things not unworthy Observation happen'd in England, but none of so fatal an Influence as the Marriage of the Protector Humpbrey, Duke of Gloucester, which shall be more distinctly related in its Order. November the 7th, the Body of the Heroick Prince, King Henry V. being brought out of France, was bury'd in the Abbey-Church of Westminster at the Feet of St. Edward, as is more largely related in his Life. About March the 2d was William Tailour a Secular Priest, and Minister of Bristol burnt for Heresie in Smithfield. He had been accused several Years before of holding some Erroneous Opinions contrary to the Doctrines of the Present Church, and infecting the People of Bristol with them by his Preaching, viz. 1. That whosoever shall hang any parts of Holy Scripture about his Neck to defend him from any Danger or In-

fection, or to free him from any bodily Diseases or other Maladies (as was frequently done) taketh away the Honour due unto God only, and giveth it to the Devil. 2. That no Human Creature, neither in Heaven nor Earth is to be worshipped. 3. That the Saints in Heaven are not to be worshipped or Invoked. For these Doctrines he was summon'd to appear before Thomas Arundell then Arch-Bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth; and altho' they were then condemn'd as Erroneous and Heretical, yet because he deny'd that he had at any time deliver'd them as his own Opinions or Sense, but only propounded the same to argue about them, and with all promised, that he never would hold or favour any such Opinions hereafter, he was dismissed from his Imprisonment upon his Corporal Oath, and Security given into Chancery for his good Behaviour for the future. But he was not set at Liberty long, when a fresh Accusation was brought against him under his own Hand, concerning some Heretical Doctrines which he had vented in some Letters written to Tho. Smith a Priest of Bristol, wherein he had asserted, That every Prayer wherein we Petition any Supernatural Gift, ought to be made to God only, and to pray to any Creature on that Account is Idolatry. These Assertions being examin'd by the Convocation then held by Henry Chicheley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's Church were condemn'd as Heretical; and he being Sentenc'd to Death as a lapsed and incorrigible Heretick, was first degraded of his Priestly Office, and deliver'd to the Secular Power to suffer the Punishment of his Crime, which he did in Smithfield with great Constancy and Christian Resolution. Whether the Shedding of this good Man's Blood provok'd the Divine Displeasure to inflict the Punishment on the Nation that follow'd, is not for Us to determine, yet it was certainly the Effect of some Sin of like Nature, for from Midsummer to the End of September, there fell every Day such Quantities of Rain, that the Harvest was in great Danger of being utterly lost for want of Seasonable Weather to have the Corn in; yet so great Diligence was used, that Wheat at London was not sold for more than Eight Shillings a Quarter, and Malt than Five Shillings. But the most Unfortunate Accident in England was (f) by the Marriage of the Duke of Gloucester. The French Historians say, That by this Match, Providence, who had for a long time frown'd upon the French for their Sins, began to shew that he had some remainders of Favour for them, beginning now to revive the French Monarchy again, and restore them to their Ancient Liberties and Privileges. Upon this Occasion, Jaquet or Jaqueline, sole Daughter and Heiress to William of Bavaria, was by the Death of her Father left the Government of the Earldoms of Henault and Holland, two large and populous Countries. She was marry'd to John, Duke of Brabant before, but leaving her Husband upon a Pretence that he was a too near Relation to marry her (or as others, for his unkind Usage of her) she came into England, and being a Woman of an ambitious Humour, sought her a New Husband. The Duke of Gloucester, though then at the Helm of a great Kingdom, yet knowing that his Glory would have a Period by his Nephew's Age, sought to make himself an Absolute Prince by marrying her, and accordingly she became his Wife to the great Displeasure, not only of the Duke of Brabant,

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The Marriage of the Duke of Gloucester, and ill Consequences of it.

(e) And ever had been so.

(f) He did not marry till the next Year, the Third of Henry the Sixth, Anno 1424.

A. D. 1425. but of the Duke of Burgundy his Father's Brother's Son, whose Friendship, as it had raised and established the Power of the *English* in France, so his Enmity which was caused by this Quarrel, prov'd the utter Destruction of the *English* Interest there.

Reg. 2. The Valiant Earl of Salisbury having lately receiv'd such an Encouragement to exert his Natural Courage for his Master's Honour and Interest, began this Year with many brave Attempts, which were attended with the desired Success, so that the Ruin of K. Charles seem'd almost unavoidable: For he besieg'd and took the Town of Cravant in Auxerre, and the Towns of Vertus, and Esperney in Champaign, with many other smaller Towns that were either affrighted or allur'd by their Example. But Montaguillon, a strong City in the Country of Brie cost him a great deal of more Time and Labour, for it held out the Siege above Five Months, and was at last gain'd with no small Loss to his Army; but the Victorious Triumph which the *English* made at the taking recompenc'd their Pains and Loss abundantly, for the Conditions of Surrender were very Honourable (which the *French* Historians call strange and miraculous), viz.

I. That the Town with all its Treasure and Riches should be resign'd to the *English*, their Lives and Houses saved.

II. That the Captains of the Town, Regent de Cotinie, and of the Castle Guille Burgois, both Bretons, should swear never to bare Arms against the *English* on this side the River Loire.

III. That all the Soldiers should be left to the Mercy of the Regent, and should go to the Tournelles in Paris, where the Regent then resided, with bare Heads, and a Rope about their Necks, and a Dagger at their Breasts, which was done, and they all had suffer'd Death, had not the Dutcheß of Bedford obtain'd their Lives of her Husband thro' meer Commiseration to them.

While the Earl of Salisbury thus victoriously manag'd the *English* Affairs, the Earl of Suffolk was no less Industrious to carry on their Conquests another way; for he took the two strong Castles of Concy and La Roche, and the Regent himself besieg'd and took the Castles of Crottoy and Riol, by which means the Kingdom of France was almost entirely subject to the *English*, having an absolute Command of all Places as far as the Banks of the River Loire.

Second Parliament, its Acts. This Year in July was born to Charles the Titular King of France his first Son, whom he nam'd Lewis. His Birth was receiv'd with great Joy by his Adherents, and was thus far advantageous to him, that it mightily confirm'd his Party to uphold him thro' the Hopes of a Successor, and brought over to them all those who had any Affection to the *French* Monarchy. But all the Comfort his Father had in him was in his Child-hood, he proving in his riper Age Ambitious and Rebellious, aspiring so eagerly to his Father's Throne, that he could not wait Nature's Leisure, but sought to depose him.

The Protector being now loaden with many difficult Affairs of State, issu'd out his Summons to call the Parliament to meet, Octob. 20. and because he thought the Presence of the Infant-King might be a means to engage both Lords and Commons to be Zealous for his Interests: He thereupon was brought up by his Mother from Windsor, and at the opening of the Session (g) sat upon his Mother's Knee in the Chair of State among his Lords. The Speaker in an Eloquent Speech to

the Lords, first extoll'd his Person, and told them, That such a Divine Sweetness appear'd in his Face as foretold all the Happiness which could be expected from a good Prince; and the Son of such an unparalleled Father, and then recommended to their Care the Government of the Nation in his Infancy, Exhorting them not only in Compassion to his tender Age, but in Consideration of their own Honour so to manage the Publick Affairs, as that neither the King nor his People may have just Cause to blame them when he came to his Government himself. The Lords and Commons were easily perswaded to do what they knew reasonable in it self and their Duty, and therefore immediately enter'd into Consultation for the Publick Benefit. The King stay'd but a few Days in the City, but with his Mother on November the 26th remov'd to Waltham-Cross, and not long after to Hartford, where he kept his Christmas with the usual Magnificence, the King of Scots being there with him. In the mean time the Parliament employ'd their whole Care and Thoughts for the Publick Good, and after much Deliberation Enacted and Order'd many Things of great Advantage to both Nations; for as to England they confirm'd all the Ancient Rights, Privileges and Franchises of the Church, and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Cities and Boroughs, and all other the King's Subjects, and further enacted, That all Merchants trading in Wool should sell their Merchandizes at Callis only so long as the Staple continu'd there, by which means the Subjects of both Kingdoms were greatly enrich'd; That no Coin of Gold or Silver shall be carry'd out of the Realm upon any Pretence whatsoever, unless it be for the Payments of Soldiers, and other Expences of the King's Wars beyond the Seas, upon the Penalty of forfeiting the said Sum so carry'd out. That a sort of base Money call'd Blanks shall not be accepted or tender'd in any Payment upon Pain contain'd in the Stat. of Hen. 5. against Gally-halfpence, Saskins and Dotkins, both which Acts were well contriv'd for the Advantage of Trade and the Wealth of the Nation, because the Exportation of Money is the Ruin of the Riches of a Kingdom. And that Justice might thrive with Trade, it was also enacted, That all Officers made by the King's Letters Patents in any Courts of Justice should not only be Men of Integrity themselves, but should be sworn to entrust no Under-Clerks, for whose good Behaviour they themselves would not be responsible, that there might be no Falseness, Bribery or Extortion in administering Justice, to the great Wrong of the People. And for the Security of the King's Person, it was further enacted, That if any Person, who is committed to Prison for Grand or Petty-Treason, shall break Prison and escape, his Crime shall be taken pro confesso, and his Goods and Chattels may be seiz'd by the Lord of the Manor where they were found, as if he were actually Condemn'd and Executed. Besides the Statutes made for the Benefit of England, it was ordain'd, That nothing should be omitted necessary for the Preservation of France, and that the Lord Protector should send such Supplies of Men and Money to his Brother into that Nation, as should be judg'd requisite for the Defence of it against the Pretensions of K. Charles. And so the Parliament broke up with much Applause and Commendation.

In the Time of this Session of Parliament, and by and with the Consent of the same, the Protector

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(g) This Parliament was soon called after Easter in the following Year, and 'twas then the Infant-King sat in the House. Hol. pag. 589.

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2. *James, King of Scots set at Liberty.* rector (solicited by *Mordicai, Duke of Albany*) considering, not only that *James, King of Scots*, had been long detain'd Prisoner in *England* without a just Cause, but that being set at Liberty he might probably so manage him to a firm Friendship with the *English*, that he would deny the *French* King the Assistance of his Subjects the *Scots*, whose Valour had almost wholly supported him, set him free from his Captivity, and provided a large Retinue to convey him honourably into his own Country; but least this Obligation should be forgotten he marry'd him to the Lady *Jane*, the Daughter of the Duke of *Somerset*, and Cousin-German to the King, (b) with whom he had a large Dowry, besides many Gifts of Plate and Jewels which her Kindred of the Nobility presented him with, and at his Departure induc'd him to take this following Oath of Friendship and Fidelity to the King of *England*, viz.

His Oath to King Henry.

I James Steward, King of Scotland shall be true and faithful unto thee Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, the Noble and Superiour Lord of Scotland, and to thee I make my Fidelity for the said Kingdom of Scotland, which I hold and claim of thee; and I shall bear you my Fidelity and Faith of Life and Limb and Worldly Honour against all Men, and faithfully I shall acknowledge and do you Service for the Kingdom of Scotland aforesaid. So God me help and these Holy Evangelists.

His Treachery.

With these Ties of Friendship was he dismissed and sent Home, but nothing could oblige him to desert the *French* Interests; for soon (i) after his Return Home, either thro' a natural Affection to that Nation, or else desirous to rescue himself from all Badges of Subjection to the *English*, he entred into a strict League with the *French* King, and seal'd it with the Promises of a Marriage between his Daughter *Margaret* and *Lewis* the Dauphin.

Sir John Mortimer accused of Treason, and Executed.

In the Month of *February*, and while the Parliament was yet sitting, one *William King* a Servant of Sir *Robert Scott*, Keeper of the Tower of *London*, accus'd Sir *John Mortimer*, a Prisoner in the Tower, upon the Act of the last Parliament concerning Escapes, alledging many other Articles against him, viz. 1. That the said Sir *John Mortimer* had contriv'd with him to break out of his Imprisonment, and had promis'd him immediately a Reward of Forty Pound a Year to be aiding and assisting to him in his Escape, and afterward an Earldom. 2. That the said Sir *John* told him, that after his Escape he would go into *Wales* to the Earl of *March*, and having rais'd 40000 Men would enter the Kingdom again and cut off the Heads of the Protector and Bishop of *Winchester*. 3. That he had told him, that the Earl of *March* was rightful Heir to the Crown of *England*, and that after him he was the next Heir; wherefore if the Earl of *March* refus'd to recover his Right, he himself would take upon him the Regal Power as is due. 4. That when he came into *Wales*, if the Earl of *March* would not accept his Service, nor engage in his Cause, he would then fly into *France* and assist the *French* King against King *Henry*, and did not doubt but in the End he should gain his Design. This Impeachment was brought against the said

Sir *John Mortimer* before the Lords and Commons assembl'd in Parliament, and was so fully prov'd against him by the said *William King*, that he was found Guilty of High-Treason, and condemn'd for it to be hang'd and quarter'd, which Sentence was accordingly Executed upon him at *Tiburn*, and his Body was bury'd in *St. John's Church* at *Clerkenwell*. The Earl of *March* tho' nothing of a Conspiracy could be prov'd against him, yet was sent into *Ireland* with some others, to secure the Kingdom from Danger, and dy'd there soon after.

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2.

While the Parliament was thus busied, the Protector made it his Care to get Supplies for *France* to reinforce the *English* Army there, which tho' Successful in all its Atchievements almost, yet was much diminish'd, and by his Industry rais'd an Army of 10000 able Men, which he sent over in the beginning of the Spring well arm'd and provided, This prov'd a seasonable and happy Recruit, for *Charles* began to overpower the *English*, and get some Advantages against them, for he had lately taken *Compeigne* and *Crotoy* from them. But the Arrival of these fresh Men reviv'd the Spirits of the discourag'd *English*; for the Regent putting them under the Command of the Valiant Earl of *Salisbury* and Earl of *Suffolk*, sent them out to recover their late Losses, and oppose the further Progress of the *French* King, which they did so effectually, that within a small time not only *Compeigne* and *Crotoy* were regain'd, but many other Places taken from *K. Charles*, viz. *Baside*, *Riol*, *Rula*, *Gyronde*, *Basyl*, *Mormond*, *Milham*, *Femal*, *Mauron*, *Daras*, and many other Towns and Castles of no small Strength and Importance. Some small Skirmishes in other Places had pass'd between the *French* and *English* which being to the Disadvantage of the latter, did something abate the Glory of their Conquest; for Sir *John de la Pool* Brother of the Duke of *Suffolk*, Captain of *Auranches* in *Normandy* having assembl'd to him all the Garrisons in the Marches of *Anjoy*, made an Assault upon the City of *Angiers*, plunder'd and burnt the Suburbs, and pillag'd all the adjoining Country, carrying away as many Prisoners and as much Cattle as they could conveniently. The Earl of *Annerl*, and Viscount *Narbon* were then the Governors of the Town and Castle; and though they could not prevent the Mischief the *English* had done by reason of the Suddenness of it, yet seeing them retreat in much Disorder, and clogg'd with the Prisoners and Spoil they had taken, they resolv'd to revenge their Loss, and redeem both their Credit and Captives: Whereupon Sallying out with 6000 *French* Men they pursu'd and fell upon them. The *English* were in so great Confusion that they could make no considerable Resistance, and so were easily routed and overthrown, 300 being slain, all their Spoil lost, and above 600 taken Prisoners, among whom were Sir *John de la Pool* himself, Sir *John Bassett*, Sir *John Aufort*, and several other Commanders and Persons of Note. But in these Petty Skirmishes the Advantage was not always on the *French* Men's side, for Sir *Matthew Gough* with a Party of *English* routed the Bastard de la *Baulin*, and the Lord *Craignac* who with a good Body of Men had made an Assault upon

A fresh Army of English sent into France, who conquer'd many Places.

The English Loss at Angiers.

(b) She was Daughter to *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, and Sister to *John*, Duke of *Somerset*, and Cousin German to *Henry* the Fifth, the King's Father: The *Scots* King marry'd her in the Second Year of his Reign, and before he return'd Home he did Homage to the young King of *England* in the Castle of *Windsor* in these Words.

I James Steward King of the Scots shall be true and faithful unto you Lord Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, the Noble and Superiour Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, which I hold and claim of you; and I shall bear you my Faith and Fidelity of Life and Limb and worldly Honour against all Men, and faithfully I shall acknowledge and shall do you Service due for the Kingdom of Scotland aforesaid. So help me God, and these Holy Evangelists. Hol. p. 587.

(i) It cou'd not be soon after, for his Daughter *Margaret* was not born till several Months after her Mother's Arrival in *Scotland*, and 'tis not probable that they talk'd of marrying her before she was a Year or two Old.

A. D. 1424. upon *Masconnois*, and took the said *Bastard Prisoner* with his own Hands, whom he presented to the Earl of *Salisbury*, but receiv'd him again of the Earl for a Gift, with a Horse of great

The Duke of Bedford besieges *Verneuil*, and takes it.

Value: So that the former Losses abated little of the Victories of the *English*. Yet the Regent was not contented with the Success of the Arms of his Men, who though they gain'd something daily, yet the Competitor of the Crown being yet alive, and rather increasing in Strength and Interest, than declining, he knew there could be no safe Enjoyment of what they had, nor any Hopes of a Cessation of Arms; whereupon he contriv'd all he could to bring Things to a Conclusion by drawing the *French* King to a pitch'd Battel, and either Conquer or be Conquer'd; for a State of continual Wars damps all the Comforts of Victory, and makes Conquest it self no Pleasure. To effect this the Regent could find no better way than to lay Siege to *Verneuil* (k) in *Perche*, a most important Place belonging to the *French* King, which all his Interests were engag'd to defend, and accordingly the *English* Army sat down before it in the beginning of *August*. The Captain of the Town, *Mosieur Gyrand* held out a while Valiantly against the *English*, but at length came to a Capitulation, and promised to resign the Town if it were not reliev'd by a Day appointed, and immediately sent King *Charles* Word of the Agreement. The Relief of the Place was thought necessary, and an Army of *French* and *Scots* was dispatch'd thither to raise the Siege with all convenient Speed under the Command of the Duke of *Alençon*, Earl of *Boughan*, Constable of *France*, *Archibald*, Earl of *Dowglas*, Viscount *Narbon*, Lord *Ventadour* and others; but before they could get thither the City was resign'd into the Hands of the *English* according to the Capitulation, because the Succour came not time enough. The Resignation of the Town being known to the Duke of *Alençon* put him into some doubt, whether he should not Retreat without Battle, since the Town could not be sav'd; but entering into Consultation with his Commanders, it was resolv'd to go forward and give the *English* Battel, since they could not retire without Danger to themselves, and a Brand of Cowardize upon their Persons; wherefore they march'd toward the *English* and on a fair Plain near the Town drew into a Form of Battel. The Duke of *Bedford* glad of this Opportunity of deciding the Quarrel, which he had long desir'd, and now sought, advanc'd towards them from the Town in great Order, and on *August* 28. gave them Battel. The Dispute was very sharp and furious, as though the fate of either side depended on the Success of that Combate. Equal Courage, and equal Strength appear'd on both Parts, so that the Victory was long dubious, till at length the *English* prevail'd and utterly routed the *French* Army, slaying, as our *English* Writers relate (l) 10000, but as the *French* say; but 5000, and taking Prisoners the Duke of *Alençon*, the Lords *Tajest* and *Hornit*, Sir *Peirce Harrison*, and other Gentlemen to the number of 200 besides common Soldiers. The Viscount *Narbon*, though slain in the Fight, was after Hang'd on a

A pitch Battle between the *English* and *French*, in which the *English* overcame.

Gibbet, because he had been One of the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *English* lost 2100 Men, but none of Note, which made the Victory the greater, because the *French* lost not only most of their Men, but most of their best Commanders, as well *Scotch* as *French*, viz. the Earls of *Animerl*, *Dowglas*, *Boughan*, *Ventadour*, *Forest* and *Marie*, the Lords *Gravile*, *Fountains*, *Ambois*, *Gaules*, *Touars*, and *Poissey*, with above 300 Gentlemen more, a Loss much harder to be recover'd, than that of the Common Soldiery. This Victory reduc'd the *French* King to very great Streights, as well of Fortune as Mind. He was extremely troubl'd at the Defeat, but more at the Effects of it, which render'd him unable to defend himself or the Countries that adher'd to him, (m) yet he was resolv'd to hold up his State as well as he could; and tho' he fear'd every Day to be turn'd out of all, yet he kept up something of a Majestick Grandure at *Poitiers*, having his Nobles about him in form of a Court and his Parliament, Chancery, and other Courts for the Administration of Justice, and Management of his Revenues, and other Affairs of the Crown, as if he were in the highest Dignity.

The Regent after his signal Victory having punish'd several Deserters for their Baseness and Treachery, which he apprehended after the Fight, and settl'd his Affairs in *Normandy* return'd to *Paris*, where he was receiv'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* and his own Dutcheffs with great Joy, and continued there all the Winter. The good Effects of this Victory which were easily foreseen, fill'd the Regent's Mind with so much Easiness, that he gave himself a little more Liberty than usual to enjoy his Pleasures, and spent his *Christmas* in making great Feasts for the Nobility of *France*, and the *English* Commanders. In one of them he feasted the Old Queen of *France*, Duke of *Burgundy* Earl of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, with many other Persons of divers Nations, and to divert them he was pleas'd himself to Just, which he never did before. The Duke of *Burgundy* also, who was a Person of a very aimable Feature, and graceful Behaviour, much pleas'd the Company with Dancing and Justing, though the extream Civility which he shew'd to the Countess of *Salisbury* kindl'd such a Disgust in her Husband's Breast, that he ever after bore him a Grudge. But these Days of Jolity were kept within their due Limits, by the Regent, who wisely knew how to use Pleasure without any hindrance to his Business; and therefore as soon as his Mind was a little refresh'd with innocent Divertisments, he returns again to his Care of his Charge, and the first thing he enter'd upon was to make the best Advantage of his late Success, before *Charles* could recruit his Losses, and to that End he sends out the Lord *Scales*, Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falstoff* with an Army of 2000 Men to take in such Towns and Castles in *Anjou* and *Main*, as still held out against the *English*. This Army had no sooner began their March into those Countries, but such a Terror seized upon all the Inhabitants, that they yielded all up to them, as though it were a thing impossible to withstand the

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2.

Reg. 3. The D. of Bedford's Joy after his Victory.

Castles and Towns in *Anjou* and *Main* yielded to the *Eng.*

(k) 'Twas *Ivry* that the Duke of *Bedford* besieg'd. *Verneuil* was in the Hands of the *English*, and the *French* took it by sending a false Message to the Garrison, that they had routed the Duke of *Bedford's* Army, and rais'd the Siege of *Ivry*, upon which the Duke of *Alençon* and his Troops were receiv'd into the Town. In the mean time the *English* took *Ivry*, the Duke of *Bedford* march'd immediately to give *Alençon* Battle, and it appears by this Account that the *English* and not the *French* were those that first offer'd the Battle. *Hol.* p. 588.

(l) *Mountjoy*, King at Arms in *France*, and the *English* Heralds there present reported, That there were 9700 *French* and *Scots* kill'd, and 2100 *English*. The Number of the Slain on the *French* Side was as great as that of the *English* Army which consisted but of 1800 Horse, and 8000 Foot. *Hol.* p. 588, 589.

(m) Which were only the Provinces, or rather Counties of *Bourbon*, *Arvergne*, *Berry*, *Touraine*, part of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and part of *Languedoc*.

A. D. 1428. Reg. 3. The City of Mans besieged, and surrendered upon Articles. the small *English* Power, and so the *English* without any Assault became Masters of the strong Castles of *Beaumont*, *Le Viscount*, *Teune*, *Sally*, *Osce*, *Rouffie*, *Vasce*, and above Twenty more in a few Days. But *Mans*, the Principal City of the Province of *Main*, being a Place well Peopled and strongly fortified refused to accept the *English*, and therefore the Earl of *Salisbury* was sent with an additional Force of 8000 Men to besiege and reduce it into Subjection. This Town though very strong held out but a little while, because the Earl made not use of the common battering Engines, but of Guns, which with their Shot soon laid their Walls and Towers flat, and brought the Inhabitants to a Capitulation to surrender the Town upon these Articles.

I. That all Persons, as well Soldiers as others that would abide and continue still in the Town, should be suffered to remain without any Harm or Damage either to themselves or Goods.

II. That such as would depart, especially of the Soldiers, should have Liberty to leave the Town with their Horse and Harnes. And

III. That all Persons in the Town who were any ways guilty or consenting to the Murther of the late Duke of *Burgundy* should be delivered up to the Earl to be punished for it: And so this City was surrendered to the *English*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* being now at the Head of a puissant Army able to carry on the Progress of his designed Victories, thought this a fit Opportunity to enlarge the *English* Conquests, and therefore immediately lays Siege to the Town of *St. Susan*, of which one *Ambros de Loire* a valiant *French* Man was Governour, who so well defended it, that in many Assaults the Earl was rather a Loser than Winner; whereupon he was forced to make use again of his great Guns to batter and beat down their Walls. These new Engines of Death, which no Valour nor Strength of Man can be a sufficient Defence against, made the Besieged change their Counsels, and contrive the safest way for their Preservation by agreeing to resign their Town. The *English* having receiv'd some Damages by the Garrison held them to the harder Terms, so that they could not gain their Lives, but upon Condition, that besides resigning the Town, they should pay them 200000 Crowns, and then they

A. D. 1425. Doublts only, which they submitted to; and so the *English* became absolute Masters of it, and Sir *John Popham* was made Captain of it. From this Place the Earl carrying on his Victories, went and laid Siege to the Castle called *La Fert Barnard*, but deferred to assault it by reason of the News brought him of the Danger that the Town of *Alençon* was in to be lost on this Occasion. The *French* King's Party being so weakened by their late Overthrow were not able to recover their Losses by Strength, and therefore were constrained to use Policy and Stratagem, for which they had an Opportunity at *Alençon* thus. One *Charles de Villiers* a *French* Captain had an intimate Acquaintance with a *Gascoigne*, who was a Soldier in the *English* Garrison there, and having by him discovered how the Town was guarded by the Soldiers by turns, agreed with him for a present Reward of a considerable Sum of Money in Hand, and Promises of future Preferments and Advantages, to let him with a Body of Men into the Town, upon a certain Day appointed, but the *Gascoigne* countermining the *French* Men, as soon as the Bargain was made, gave the Earl of *Salisbury* Notice of it, that he might secure the Town

Alençon agreed to be betrayed, but saved.

and seize the *French*. The Earl thereupon sent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Falstoff* with 2000 Men to effect it, who lying in Ambush for them at their coming; who were not above 300 Foot-men and 200 Horse, suddenly encompassed them on all sides, and falling upon them slew all of them, but 25 Men, who in the Scuffle escaped by the Strength and Swiftnes of their Horses. *Alençon* being thus secured and the *English* Army return'd, the Earl of *Salisbury* went on with the intended Siege of *La Fert Bernard* and took it, which striking Terror into the adjoining Garrisons induced many to yield to the Earl without Resistance. The Regent, who was not a little affected with the good Services of the Earl, made him Governour of all the Places and Castles he had taken, that the Growth of his Honour might encourage him in Brave Actions. The News of the great Successes of this Year being carry'd over into *England*, was not received with greater Joy than Thankfulness to God, who had blessed the *English* Arms, and according to the Manner of those Times a solemn Procession was celebrated with all serious Demonstrations of Praise to God for it.

On the last Day of *April* the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and because the King's Presence, though but an Infant, was thought necessary, he was carry'd through the City upon a great Horse toward the Parliament-House on the First Day of the Session. The People flock'd in great Multitudes to behold him, and imagining with themselves that they could easily discern the Virtues of his Father to be transplanted into him by Nature, loaded him with loud Acclamations of Divine Blessings, and Hearty Wishes of a long and happy Life. The Parliament having their Infant-King in their Eyes (for he was often carry'd to the House this Session) was very careful and earnest to do every Thing that could be thought necessary for the Support of his Honour and Majesty, being the more industrious to Act for him, by how much he was less able to shift for himself. Several Acts were made for the Publick Benefit, of which the chief were, 1. Against the Exportation of Sheep beyond Sea without the King's License, because by carrying of Sheep into *Flanders* and other Parts, the Wool of *England* would at length become of little Value, and the Woollen-Manufacture of the Nation be diminish'd to the Damage of the Realm, to prevent which they laid an heavy Tax upon Exported Wools, of Forty Three Shillings by the Sack, Ten Shillings more than ever was paid in *England* for the like quantity. 2. For the Exportation of Butter and Cheese to encourage Husbandry, giving the Chancellor of *England* leave to grant Licenses at his Discretion to such Persons as shall desire them to sell and vend the same in all Foreign Parts, as well as at the Staple of *Callis*. 3. That all Merchants, Strangers, within 15 Days after they are landed in any Port of this Kingdom, shall take up for themselves Lodgings, or some other Habitation in the Town or Place, where the Port is, under some *English* Man, and shall not make any sale of any Goods or Merchandizes till they are so settled, and then shall sell all their Merchandizes within 40 Days next ensuing, and if any Goods after that time shall remain unsold, they shall be forfeited to the King's Use. This Act was intended for a double Benefit, 1. That the King might not be defrauded by Strangers of his Customs: And next, That Strangers might not by keeping of their Goods and Merchandizes understand the Wants of the Nations, and so raise the Prizes. After these Acts the Parliament gave

A. D. 1425. Reg. 3.

The Earl of Salisbury takes Fort Bernard, and is made Governor of all the Places and Castles he had taken.

Third Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

A. D. 1425. Reg. 3. gave the King a Tax of Twelve Pence per Pound upon all Merchandizes, whether brought into, or carry'd out of the Realm, except Wool, which they had otherwise taxed, and Wines, upon which they laid Three Shillings per Tun for Three Years next ensuing. And then they were dismissed into their several Countries.

Duke of Gloucester and Jaqueline his Wife go to recover her Inheritance in Henault and Holland. Soon after the Parliament was risen, the Duke of Gloucester, who had ever since his Marriage been making Preparations of Ships and Men to recover his Wife's Inheritance in *Henault* and *Holland*, went over with his Dutcheſs, and an Army of *English* Men of 12000 at the least, all of known Courage and Ability, and well accoutred. He landed at *Callis*, and passing through the Duke of *Burgundy's* Country with all his Force without doing any Damage, arriv'd at *Mons* in *Henault*; and being there receiv'd and welcom'd as their Lord, many of the Nobles and Towns came and submitted themselves to him. The Duke of *Brabant*, who was in Possession of those Countries, was highly displeased with this Action of the Duke of Gloucester, and since he not only had cohabited with *Jaqueline* as his Wife for Ten Months, and Pope *Martin V.* had declared the Marriage of the said *Jaqueline* with the Duke of Gloucester to be utterly unlawful and sinful, he was resolved to dispute his Title with him by Arms. Great part of those Countries adhered to him, and many of the Nobles employ'd their Interests to support him in the Possession, but he most depended upon the Assistance of the Duke of *Burgundy* (n) his Brother, who stood much upon the Justice of his Cause, and had promised him all his Assistance he could make, by which means an Army of 50000 Men appeared in Opposition to the Duke of Gloucester under the Command of *Philip*, Earl of *St. Poll*, and *Pierre de Luxemburg*, Earl of *Comarſon* his near Kinsman. The Duke of Gloucester seeing such an unexpected Union against him, too great for him to conquer, sent an Herald to the Duke of *Burgundy* to expostulate with him about his assisting the Duke of *Brabant*, charging him with Treason against the King of *England*, and challenging him to a single Combat. The Duke of *Burgundy* made his Defence, That he could not think himself guilty of any Breach of his Fidelity to the *English*, in opposing his Injustice in depriving another Man of his Wife, contrary to the Ordinance of God, and Rules of Holy Church; and to clear himself of this Charge he sent the Duke of Gloucester Word, That he would accept the Combat. The Duke of Gloucester being thus disappointed of his Design, which was by this Message to have brought off the Duke of *Burgundy*, drew off his Forces and departed with them immediately into *England*, upon Pretence of making Preparation for the Combat, leaving his Dutcheſs behind him at *Mons*. His Departure left a way open to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Designs, who so wrought with the Citizens of *Mons*, that they delivered up the Dutcheſs into his Hands, who convey'd her to *Gaunt*, and there kept her. The Dutcheſs being thus betray'd Politickly carry'd her self without any Resentment of the Treachery, and pretending her self very happy in falling into his Hands, promised to be govern'd by him in all Things, saving that she would not be perswaded to return to her Husband again. The Duke not spying the Deceit of the Woman, gave her a Civil Entertainment, and made her

Duke of Burgundy opposes them.

Dutcheſs of Gloucester deliver'd to the Duke of Burgundy, but escapes.

Confinement very easie, which she no longer endured than she could get a fair Opportunity to escape, which she did in a little time, and fled into *Holland*. Here she was joyfully receiv'd by divers Lords and Persons of Interest, by whose Assistance she was able to maintain a defensive War against the Duke of *Burgundy*; and that she might depose her Husband, sent to the Duke of Gloucester to aid her. The Duke, tho' now little valuing her, yet thinking himself in Honour oblig'd not utterly to forsake her, sent over to her Assistance 1000 Men, under the Conduct of the Lord *Fitz-walter*. The News of these Aids roused the Duke of *Burgundy*, who fearing least *Jaqueline* should resign the Country of *Holland* into the Hands of the *English*, assembled all his Forces he could, and going into *Holland* possessed himself of all he could, and resolv'd to hinder the Landing of the *English* Troops. On the other side, *Jaqueline* and the Lords on her part, sought all the Means they could to secure them a safe Landing, and posted themselves near *Brussels*; but the Duke of *Burgundy* falling upon them before they could unite for mutual Defence, routed both the *English* and *Hollanders*, slaying about 800, taking many Prisoners, and putting the rest to Flight, the Lord *Fitz-walter* himself hardly escaping. This Defeat put an end to this Quarrel; for the Duke of Gloucester gave over all Hopes of those Countries, and knowing his Marriage to be unlawful with *Jaqueline*, marry'd *Eleanor* (o) the Daughter of *Reginald Lord Cobham*; and the crafty Dutcheſs *Jaqueline*, seeing herself unable to stand out longer against the Duke of *Burgundy*, pretended herself to be perswaded by him, and so was reconciled to her Husband. Nothing of all these Wars remained, but the Combat of the Dukes. Honour oblig'd both not to shrink from their Engagement, and therefore they both made the necessary Preparations for it: But the Regent of *France* considering that it might be of very ill Consequence to the *English*, became a Mediator between them, and made a friendly Conclusion of all.

A. D. 1425. Reg. 3.

Duke of Burgundy routs Jaqueline's Forces.

About the latter end of this Year of the King's Reign, the Earl of *March*, who had been sent into *Ireland* above a Year before, died there at *Trimmes*, leaving no Issue, and left his Honour and Estate to *Richard Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cambridge*, his Sister's Son, who being thereby Heir to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence* entertain'd many aspiring Thoughts of the Crown of *England*, which he after put into Action, as we shall in the Sequel of this History have a sufficient Evidence of.

Earl of March dies.

About *Michaelmas*, *Peter*, Duke of *Coimbra*, eldest Son of the King of *Portugal*, came into *England*, and finding a kind and generous Entertainment from the Protector and Nobles, stay'd the whole Year to inform himself of the Customs, and enjoy the Pleasures of the Country. (q) In the time of his Abode here, there happen'd a fierce and mighty Quarrel between the Protector and the Rich Bishop of *Winchester*, *Henry Beaufort*, the King's Great Uncle, the *English* Pope, who in his Magnificence and Grandure seem'd so much to out-shine the Protector himself, tho' on the Throne almost, that he drew his Odium and Hatred upon him, which was so increased by the haughty Spirit of the Bishop, who being the Protector's Uncle and Pope's Legate, carry'd himself as if he were much above him both in Nature and Grace, that the Prote-

Reg. 4. Prince of Portugal came into England.

A Quarrel between the Protector and Bishop of Winchester.

(n) He was not his Brother, but his Cousin. *Hol.* p. 1079.

(o) VWho before had been his Mistress.

(p) This Prince's Mother was the Duke of *Lancaster's* Daughter, Great Aunt to *Henry* the Sixth.

A. D. 1425. Reg. 4. Elor could not endure his Pride, and so an implacable Enmity grew between them, and great Parties were raised on both sides for each others Defence. The Bishop's Dependances, Money and Church-Power making him able to contend with the Protector himself. The Duke of Coimbra, and the Arch-bishop of Canterbury interposed themselves to reconcile them, and were so zealous to heal this dangerous Breach; which would, if continued in, prove a fatal Damage to Church and State; that they went from the one Party to the other ten Times in one Day: but all proved to no purpose. No Mediations could pacifie the Mind of the Protector, and Winchester would yield no further than was becoming his Place and State, tho' he was willing for the Good of the Nation, that the Difference might be composed without Arms; and therefore wrote a Letter into France to his Nephew the Duke of Bedford, that he would come over and heal Matters between them. By the Copy of the Letter it may be discerned how great the

The Bi-Quarrel was, and how far it had proceeded; thop of and withal how desirous the Bishop was to Winchester have it made up, though he counts himself ster's Let- not to blame, and therefore it is set down in ter to the Duke of the very Words, and Old Language it was Bedford. written. (q)

* The Words within these Marks [] shew the Difference in the Copies of this Letter

* Right High and Mighty Prince, and my Right Noble, and after One, Leineſt [Earthly] Lord. I recommend me unto you [your Grace] with all my Heart. And as you desire the Welfare of the King Our Sovereign Lord, and of his Realms of England and France. Your own weal [health] with all yours [with ours also] haſte you hither: For by my Troth, if [and] you tarry [long] we ſhall put this Land in Jeopardy [adventure] with a Feild; ſuch a Brother you have here, God make him a good Man. For your Wiſdome well knoweth, that the Profit of France ſtandeth in the Welfare of England, &c. The Bleſſed Trinity keep you. Written in great haſte at London on All-hollowen-Even. By your true Servant to my Lives end.

Henry Winchester.

Duke of Bedford goes into England to reconcile them.

This Letter, which was ſent over to the Regent by his Chamberlin Sir Robert Butler, was received by him with no ſmall Grief, becauſe he knew the Advantage his Enemies would make of it, for a Civil War in England would utterly ruin the Conqueſt of France, and therefore reſolved with all ſpeed to paſs into England to put an end to it if poſſible. Richard Beauchamp the Famous Earl of Warwick was lately come into France with a Recruit of 6000 Men, which much favoured his Deſign, being a Perſon for his Courage and Fidelity every ways fit to be entruſted with the greateſt Charge: Whereupon he conſtituted him Regent of France in his Abſence, and took his Journey to England, with his Dutcheſs, and a Train of 500 Men. He arrived there on the Tenth of January. The Biſhop of Winchester

A. D. 1426. Reg. 4. with a numerous Train met him at his Landing, and attended him towards London. At Merton he was met by the Mayor and Citizens of London, who joyning with the other Company honourably conducted him to Weſtmiſter, where he was lodged in the King's Palace, and the Biſhop of Winchester in the Abbot's Lodgings. The next Day the Mayor preſented the Regent with a pair of Silver Baſons gilt, and in them a Thouſand Marks of Gold from the City, which he accepted very kindly. But theſe Ceremonies were uneaſie to the Regent, who came over upon a more important Matter, and therefore as ſoon as Decency would permit, he obtain'd that a Council of the Nobles might be called to examine and determine the Cauſes of the Differences between theſe two great Men, and accordingly it met on the 21ſt of February at St. Albans, where were many hot Conteſts between both Parties, but nothing being concluded it was adjourned to Northampton, and there met, but to as little purpoſe; whereupon it was put off to the Meeting of the Parliament, which was appointed to be on March the 25th following at Leiceſter.

The Meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, Fourth when it was uſual for the Lords to come with great Numbers of Servants and Attendants, and it being feared, that the great Trains of the Protector and the Biſhop of Winchester might fall into open War one with another, if no Reſtraint were laid upon them: It was therefore thought fit, that the King ſhould ſtrictly forbid any Perſon coming to it with Swords, or other Warlike Weapons; Which Order though it was literally obſerved, yet the Lords Attendants came with Batts, or great Clubs on their Shoulders, from whence this Parliament was called, The Parliament of Batts, but this, as ſoon as it was taken Notice of, was alſo Prohibited. In this Parliament little was done for the Publick, only an Act paſſed for granting the People Liberty to transport Corn into all Places beyond the Seas, unleſs to the King's Enemies, with ſome other of particular Concern for Sheriffs and Juſtices, becauſe it pleaſed the whole Aſſembly to look into the Diſſention between the Protector and the Biſhop of Winchester, which was grown ſo high, that no leſs Means could pacifie them, and the Authority of this Court was irrefiſtible; wherefore they were allow'd to debate all Cauſes of Quartel between them fully and freely. The Protector was the Perſon aggrieved as he pretended, and therefore he brought a large Accuſation in Six Articles againſt the Biſhop, and the Biſhop was allow'd to give his particular Answer to them; which becauſe they were thought not unworthy of the Parliament's Notice, may not be beneath the Reader's Peruſal, and are as follows.

(q) The Letter is in Holinshed, p. 591.

A. D.
1426.
Reg. 4. The ARTICLES of Accusation presented to the Parliament by the Duke of Gloucester, against Henry, Bishop of Winchester, with his ANSWERS to them severally.

I. THAT Richard Woodvile, Esq; Keeper of the Tower of London, did by the Instigation and Encouragement of the said Bishop of Winchester deny Admittance to him the said Duke of Gloucester, then being Protector of the Kingdom, into the Tower contrary to Reason and Duty, and in Derogation to the King's Authority.

To this Article the Bishop answer'd, ' That while the Duke of Gloucester was gone into Henault, it happen'd, that many Pamphlets and Reports being dispersed up and down the City of London tending to Rebellion, it was order'd by the Lords of his Majesty's Council, that Richard Woodvile, Esq; should with a sufficient Number of arm'd Men have the keeping of the Tower, and should not permit any Man to come into the Tower stronger than himself without the special Commandment of the King, by the Advice of his Council. After this strict Charge the Duke of Gloucester returning out of Henault, and not approving the fortifying the Tower, told the Citizens, who were dissatisfied at it, That had he been in England it should not have been so, and immediately going to the Tower demanded Admittance, but Woodvile not daring to give him Entrance came to the Bishop of Winchester for Advice, who told him, That the Duke of Gloucester took upon him greater Authority than he ought, and that before he admitted him into the Tower, he ought to provide himself a sufficient Warrant of the Council and King for his so doing contrary to the former Order.

II. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester without the Advice and Consent of my Lord Duke of Gloucester, or of his Majesty's Privy-Council, contrived and purposed to lay Hands of his Majesty's Person, and to have remov'd him from Eltham, the Place that he was then in, to Windsor, there to put him under the Government of such Persons as he pleased.

The Bishop's Answer to this Article was, ' That he never could propound to himself any Advantage by removing the King, or taking him into his Custody or Charge, nor did ever intend to meddle with any Thing about the King's Person without the Advice of the Privy-Council, as in Time and Place he could prove.

III. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester knowing, that the Duke of Gloucester had resolv'd to prevent his Design of seizing the King's Person at Eltham, laid wait for him, by placing arm'd Men at the End of London-Bridge, and in the Windows of the Chambers and Cellars in Southwark to have kill'd him, if he had passed that way, all which is against the King's Peace, and Duty of a true Subject.

The Bishop's Defence to this heavy Charge was this, ' That true indeed it is, that he did

provide a certain Number of arm'd Men, and set them at the Foot of London-Bridge, and other Places, without any Intention to do any bodily Harm to the Duke of Gloucester, but merely for his own Safety and Defence, being inform'd by several credible Persons, that my Lord Duke of Gloucester had purposed bodily Harm to him, and gather'd together a company of Citizens for that End.

IV. That the late King Henry the Fifth told him, That when he was Prince, a Man was seized in his Chamber, who was hid behind the Hangings, and confessed after his Apprehension, that he was set at Work by the Bishop of Winchester to kill the Prince in his Bed. He was deliver'd to the Earl of Arundel, who drown'd him in a Sack in the Thames.

To this Accusation the Bishop reply'd, ' That he was ever a true and faithful Subject to his Sovereigns, and never purposed or contrived any Treason against any of their Persons, and especially against his Sovereign Lord King Henry the Fifth. And this he thought was sufficiently evident to any that consider'd the great Wisdom and Courage of the said King, and the great Trust he reposed in him so long as he remain'd King, which he would not have done had he found him Guilty of such Unfaithfulness to him while he was Prince.

V. That the Bishop of Winchester in the Sickness of King Henry the Fourth, advised his Son Prince Henry, to assume the Government of the Nation before his Father's Death, as the said Prince himself told him.

The Bishop reply'd, ' That this was mere Calumny, which could not be prov'd, and he hop'd the Parliament would appoint them Judges, that he might vindicate his Honour, or else leave him to sue out his Right before suitable Judges.

VI. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester had in his Letter to the Duke of Bedford plainly declared his malicious Purpose of assembling the People, and stirring up a Rebellion in the Nation contrary to the King's Peace (r).

The Bishop's Answer to this Accusation was, ' That he never had any Intention to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or raise any Rebellion, but sent to the Duke of Bedford to come over in haste to settle all Things that were prejudicial to the Peace; and though he had indeed written in the Letter, That if he tarried, we shall put the Land in Adventure by a Field, such a Brother ye have here, he did not mean it of any Design of his own, but concerning the Seditious Assemblies of Masons, Carpenters, Tilers and Plaisterers, who being distressed by the late Act of Parliament against excessive Wages of those Trades, had given out many seditious Speeches and Menaces against the great Men, which tended much to Rebellion, and yet the Duke of Gloucester did not use his Endeavour, as he ought to have done in his Place, to suppress such unlawful Assemblies, so that he fear'd the King and his good Subjects must have made a Field to withstand them: To prevent which he chiefly desir'd the Duke of Bedford to come over.

(r) The Copy of these Articles is in *Holinshed*, p. 391: but they are only Five in Number, the Sixth and Last mention'd by this Author is not in *Holinshed's* Copy.

A. D.

1426.

Reg. 4.

The Protector and Bishop of Winchester made Friends.

Duke of Bedford knighted King Henry.

Several remarkable Accidents.

Earl of Warwick's Actions in France.

This Charge, and the Answers to it being thus deliver'd into the Parliament, the further Examination of it was by the Houses devolv'd upon a select Number of Lords, viz. Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas, Duke of Exeter, John, Duke of Norfolk (s), Thomas, Bishop of Durham, Philip, Bishop of Worcester, John, Bishop of Bath, Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Ralph, Lord Cornwall, and Mr. Alnwick, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, who having thoroughly examin'd all Matters, acquitted the Bishop, and by a formal Award enjoyn'd them to be firm Friends for the future, and by such Inducements wrought upon them, that they shook Hands, and parted with all outward Signs of perfect Love and Agreement, which gave a mighty Satisfaction to all People both of the Clergy and Laity. And the King by the Advice of his Council made a magnificent Feast at *Whitsuntide* to rejoyce for this happy Reconciliation. At this Feast the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, knighted King Henry, who immediately made Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, Duke of York, and restor'd John, Lord Mowbray, Earl-Marshall, Son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who was banish'd by Richard the Second, to the Title and Stile of Duke of Norfolk, and made above Forty others Knights. After this the Parliament sat till June the 15th following, but did nothing more than raise a Supply of Men and Money to carry on the Conquest of France, which were gather'd out of the great Cities and Towns of the Kingdom chiefly.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, the King now about Five Years of Age, went to *Killingworth-Castle*, and the Nation remain'd in great Peace. Several remarkable Accidents happen'd after it. Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury founded a College at *Higham-Ferrers* in *Northamptonshire* of Eight Fellows, Four Clerks and Six Choristers, and an Hospital for poor and impotent Folks of the said Town, for which he also obtain'd many Immunities and Priviledges. His Two Brethren, Robert and William Chicheley, Aldermen of London, afterward gave very considerable Revenues to the said Foundations. This Summer also died that wise and faithful Statesman Thomas, Duke of Exeter, great Uncle to King Henry, at his Mannor of *Greenwich*, and was buried at *St. Edmunds-bury* in *Suffolk*, whither he was carry'd with great Ceremony to be interred, and not long after him the said Duke's half Sister the Lady Elizabeth, own Sister to King Henry the Fourth, who had been married to the Lord John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and after to the Lord Fanhope, died and was buried in the *Black-Fryers* in London. John Fortham, sometime Treasurer of England, and Bishop of *Durham* and *Ely* at the same time died, and Pope Martin put into the See of *Ely* Philip Morgan, translated from the See of *Worcester* thither. The King and Nobility had recommended to the Choice of the Convent William Alnwick, Doctor of both Laws, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and the King's Confessor, but they neglecting that Proposal, elected Peter the Prior of *Ely*: The Pope seeing this Disagreement between the King and Convent, set up his own Usurpations, and put in Philip Morgan. While the Regent continu'd in England the Earl of Warwick was very active, and carry'd on the English Victories in France with great Success, for he entred into the Country of *Main*, and besieged, and took several Places of Importance,

as *Chasteau de Loire*, of which he made Matthew Gough Captain, the Castle of *Malet*, into which he put John Winter, Esquire, with a sufficient Number of Men, the Castle of *Lade*, which he gave to William Gladesdale Gentleman, the Castle of *Mountdubleau*, which he committed to the Lord Willoughby, by which Atchievements his Name became a Terror to the French, inso-much, that when the French in the Country of *Beaujeu* were gather'd into a Body to have set on the English, the very Fame of his Approach caused them to disperse themselves. And so having no Enemies to oppose him: He return'd to Paris full of Honour and Victories.

On Saturday being the Eve of St. Michael in the Morning between Two and Three a Clock began a very dreadful Earthquake, which being accompany'd with Thunder and Lightning struck Terror into all Creatures. It continu'd in great Violence for Two Hours, and as it was afterwards found, was general over the whole World, so that Men thought the World would then have been at an End, and the Judgment have follow'd according to the Prognosticks our Saviour himself hath given us. The Beasts of the Field were terrified with this unusual Motion, and roaring for Fear drew near to the Towns and Houses to protect them: Nor were the Birds of the Air unsensible of it, who by their Shreeks and Cries shew'd their Fears of it. By so great a Judgment did God endeavour to awaken secure Men, that if they did not repent even the Birds and Beasts might witness against them, and condemn their Hardness and Impenitency. About the same time was John Rainwell Fishmonger chosen Mayor of London, a Person of a publick Spirit, a good Magistrate, and a great Benefactor to the City; for he gave certain Lands and Tenements for the Use and Benefit of Three Wards in the said City, viz. *Bishopsgate Ward*, *Dowgate Ward*, and *Aldgate Ward*, to pay the Parliament-Taxes for the poor House-keepers of the said Wards for ever (provided they did not exceed Three Fifteens in One Year:) He also began the Building of the Tower at the *Draw-Bridge* of London, Works both of great Charity and general Use.

The Duke of Bedford, Regent of France yet remaining in England, the Duke of Burgundy, now disaffected to the English, but still pretending a strict Alliance and Friendship with them, made his Request to the Regent to permit the Duke of Alençon, who had been taken at the Battel of *Verneuil*, to be redeem'd, and by his Interests obtain'd, that upon the Payment of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns (or as others, Scutes) or Fifty Thousand Marks, he should be released. The Regent and Protector were very fearful of the ill Consequence of his Liberty, being a zealous Promoter of King Charles's Interests, and an experienced and valiant Commander, and therefore required, that he should first acknowledge Henry the Sixth, the rightful and lawful Heir and King of France, but he absolutely refused it, which might have been sufficient Cause to have continu'd him Prisoner in England, but because it was thought necessary to gratifie the Duke of Burgundy, who pretended himself a firm Friend to the English, and had been long at Enmity with the Duke of Alençon about his Father's Death, and by this extraordinary piece of Kindness might gain so much upon his Affe-

A. D.

1426.

Reg. 4.

Reg. 5.

A violent Earthquake.

John Rainwell chosen Mayor.

The Duke of Alençon released from his Imprisonment.

(s) John, Lord Mowbray was not made Duke of Norfolk till after the Reconciliation of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Winchester.

A. D. 1426. Reg. 5. A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. A. D. 1427. Duke of Bretagne and his Brother rejoin with the English Interests.

ctions, as to incline him which Way he pleased, therefore he was dismissed, and upon the Payment of so small a Sum, (t) sent Home, but to the great Damage of the English, to whom he proved a fatal Enemy, as afterward will more fully appear.

A. D. 1427. Duke of Bretagne and his Brother rejoin with the English Interests.

The Regent having kept his Christmas with the King, prepared for his Return into France, where some Changes, to the no small Disadvantage of the English had hapned in his Absence; for tho' nothing was wanting in the Earl of Warwick, either of Vigilancy, Care, or Courage, yet the Alliance with the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, began now to be broken by the Departure of the Duke of Bretagne, and his Brother Arthur of Richmond, over to the French King's Interests, of whom they were joyfully received; and the latter was made Countable of France. This Change was a great Loss to the English, and required a speedy Care to prevent the ill Consequences of it. The Regent therefore about Candlemas departed England, and landed at Callis, Feb. 5. The Bishop of Winchester accompanied him, and at Callis in our Lady's Church, received a Cardinal's Hat from the Pope. The late King Henry V. who foresaw what a Prejudice the Pride and Covetousness of this Prelate would prove to the Nation, if he were put into that Dignity, withstood his Promotion, and prevented it all his Life; but now the King himself being young, and the Duke of Bedford his Friend, he was at Liberty to obtain his ambitious Purpose, which by the Pope's Legate, he was entreated in at Callis on the Feast of the Purification; and soon after purchased himself a Bull Legantine, by which he was made the Pope's Legate in this Nation, and by his Authority as such, raised such a Mass of Money out of the Spiritualities of the Kingdom, that he became almost the only wealthy Man in the Nation, and was commonly upon that Account called, *The rich Cardinal of Winchester*. The Regent stayed a while at Callis to see this Ceremony over, and honour the Bishop with his Presence at his Inauguration, which being ended, the Regent taking him by his Right-hand, conveyed him with mighty Respect to his Lodging, and there gave him and the Lords with him a magnificent Banquet, and then within a few Days left Callis, and passing thro' Picardy, went to Paris. His Arrival put an End to the Authority of the Earl of Warwick in France, but brought him the News of a more honourable and greater Charge, which the Nobles and Council of England had thought fit to impose upon him, viz. to be Governour of the Person of King Henry in the Place of the Duke of Exeter, lately deceased. This Service the noble Earl could not refuse; but the Revolt of the Duke of Brittain having occasioned some Troubles to the English, which he was about to remove before the Regent arrived, he resolved first to see them settled before his Departure. The greatest Molestation this way, was by the Fortifying of Pontorson, a Town on the Confines of Brittain, into which the Lord of Rustinian, Marshal of Brittain, with a Body of a 1000 Men was put to defend it, and ravage the adjoining Country of Constantine, which they did without Mercy; but at length being encountered by the Garrison of Auranches, a City in the Possession of the English, they were after a long Fight put to flight, and forced into the Town with Loss, the Captain himself being

of this, and knowing, that tho' the English had the better in this Skirmish, yet how prejudicial the Garrison would be to their Territories, if not restrained, he sent the Earl of Warwick and Lord Scales, with an Army of 7000 Men to besiege it, who so streightly beset the Town, that none could go into it, or out. The Besieged held out very valiantly a long time in hopes of Relief from the French King as was promised them, so that Provision began to be very scarce in the English Camp, and they were forced to seek Forage in the adjoining Parts with much Loss and Hazard from the Garrison of St. Michael's Mount. The French King at last sent the Lord Ruix, his Lieutenant-General, with an Army of 3000 Men to relieve it, who in his March took two small Castles, *Malicorn* and *Lade*; but when they came, hearing that the Earl of Warwick and the English were resolved to fight him, if he attempted to raise the Siege, he drew off his Men, and returned to King Charles, whereupon the Besieged came to a Capitulation to resign the Town upon Condition, that they might have Liberty to depart with Horse and Arms only; which being granted, the English had Possession of the Town given them, and the Earl made the Lord Roffe and Lord Talbot Governours of it, with a convenient Garrison, and then returned to the Regent to Paris. This Success of the English Duke of Bretagne brought to a Treaty with the Regent, in which he agreed not only not to molest the English for the future, but to demolish the Town of Pontorson, and St. James de Beaumont; and so the Duke of Bretagne was made, if not a Friend, yet afraid to be longer an Enemy; and the English for the present were eased of his Oppression, which would have proved very troublesome.

The Regent having thus removed this new and unexpected Enemy, turned his Arms again into the old Current to subdue all the Towns, that still adhered to Charles, the pretended King of France; and sent his Captains out to subdue such Places, as refused Subjection to the English; and reduced several of them. For Christopher Hanson, Philip Gough, and Martin Godfrey took the Castle of St. Laurence de Mortois by Surprise. Sir H. Falstaffe, the Governour of the Countries of Anjou and Maine, having assembled a strong Body of Men, got by ten Days Siege the Castle of St. Owen Distais near the Town of Lavall. Then he laid Siege to the strong Castle of Graville, and assaulted it twelve Days, at the end of which, the Garrison came to a Composition, and gave Pledges to resign it upon a certain Day, if it were not relieved by the French King. Sir John immediately signified this Agreement to the Regent, who raising a great Force of 20000 Men, came attended with the Earls of Mortaign and Warwick, the Lords Roffe and Talbot, to encounter the French, if they should attempt the Rescue of it; but they dare not appear, tho' they were sent for that Purpose, because they were afraid of the English Army, whereupon the Regent immediately ordered Sir John Falstaffe to require the Delivery of the Castle; but the Besieged having furnished themselves with Provision and Ammunition, and well mann'd it in the Time of Truce, refused to surrender it, and so the Hostages were brought out, and hanged in their Sight. After this the Lord Talbot was made Governour of Maine and Anjou, and Sir

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6.

Duke of Bretagne brought to a Treaty with the English.

Places taken by the English.

The Earl of Warwick made Governour of the King.

Pontorson besieged and taken.

(t) 200000 Crowns was no small Sum in those Days.

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. *John Falstaffe* removed to another Charge. This Lord being of as great Courage as Birth, carried on the *English* Conquest so fast in these Parts, that his very Name became a Terror to the *French*, and his Fame spread almost over the World. The Duke of *Bedford* also hearing that the Town of *Montargis* in the County of *Orleanse*, was but weakly furnished, and carelessly kept, sent the Earl of *Suffolk*, his Brother Sir *John Pool* and Sir *Henry Bisset*, with an Army of 6000 Men to beset it by Land, and the Earl of *Warwick* with a good Number of Men of War to stop up the Port by Sea, (u) that no Assistance of Men or Victuals should come into it; but they found the Places strongly fortified, and provided that they held out 2 Months and more, so that the *French* had time to provide for its Relief; and accordingly, *Arthur*, Earl of *Richmond*, Constable of *France*, coming suddenly upon a Party of the Besiegers in the Night, defeated them without Resistance, killing above 1500, Sir *John Pool* and Sir *Henry Bisset* hardly escaped themselves, and so caused the Siege to be raised. This Victory was received with great Joy by the *French* King's Party, and had been triumphantly magnified, had not their Losses upon the Coasts of *Brittain*, by a Party of *English*, under the Command of Sir *Nicholas Burdet*, sent by the Duke of *Somerset* thither, equalized at least, if not surmounted the Advantage they had at *Montargis*, so that the *French* had little Reason to rejoyce at the Successes mixed with so much ill Fortune.

Duke of *Alençon* takes *Mans* by Treachery of the *English*.

The Duke of *Alençon* lately come out of his Imprisonment in *England*, after some Months Converse in *France* to learn the Estate of the *French* King's Affairs, and settle his own, now enters upon the Stage of Action. The good Opinion that the *French* had of his Abilities and Experience put new Life into their Cause, and drooping Minds, and so much the more, because he began with an Action, which had very much of a promising Advantage, as well as Success in it, which was the Recovery of the City of *Mans*. Several of the Chief of the Inhabitants of that City, as well as of the chief Magistrates as Clergy, being well affected to the *French* King, entered into a Conspiracy to betray the City to him, which they signified to him by Letters conveyed by certain Friars. The *French* King immediately sent 500 Men under the Command of the Lords *De la Bieth* and *Faiet* to take possession of the Town, which was accordingly delivered up to them by the Conspirators, and the *English* Guards at the Gates, were all slain. The *French* being thus Masters of the Town, fell upon the *English*, and slew many of them, scarce any of them understanding the Matter, but only supposing that the Citizens had in general rose up against them. The Earl of *Suffolk*, the Governour of the Town, had gotten knowledge of the Matter by some that had escaped; and with what *English* he could get into the Castle then under the Command of *Thomas Gower*, Esq; but they were so crowded, that they could make little or no Defence for themselves, wherefore they sent a Message to the Lord *Talbot* then at *Alençon*, to desire his speedy Assistance, declaring their Case to him. The Lord *Talbot* being as diligent a Commander as valiant, immediately attempts their Relief in the Night, and with 700 Men marches to *Mans*, where finding the *French* secure, he falls upon them, recovers the Town, releases the *English*, takes above 400 *French* Gentlemen Captive, and returns again to *Alençon*. The Earl of *Suffolk* being thus resettled, made a strict Search and Enquiry into the Authors of this Treason, who being found to be 30 of the chief Citizens, 20 Priests, and 15 Friars, were all upon Conviction hanged, and so received the just Reward of their Merits. *Mans* being thus happily recovered, and the *English* every ways on the winning Side, Fortune's Frown soon clearing up into Smiles on them, the Earl of *Warwick*, whose Valour would not suffer him to leave his Country-Men in any Danger, began to think of Returning into *England* to take care of the King, whom the Nobles had committed to him. He had done so much in *France* the last Year, that the Council did not think that *Nation* could be kept without a Man of equal Value in his Place, and therefore *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, commonly called in *England*, The good Earl, was sent into *France* with 6000 choice Men well accoutred, to supply his Room, and secure those Places with equal Valour, with which he had gotten them. Soon after the Earl of *Salisbury's* Arrival at *Paris* with his fresh Men, the Regent called a great Council of all the Nobles and Commanders of the *English* Army, and entered into a long Consultation, how they should proceed for the most speedy and effectual Way of subduing *France*; and the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was a Person of both approved Judgment, as well as Valour, propounded to them the Siege of *Orleanse*, as a certain Step to it, it being the principal City which adhered to the *French* King, and by the Conquest of it, would probably let them into all the rest, and particularly to *Bourges*, the *French* King's Residence. Some Debates were in the Council about the Difficulty of the Enterprize, but at length they all yielded, and the Siege of *Orleanse* was resolved on. The Earl of *Salisbury* himself was thought by all of them, to be the fittest Person to command at the Siege, and accordingly was sent, accompanied with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord *Talbot*, and an Army of 10000 Men well furnished with Artillery, Provision, and Ammunition for so great an Attempt. While Preparations were thus making, the *French* had got Intelligence of the Design of the *English*, and put in a strong Garrison of *French* and *Scots* under the Command of the Bastard of *Orleanse*, and the Bishop of the City, who not only made strong Fortifications about the Town for their own Defence, but destroyed all the Suburbs, in which were 12 Parish Churches, and 4 Monasteries for as many Orders of Friars; and cut down all the Vines, Trees and Bulhes within 5 Leagues of the City, that the Enemy might find no manner of Support or Refuge in the Country. But all this did not discourage the *English*, tho' it made the Siege more difficult, yet nothing seemed impossible to such brave Minds, as those of *Salisbury* and *Talbot*, who, notwithstanding marched towards it, and sat down before it in the Beginning of September, and planted the Siege on the one Side of the River *Loire*. Both Parties were full of Courage and Resolution, because the Fate of *France* depended upon this Siege, as was thought, whoever got *Orleanse*, got all *France*. The *English* made several fierce Assaults, and the *French* as strictly repulsed them. Three Weeks passed without any considerable Advantage on

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6.

Earl of *Warwick* with returns into *England*.

Orleanse determined to be besieged.

Orleanse besieged, and a Fort taken by the *English*.

(u) *Montargis* an inland Town seated on the little River *d'Gaine*, between *Chartres* and *Orleans*, and above an 100 Miles from the Sea.

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. either Side; but at length the Bastard of Orleance making a vigorous Sally out of the Gate of the Bridge, was after a sharp Dispute beaten back with great Loss, and pursued so close, that the *English* entered the Gate with him, and took the great Bulwark upon the Bridge, with a Tower standing at the End of the same, which by its advantageous Situation, was a great Help to take the Town, because from it was a free Prospect into all Parts of the City, so that the *English* Commanders might easily observe the best Places for their Assaults, which they were not wanting to improve; for the Earl of *Salisbury* caused several Bulwarks to be raised round about the Town, planting Ordnance, where he could perceive any likelihood to batter down the Walls. The *French* within were as busie to defend themselves, and make good the Walls against the *English* Guns, raising Guns against Guns, and Forts against Bulwarks, and making new Rampiers as strong as might be. The *French* King, who knew how much his Welfare depended upon the Success of this Siege, was extremely troubled at this first Advantage gotten by the *English*, fearing now the Loss of all, and despairing almost of any future Success, and tho' the Town held out well, yet he looked upon his Destruction not less certain, tho' longer in coming, and could almost have wished the Fates to hasten his Ruin, the Fears of which were as great a Torment to his Mind, as the suffering it self could be. But while he remained in this despairing State of Mind, Providence was pleased not only to give the Besieged at *Orleance* some Advantage, but to raise them up (as the *French* Historians say) a special instrument of Deliverance, by inspiring *Joan d' Arc*, afterwards commonly called *Joan of Orleance*, both with a certain Perswasion of Restoring him to his Kingdom and Throne, and with a manlike Courage to effect it, and so revived the fainting Hopes of that King, whose Courage and Patience was almost invincible. And indeed, as if Divine Justice had taken sufficient Vengeance upon the *French* Nation for their former Sins, he began to give them some glimpse of his Favour again, by the Misfortunes of the *English*, and Success of the *French*, which began to shew it self in the Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, a Person of that Wisdom, Courage and Conduct, that the Fortune of the *English* Armies seemed to live and dye in him. He was both the Adviser and chief Actor in this Siege, and knowing perfectly, that the Fate of *France* depended upon the Success of this Attempt, he was very diligent to improve, and carry on all Advantages for the effecting of it, and cared not to entrust almost any Man without his own Presence, lest they should miscarry. The Tower, which the *English* had taken on the Bridge, was much made use of by him, for observing where the Town might most successfully be assaulted, and in an upper Room, where the Prospect of the City lay from a Window, he often entered into Consultations with his Commanders about Taking the Town. The Citizens were sensible of it, and had taken notice, that there was much looking out of the Window, and had thereupon planted a great Gun full upon it, to shoot at an Advantage, and a Gunner always attended upon it to discharge it as Occasion served. On the Nine and Fiftieth Day after the Siege began, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave* and *William Glasdale*, with divers others, were in a deep Consultation in the said Room, and being observed by the Gunner frequently to look out

at the Grate, he fired his Gun at them, which Shot so shattered the Bars of the Window, that one of them struck the Earl of *Salisbury* on the Face, and put out one of his Eyes, and struck off a part of his Cheek; Sir *Thomas Gargrave* also was so grievously bruised and wounded, that he died within Two Days. The Earl of *Salisbury* was convey to *Meun*, on the *Loire*, and all possible Care taken for his Recovery; but his Wound was past Cure, so that he died at the End of 8 Days; and his Body was soon after carried with much Solemnity into *England*, and buried by his Ancestors at *Bissam* in *Barkshire*. He left only one Daughter, who was married to *Richard Nevil*, Son to *Ralph*, Earl of *Westmorland*, who was after Earl of *Warwick*. The Loss of this great Man, was received with much Grief by all the *English*, but by none so much as by the Duke of *Bedford*, who was more sensible of his Worth, while living, and so of the Damage to the *English* by his Death; yet he would not seem to want him, and therefore appointed the Earl of *Suffolk* to be his Lieutenant, and Captain of the Siege; and with the Lord *Scales*, Lord *Talbot*, Sir *John Falstaffe*, and some others, to carry it on with all Vigour and Courage possible; who accordingly left nothing unattempted that Policy could devise, or daring Boldness atchieve. But the Town being strong of it self, and filled with a good Garrison, held out till Lent was almost past without any Signs of Yielding, putting the *English* Camp to very great Streights for Provision, which they were forced to fetch as far as *Paris*, because the Country round about them was depopulated and destroyed. At length the Besieged beat for a Parley, and came to a Treaty to save themselves. The *English* accepted it, but the Besieged would not agree to resign it to the Duke of *Bedford*, but only to the Duke of *Burgundy* to be kept for the Duke of *Orleance*, or his Brother the Duke of *Angolessm*, hoping either to obtain more Favour from their Country-Man if it were granted, or if not, to beget a private Grudge between them, which indeed came to pass; for when he had sent to the Duke to signifie the Conditions, upon which the Town offered to yield, tho' he was advised to agree to the Conditions, and suffer it to be resign to the Duke of *Burgundy*, yet the Regent would by no means, but returned Answer, 'That it was neither convenient nor honourable, that a City so long besieged by the King of *England*, and defended with so much Obstinacy and Resolution, should be surrendered upon their own Terms, or to any other than King *Henry* himself, or his Deputy, and therefore would not assent to any other Terms. This Answer the Duke of *Burgundy* took very ill from the Regent, conceiving that the *English* envied his Honour and Interest, and kept it deeply laid up in his Mind.

The Regent refusing to accept the Proposals of the Besieged the Surrender of the Town was delay'd, and by that Means gave time for the wonderful Deliverance, which after follow'd after this manner. A young Maid nam'd *Joan d' Arc*, the Daughter of *James d' Arc* and *Isabel* his Wife, a poor Country-Man, who inhabited in a small Village in *Berry* call'd *Domremy*, aged about Eighteen Years, asserted with great Zeal and Confidence, 'That she had a Revelation, that she should deliver King *Charles* from his present Troubles, and drive the *English* from *Orleans*, and having caused him to be crown'd at *Rhemes* restore the whole Kingdom

A. D.

1427.

Reg. 6.

The Earl of *Salisbury* mortally wounded, and dies in Eight Days

The Siege of *Orleance* continued.

Orleance seeks a Treaty, and is accepted.

The Story of *Joan d' Arc*, who pretended to be sent by God to deliver *France*.

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. dom to its Ancient Peace and Happiness. This Revelation the first discover'd to her Father and Mother, and Neighbours, and after was perswaded to relate it to the *Sieur Baudricourt*, Provost of *Voucouleurs*, which she did with a great deal of Seriousness and Resolution. The Provost being a sage and discreet Person, and knowing, that Pretences of Revelation were not easily to be credited at first, look'd upon her to be possessed with a deep Melancholy, and told her, 'That it was very unlikely, that the being a Woman should be an Instrument of their Deliverance, when all the Attempts of their most illustrious and brave Personages had proved in vain: But when he saw her unmovable Resolution, and consider'd the Gravity and Prudence of her Discourse, he thought fit to carry her to the King for his own Discharge, who lay then with his Court at *Chinon*. She was brought into that Town March the 6th, and the News of her Arrival was receiv'd by the King and his Council with much Pleasure, and because she had always been educated in the Country, and had never seen the King, it was contriv'd, that the King should put on a Country-Man's Habit, lest she should know him by his Regal Ornaments and Diadem, and by this Experiment try, whether she were inspir'd or no. When the young Woman was brought in to the Chamber she went directly to the King, though in Disguise, as if she had been brought up in the Court all her Life. The Courtiers that stood about her, told her, that she was mistaken, but she constantly averred, that it was he, though she had never seen him before, and then immediately began to discourse with him and assure him, That she had a special Command from the God of Heaven to revive the sinking Fortune of the King and Kingdom. This Action turn'd their Scorn into Admiration, and what they derided at first, they began to believe, so that now her Words were thought worthy of more serious Consideration, and that there might be no Mistake about so great a Matter, it was referred to the Judgment both of the King's Council, and of the most eminent Divines of his Party, who after many Debates resolv'd, 'That in Cases desperate the Providence of God did often make use of extraordinary Remedies, and in like Revolutions of State, when the Courage of Men was lost, he rais'd up Women for its Deliverance, as *Deborah* and *Judith*, who by their Valour rescu'd the People of *Israel* from the Tyranny of two Heathen Kings, *Jabin* and *Nebuchadnezzar*: That Necessity made it lawful to use all sorts of Remedies for their own Defence and Recovery, and so to try whether what this Maid has so confidently asserted, be true, yet with so much Caution as to run no Hazzard. These Resolutions being assented to by the King, all Things were submitted to her Conduct, as far as was Safe and Convenient, which she easily yielded to, being as modest and reasonable in her Actions, as in her Proposals. The News was no sooner brought to her, but she began the Work, which she said she had a Command from God to execute, and as inspir'd by God manfully entred upon those Actions, which a mere Womanish Valour would not dare to think on. She arm'd her self with all Warlike Habiliments, and mounted her Horse as a Man. The Spear which was laid up in *Touraine* in a Place call'd *St. Catherine de Fieribois* was given her upon her Request, and the Admiral of *France* and Marshal, who were with a sufficient Strength to carry a Supply of Victuals into the Town,

The Judgment of the French Divines about her.

had a special Charge given them to take care of her Safety, and conduct her without Hazzard into it. She being thus arm'd and equipp'd took her Leave of the King with a Deportment befitting a great Captain, and in April the 12th left *Chinon*, and arriv'd safely at *Orleans*, where she was receiv'd as a Messenger sent by Heaven for their Deliverance, with such a Joy as People reviving from Despair do shew, having Faith to believe, as much as she could promise them, because in God's Name. *Joan* being gotten safe into the Town behav'd her self without any Insolence or extravagant Boasting, making Proposals of Peace, before she would begin any Warlike Enterprize, and to that End sent this following Letter to the Chief Commanders of the *English* Army by a Trumpet.

King of England,

Give an Account to the King of Heaven for his Royal Blood. Surrender up to the Virgin the Keys of all the good Towns which you have taken by Force. She is come from Heaven to vindicate the Royal Blood of *France*, and is very ready to make Peace, if thou wilt submit to reasonable Terms, and (as Equity and Justice requires) restore what thou hast taken from him. King of England, if thou wilt not do thus, I am the Captain of the Wars, and in whatsoever part of *France* I shall find any of the *English* Nation, I will drive them out whether they will or no; but if they will submit, I will take them to Mercy? I am come from the King of Heaven to expel you out of *France*, and if you will not obey, I will make such a slaughter and stir among you as hath not been this Thousand Years in *France*. Believe me, The King of Heaven will give me and my Forces such irresistible Courage and Strength, as you shall not be able to oppose. Go in God's Name into your own Country, and be not obstinate to your own Opinions, for ye shall not hold *France* of the King of Heaven, the Son of the Virgin *Mary*, but *Charles* the true Heir of it shall again possess it and be King of it, for God hath given it him, and he shall enter *Paris* with a goodly Train. You *William Pawlet*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *John*, Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas*, Lord *Scales*, Lieutenants of the Duke of *Bedford*, and you Duke of *Bedford*, who callest thy self Regent of the Kingdom of *France*, be sparing of innocent Blood, and give *Orleans* its Liberty. If you will not do Justice to those whom you have wronged, the *French* will do the noblest Exploit that ever was done in *Christendom*. Mind this wholesome Advice given you by God and His Virgin.

This Letter being carry'd to the Earl of *Suffolk* was receiv'd with great Laughter, and King *Charles* and his Council were derided, as Persons transported with an Extravagant Folly, who would make use of such irrational Means for their own Defence, and the *English* from this Time began to promise themselves a certain Victory, since the *French* had no better ways to secure themselves, than such groundless Projects. The Trumpeter, who brought this Letter was imprison'd, which though the *French* complain'd of, as contrary to the Laws of Arms, yet the *English* justified it by the madness of the Message, and thought such an Enthusiastick Defiance ought not to be treated in the common Methods. *Joan* the Virgin seeing her Letter disregarded, and no way left to carry on her Work but by open force of Arms, advises

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6.

Joan's Letter to the English to tender them Peace.

Joan's Letter derided by the English.

A. D. 1428. Reg. 6. advises the Chief Governours of the Siege, the Earls of *Dunois*, *Pothon* and *Xantrails* to prepare for an Assault, and to fall out upon the *English* with all their Force, saying: 'God is for us, and the *English* cannot escape our Hands. Let us but put on an answerable Courage to the Assistance God intends us, and we shall defeat all the Rascals of that Army. The Commons, who putting Confidence in her had flock'd about her in great Numbers, promised themselves mighty Success in the Attempt, and readily attended her Motions; but the Commanders had little Hopes of a Victory against those Enemies, which ever conquer'd them, yet resolv'd to follow her Advice for once, as an Oracle. All Things therefore being well prepared, the Besieged with *Joan* in the Head of them made a vigorous Sally at the Gate of *Burgundy*, and first set upon the Fort of *St. Lupe* adjoining to it, which was defended by 400 *English*. The *French*, as inspired with an unusual Courage, assaulted it with such Fury, that no Opposition the *English* could make, could keep them from Scaling it, which so affrighted them, that they left the Castle to the *French*, and fled, but were slain many of them, and others taken Prisoners. This successful Beginning raised the Opinion of the Virgin in the Minds of all, and the People at her Return to her Lodging ran in Flocks to meet her, crying, *Blessed be the Holy Virgin sent by God to deliver us.* Victory seem'd to be now come over to the *French*; and though the *English* Generals did all they could to keep up the dying Courage of their Soldiers, yet the *French* every Day got some Advantage of them, and at length on *May* the 8th, obliged them to raise the Siege, which they did in good Order, and retreated part under the Earl of *Suffolk* to *Furzeaux* the next *English* Garrison, and part under the Lord *Talbot* to *Mehun*. The *French* flush'd with this Victory had no sooner put *Orleans* into a Posture of Defence, but they pursu'd the *English* to *Furzeaux*, and after a short Siege made themselves Masters of it *July* the 12th, taking the Earl of *Suffolk* and his Brother Prisoners, with many others.

Siege of Orleans raised by Joan's Conduct.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

While the Siege of *Orleans* was thus carry'd on, little was done in *England*, save that about the 14th of *October* in the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and provided for the good of the Nation by enacting several Laws, and for the Defence of it, by giving a large Tax for carrying on the War with *France*. The Acts were of good Benefit to the Publick: As,

1. That whereas by reason of the quick Return of *Capias's* in the King's Bench, *Exigents* were granted and awarded, whereby divers Persons being by base and fraudulent Practices outlaw'd, their Goods and Chattels were immediately seiz'd, as forfeited to our Lord the King, and so divers of the King's faithful Subjects were utterly undone, as by the Complaints of the Commons in Parliament doth appear. Before any *Exigents* shall be granted for the future, every *Capias* shall be directed to the Sheriffs at least six Weeks, and if upon the Return the Judges shall think fit to grant an *Exigent*, they may proceed as formerly, but if any be granted before the Return of the *Writ*, it shall be void.

2. That Sheriffs shall be oblig'd under the Penalty of Forty Pounds to deliver to all Plaintiffs, Tenants or Defendants a true Copy of their Pannels six Days before the Assizes, when they shall be so requir'd by the said Plaintiffs or Defendants.

3. Whereas Sheriffs by corrupt Juries were wrongfully indicted to the Justices of Assize for making false Returns of the Knight chosen in their several Sheirs to serve in Parliament, by which Means the Sheriffs were liable to pay an Hundred Pounds Forfeiture, and the Knight lost their accustom'd Wages in Parliament without Remedy; therefore it was enacted, That Sheriffs and Knights against whom any Inquests or Offices of undue Elections are found shall for the future have their Answer, and traverse to such Inquests and Offices, and shall not be endamag'd till duly convicted.

4. By this Parliament also it was appointed that several Commissions of Sewers should be issu'd out by the Chancellor of *England* into all Parts of the Realm to cleanse and repair all Walls, Ditches, Gutters, Bridges, Wears, &c. to prevent the great Inundations of the Sea and Rivers which had happen'd in divers Parts of the Nation. And a Form of Commission was composed on purpose, that it might be the more effectual, which is annex'd to it, and an Order, that for Ten Years next ensuing they should be so strictly executed, that all Water-courses should be cleansed, and the Nation freed from the Prejudices it had suffer'd a long time by frequent Inundations.

This Parliament in Consideration of the King's Expence in carrying on the War in *France*, which grew very dubious, and more chargeable, granted very large Taxes, viz. a Subsidy of Three Shillings by the Tun for all Wine imported, and Twelve Pence by the Pound for all Merchandize, except Wool, Wool-fells and Cloth, which had a Tax before laid upon them. But besides these a kind of Poll-Tax, tho' not general was laid upon several Parishes, viz. In every Parish where the Living was worth Ten Marks per Annum, it was enacted, That Ten of the chiefest Parishioners should pay Six Shillings and Eight Pence per Head; and in such Parishes as the Living was worth Ten Pounds per Annum, a like Number of the chief Inhabitants should pay a Mark; and in all Corporations it was order'd, that every Person worth above Twenty Shillings besides his Household-Goods and Apparel, should pay Four Pence by the Head to the King, and so proportionably for every Twenty Shillings all Persons were worth, by which means the Tax was much increased in Cities and Boroughs.

In this Sixth Year of the King, *Wickliff* and his Memory was solemnly condemn'd at the Council of *Constance* (or rather *Sienna*) held under Pope *John* after this manner. Proclamation being first made, and Commandment given, that if any Person or Persons could or would defend *Wickliff* or his Memory, they should immediately appear and be heard; none daring to be his Advocate, the Council proceeded to examine several Witnesses, whom they had brought to prove, That *John Wickliff* in his Life-time held and taught many Heretical and Heterodox Doctrines, contrary to the receiv'd Tenets and Practices of the Christian Church in all Ages, and that he dy'd in an obstinate and wilful Impenitency of those Opinions, for which he ought to be condemn'd and cursed by the Church: Whereupon the Synod at the Request of the Steward of the Pope's Treasury proceeded to give Sentence against the said *Wickliff* and his Memory. 'That the said *John Wickliff* being a notorious obstinate Heretick, and dying in his Heresie, his Body and Bones, if they might be discern'd from the Bodies of other faithful People, should be taken up out of the Ground, and

A. D. 1428. Reg. 6.

Wickliff condemn'd by the Council of *Constance*, and his Bones burnt.

A. D.

1428.

Reg. 6.

and thrown away far from the Burial of any Church, according to the Canon-Laws and Decrees. The Execution of this Sentence which was approv'd by the whole Assembly, was committed to the Bishop of *Lincoln* (*) *Richard Flemming*, in whose Diocese the Parish of *Lutterworth*, of which *Wickliff* was Parson, and where he lay buried, was. The Bishop as zealous as the Council against what they call'd Heresie, as soon as he had received his Orders, sends his Officers, viz. his Arch-Deacon, Officials, Commissaries, and other Servants to *Lutterworth* to take up *Wickliff's* Bones, and remove them out of Christian Burial, who were so far from coming short of their Commission, that they exceeded; and having taken his Bones out of his Grave one and forty Years after his Burial, burnt them, and cast them into a Brook adjoining, call'd *Swift*, which carrying them into the Sea was a Presage of the spreading of Doctrine into all Parts of the World.

Reg. 7.

Bishop of
Winchester's
Return into
England,
opposed by
the King.

About the Beginning of September the Bishop of *Winchester* lately made Cardinal of *St. Eusebius* in France return'd into England, and in his Journey to London was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and many of the Chief Citizens of it on Horse-back, and by them honourably conducted unto his Palace in *Southwark*; but his Return with so great Dignity, and a Legantine Power, was not at all pleasing to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who by this Time understood of how ill a Consequence his Promotions might prove to the Nation, being a Man of a very insolent and high Temper, and very rich, which would make him troublesome, and intolerable. And to prevent the ill Effects of them, as soon as he heard he was landed, he caused an Instrument to be published in the King's Name, declaring, 'That whereas the most Christian King *Henry VI.* and his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of *England*, have been heretofore possessed time out of Mind with a special Privilege and Custom used and observ'd in this Realm from Time to Time, that no Legate from the Apostolick See shall enter this Land, or any of the King's Dominions without the Calling, Petition, Request, Invitation or Desire of the King; and forasmuch as *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Cardinal of *St. Eusebius* hath presum'd to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither call'd nor desir'd by the King; therefore the King by his Procurator *Richard Caudray* doth protest by this Instrument, that it standeth not with the King's Mind or Intent by the Advice of his Council to admit, approve or ratifie the Comming of the said Legate in any wise in Derogation of the Rights and Customs of this Realm, or to allow and assent to any Exercise of his Legantine Power, or to any Acts attempted by him contrary to the said Laws. This Proclamation being only intended against his Power as Legate, the Bishop seem'd for the present to wave his Authority in that Kingdom, and kept on his way homeward without any Opposition farther from the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was willing to wink at any Submission thro' the fear of displeasing the Pope, who certainly would have thunder'd aloud if he had seen his Authority openly resisted, tho' in the Cardinal's Hands.

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The French King having Fortune now on his side summon'd a Council of his great Lords to his Court to consult, how, and by what Methods they should pursue their Victories (for this Occasion was not to be slipped) and at last it was

resolv'd, that it would be most for his Advantage to recover such Places from the Hands of the *English*, as were situate upon the River *Loire*, and to that end it was thought fit, that a large Army should be raised, and marching to *Orleans* should from thence pursue the good Fortune which had first began there. *John de Valois*, Duke of *Alençon*, was made the King's Lieutenant in this Expedition, and had the Conduct of an Army of 14000 Men under the Command of the Duke *De Vandosme*, a Prince of the Blood, *Joan the Virgin*, *Guy de Laval*, Marshal *Loeac* his Brother, *Chivagnes de Tour*, and *Vidame de Chartres*. The first Thing that they attempted was the Siege of *Mehun* or *Mean*; which tho' a small Town, was an Annoyance to them in their March from *Orleans*; whereupon they besieg'd it, till they had taken the Bridge and Castle, by which means being freed from any Trouble from it: After they had put in a French Garrison, they march'd forward to *Beaugences* a more important Place, where they were met by *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Constable of France, accompanied with the Lord *D' Albret*, *Beaumenoir*, Marshal of *Brittain*, and many others, who brought them a Reinforcement of 1200 Horse, and 1500 Foot, who joyning with them they most traitly besieg'd the Place. The Lord *Talbot* in the mean time was as busie for the Advantage of the *English*, as the French were for their own, and took *Laval*, a Town formerly in Possession of the *English*, but upon the good Success of the French at *Orleans* it had Revolted, and set up King *Charles's* Standard. *Talbot's* Courage would not endure their Inconstancy, and therefore falling upon it with Scaling-Ladders made his way directly into the Town and took it with a rich Spoil. The Castle still held out against him, and though it could not hope to stand out long, yet was *Andrew Laval*, Lord of *Loeac* sent to maintain it, if possible, till they could gain an honourable Composition, which at length he obtain'd, viz. 'That all that were in the Castle, himself not excepted, should pay for the Ransom of their Lives 25000 Crowns, and he remain a Prisoner among the *English*, till it was either actually paid, or sufficient Security given for the Payment of it. The Lord *Talbot* immediately placed a strong Garrison in it to keep the Inhabitants in Subjection, and went forward to the Regent to *Paris*, but could make no stay there, because the News of the Siege of *Beaugences* being brought thither soon after his Arrival, the Regent dispatch'd him, and the Lord *Scales* with an Army of 4000 Men to the Relief of it. These Lords fear'd no Attempts, though never so Desperate or Hazardous; but coming to *Beaugences*, they found it so straitly Besieged, and the Army of the French so strong, that Prudence engag'd them not to hazard themselves and Men to no purpose, and so they retir'd towards *Mehun*, intending to force the Bridge and Castle there, and secure themselves in that Town. *Beaugences* by the Departure of the *English* seeing their Hopes of Succour gone yielded upon these Conditions, 'That the Garrison should march out with their Arms, Horses and Baggage (but the French Historians say, That they were to pay a Mark a Man for the last) and that the *English* Soldiers should not bear Arms for Ten Days against the King of France. The French being thus Masters of the Town, and seeing their Army so much greater than the *English*, pursu'd them with all speed,

A. D.

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Reg. 7.

Duke of A-
lençon be-
lieges *Mehun*.

The Lord
Talbot takes
Laval.

The French
takes *Beaugences*.

(*) This Bishop *Flemming* had been formerly a zealous *Wickliff*.

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7. and before the *English* could affect their Design at *Mehun*, overtook them, and forced them to leave it. They endeavour'd to recover *Janville*, but were so closely follow'd by the *French* Horse, that they were oblig'd to make a stand at *Patay* in *Beauvais* to guard themselves with Stakes against their Assaults, but before they could do it the whole Army came upon them, and they were forced to engage in fight, tho' very unequally against them, the *French* being at least four times their Number. *Talbot* seeing the Necessity of a Battel encourag'd his Men with all the Arguments he could to conquer or die bravely, and gave them command to keep themselves close together, lest being surrounded by the Enemy, they should open a Gap to their own Ruin. The *French* assur'd of Victory fell on them very furiously, and the *English* as resolutely for Three Hours maintain'd their Ground against them, but at length their brave Captain *Talbot* having receiv'd a dangerous Wound upon his Back, and thereby being so disabled, that he could make no Resistance, fell into the Hands of his Enemies, and was made their Captive. This unfortunate Accident so disheartned the rest of the Army, that they betook themselves to Flight, but were so closely pursu'd, that they were almost all slain, the *English* Garrisons not daring to receive them, because they were mingled with so many of their Enemies, that they had been in Danger of falling into the Hands of the *French* to save them. The Lords *Scales* and *Hungerford*, and Sir *Thomas Ramphome*, with some others of less Note, were taken. Sir *J. Falstoff*, tho' a Person of great Valour, yet seeing the inevitable Fate of this Battel, withdrew without giving or receiving a Blow (as judging it mere Rashness to fight at such a Disadvantage) but the Regent was so incensed with him for it, that he took from him his *George* and *Garter*, which he had given him but the Year before for his former brave Actions; but thro' much Mediation of Friends, and his own alledging of some Excuses (which were at that Time judg'd reasonable) they were again restored to him, tho' much against the Lord *Talbot's* Will and Consent. This Victory caused great Triumph among the *French*, chiefly because they had gotten their bravest Captain and Commander, without whose Conduct they believ'd the *English* would not be able to do any thing of Consequence in *France* for the future; yea, and the *English* themselves despair'd of any of Fortune's Favours hereafter, since the Two great Pillars of their Cause were lost. And indeed they had no small reason for their Fears, because several of their Towns yielded themselves up to King *Charles*, viz. *Gergeau*, *Baugence*, *Janville*, *Mean*, and all *Beauvais*, so that by a sudden turn of Fortune, they lost in a few Days, what they had been getting many Months at a great Expence of Blood.

The *English* routed at *Patay*, and the Lord *Talbot* taken.

Sir *John Falstoff* left the Lord *Talbot* in this Battel.

Orleans being thus deliver'd according to *Joan's* Promise and Prediction, she press'd for the Coronation of King *Charles* at *Rheims*, which according to her Train of Prophecies, was next to follow in order to the compleat routing the *English* out of *France*. Many of his Nobles, who were tender of his Safety, were extremely against it, alledging, 'That a Coronation is but a mere Ceremony, and did neither add to, nor take from a King's Title to his Crown. All the Use of it was only to make the King known to his People, which the War had so fully done, that none of his Natural Subjects were ignorant of his Person or Title. But if it were necessary in it self, yet the present Time, and

the design'd Place where so inconsistent with the King's Safety, that it was in no wise to be attempted: For besides, that *Rheims* was in the Possession of the *English*, there were so many *English* Garrisons on both sides the way thither, viz. on the one side *Auxerre*, *Troyes* and *Chalons*, and on the other side *Lyon* and *Soissons*, that it was almost impossible to get thither: So that at least the Ceremony ought to be forborn for a time; and so much the rather, because the *English* had not yet thought it necessary to crown King *Henry*. These Reasons, tho' very rational and certain, yet satisfi'd not *Joan*, as being contrary to One of the Three Things which were pretended, that she had a Commission from God himself to execute, and therefore insist'd upon the Performance of it without delay, assuring them, That these imaginary Difficulties would vanish in the Attempt. King *Charles* having seen the Success of the Former, was easily sway'd to comply with the Latter; and therefore resolv'd to proceed to his Coronation at *Rheims*. All his Nobles, tho' with unwilling Minds, attended him in his Voyage, except *Arthur* of *Brittain* the Constable, and Count *Fedriac* his Friend, whom *Tremville* was unwilling to be troubled with; but lest thro' some Discontent they should disturb the Prosperity of their Affairs, he caus'd the King to send them, one with a sufficient Force to defend the Frontiers of *Normandy*, and the other to be his Lieutenant in *Guienne*, which Stations they accepted without any seeming Dislike, though not insensible of *Tremville's* Artifices. Things being thus settled, *Charles* took his Way with an Army of 12000 Men towards *Rheims*, and with little or no Difficulty arriv'd there; for the *English* Garrisons fearing a Siege, demand'd only Time for Succour, which not coming they surrendred. *Troyes* indeed stood out Twelve Days, or as others say, but Two Days, the *French* partly making fierce Assaults, and the *English* under Sir *Philip Hall* thro' Famine making little or no Resistance. *Chalons* and *Rheims* were forced by the Inhabitants to surrender to King *Charles*, who thereupon made his solemn Entry into the City, and was crown'd there in the Presence of the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Barr*, and all his Nobles. This successful Voyage rais'd *Joan's* Reputation very much; and tho' a Woman of no good Credit, yet confirm'd their Belief of her, as a Person sent by God for their Deliverance, which supported their Courage. And indeed the Ceremony, tho' of no Value in it self, yet produced such real Effects, as if it had been a material Circumstance by the Divine Decree in the Relief of *France*; for it was no sooner over, but the People who judge by Appearance only, flock'd to him to do him Homage, and many Cities, as if that Action had conferred a just Right upon him, which before he had not, own'd him for their lawful and only Sovereign. *Laon* sent Deputies to him to do him Homage, and *Soissons*, *Chasteau Thierre* and *Province* yielded to him with many adjoining Towns.

The Duke of *Bedford*, a wise and experienc'd Governor was not an unconcerned Spectator of all these Actions, and with no small Grief of Heart revolv'd with himself the ill Success of his Party. Every Revolt was a Wound to him, but he knew not how to ward off the Strokes of an inevitable Fate. Something he knew was to be done, but he was long in doubt what would be best. At last he resolv'd to try another Field-Battel, and stop the Current by force, and to that end leaving *Paris* with an Army

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7.

Charles the *French* King crown'd at *Rheims*

The Effects of *Charles's* Coronation.

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7. Duke of Bedford Challenges the French King to fight.

of 10000 English, and some Norman Troops march'd into the Country of *Brie*, from whence he sent a Challenge in Writing to King *Charles* by an Herald to this Purpose, 'That whereas, he had contrary to the final Conclusion made between his noble Brother King *Henry V.* and his own Father King *Charles VI.* and the Kingdom of *France*, by the Allurement of a Devilish Witch, taken upon him contrary to all Laws and Right, the Name, Title and Dignity of King of *France*, and had by Murder, Stealing, Craft, and other deceitful Means violently gotten, and wrongfully kept divers Cities and Towns belonging to the King of *England* his Nephew, pretending a rightful Claim to them, which he utterly deny'd, He was come down from *Paris* with his Army into the Country of *Brie* to prove by dint of Sword and stroke of Battel his Challenge, and Cause true, requiring him to appoint the Place of their Meeting, and would not fail to come to decide this Controversie with him. The French King was now come from *Rheims* to *Dampmartin*, where the Herald found him, and deliver'd his Writing to him. *Charles* was not a little astonish'd at it, but putting on a brave Resolution, told him, *That his Master should not need to come to him, nor invite him to a Battel, for he was determin'd with all speed to seek out his Master, and by Battel put an end to all Disputes between them.* The Duke of Bedford hearing this, kept on his March towards him, and at length (tho' the French King declin'd meeting as much as in Honour he dare) met his Army at a Town near *Senlis*, which, notwithstanding it was much bigger than his own, he was resolv'd to fight almost at any Disadvantage, yet to secure his Rear from the French Horse, he encamp'd himself as strongly as he possibly could, and put his Archers in the Forefront of the Battel. The French King also drew up his Army by the Advice of his Captains into very good Order, and faced the English two Days without any Action, except a few Skirmishes between Parties. On the third Day it was debated in the French Camp, whether they should assault the English or no, *Joan* was irresolv'd, and would by no means encourage them as at other times, which made the greatest part of the Soldiers, who look'd upon her Determinations as Divine, against a Battel. The other Commanders thought it very irrational to hazard their former Victories by one Battel, which if unfortunate, might utterly ruin them, and 'twould be folly to tempt their kind Fortune by venturing needlessly. These Arguments so prevail'd with King *Charles*, that in the dead of the Night he broke up his Camp, and withdrew to *Bray*. The Duke of Bedford had much ado to keep his Army in the Morning from pursuing the French; but because he fear'd the Fidelity of the Citizens of *Paris*, he was afraid to give them Liberty to do it, and so he return'd thither again to wait another Opportunity.

Bishop of Winchester provides to go against the Hussites in Bohemia.

While these Things were transacting in France, Pope *Martin V.* who having excommunicated the Followers of *Wickliff* in *Bobemia*, commonly call'd *Hussites*, from their Chief Preacher *John Hus*, at the Council of *Florence*, sent his Bull into *England* to the Rich Cardinal *Henry Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester*, imploring him by the Wounds of Christ, his Zeal to the Church, and as he tender'd his own Salvation, to contribute his utmost Assistance to extirpate these Hereticks, which had so long withstood the Arms of the Emperor, and other Princes

A. D. 1431. Reg. 7.

of Europe, and to encourage him to be industrious in the Undertaking, he made him his Legate in the Army, which he should raise for that End, and gave him the Tenth Part of every Dignity, Benefice and Promotion in the Kingdom. The Cardinal's Ambition, or, if you will, Zeal, made him very active in his Work, and that he might proceed with the greater Success he propounded the Letters of the Pope to the Parliament, and obtained their Approbation, either out of the same Principle of Hatred to the Hereticks, or perhaps rather, because they would rid the Kingdom of this turbulent Prelate, who was to be the Captain of the Army in so Religious a War. But whatever was the Reason, the Cardinal glad of this publick Ratification of his Commission, proceeded with all Expedition to gather the Money of the Clergy, (who notwithstanding the Goodness of the Cause, were not a little discontented at it, having been much impoverish'd of late with Tenths and other Taxes for the Wars of France) and with it he raised an Army of above 4000 Men, whom having well furnish'd with all Things for the War, he about the Beginning of June intended to have transported into France, and so march'd into *Bobemia*; but when he had drawn them up to *Dover* for that end, Letters came with all speed from the Duke of Bedford to his Brother the Protector, to send him over some Recruits forthwith, because the French King's Affairs were come to that Ripeness, that unless a speedy stop were put to his Victories (which he had not Men enough to do) he would soon become Master of all France. The Duke of Gloucester, startled at this Message, was very solicitous to answer his Brother's Desires, but not being able to do it so soon as was requir'd, and really necessary, he earnestly intreated the Cardinal to assist his Brother in France with his Army for the present, and so soon as he could provide other Supplies he should be disinclined to proceed on his Journey. The Cardinal very unwillingly hearken'd to the Protector's Request, tho' next to a Command; but being no impolitic Person, and considering, that if the King's Affairs in France should miscarry thro' any neglect of his, it was not the Zeal he had for Religion, nor the Pope's Command could excuse him, either to his own Conscience, or to the King and Parliament for thus forsaking the Kingdom's Interests; whereupon he immediately transported his Forces into France, and join'd them with the Regent. With this Reinforcement the Regent march'd out again with a Resolution to fight his Enemy the French King, who (as he had receiv'd late Intelligence) was marched into *Champaigne* and *Beauvais*, where having many Friends, he hop'd to have had many of the Towns of those Countries yielded to him; but ere he could arrive there, the Regent, who pursu'd him with great speed, overtook him, and found him encamped upon Mount *Pilol* between *Senlis* and *Champaigne*, himself pitching between *Senlis* and *Monmaur* at a convenient Distance from them. The French being thus in prospect of a daring Enemy, tho' much the greater Number, yet would not venture to assault the Camp of the English, and the Regent not thinking it safe, upon better Thoughts, to fight them at such Disadvantages, as the Place and their Numbers gave them, they waited several Days to come to a fair Battel, but at length, being both tired with Expectation, they retreated, the one to *Crespie*, and the other to *Paris*, and so nothing was done, save that in some small Skirmishes the English and Normans had

Bishop of Winchester in his way to Bohemia assists the Regent of France.

1429. had much the better. The Bishop of *Winchester* Reg. 7. having waited with some Impatience for a Battel in vain, and finding his Delay unnecessary, went forward with the Regent's Leave into *Bohemia* with his Army, but having had ill Fortune there against the Hereticks, he returned Home soon after with as little Honour as Gain; and the Pope being not well pleased with his ill Success or bad Management, recalled his Legantine-Power, and put Cardinal *Julian* into his Place, to the no small Vexation of the Cardinal, who, tho' unfortunate in his Achievements, yet expected a better Requital for his Zeal and Charge.

Reg. 8. King *Henry* being now entred upon the Ninth Year of his Age, and shewing a great Pregnancy of Wit and Parts, it was thought fit to admit him, as it were, into his Regal Dignity by a Coronation, which was accordingly performed upon St. *Leonard's* Day, Nov. 6. in St. *Peter's* Church at *Westminster* with great Solemnity, and a Joy suitable to the Occasion. *Robert Fabian* in his Chronicle, gives a very particular Account of the magnificent Feast made in *Westminster-Hall*, when it was ended, to which I refer the Curious. At this Coronation the King made 36 Knights of the *Bath*, and in the Conclusion of it, Resolutions were taken by his Council, for his Coronation in *France* in the Spring, and in the mean Time all necessary Preparations were ordered for his Journey thither.

The French take several Places, and court Burgundy his Friendship. King *Charles* being freed from the Molestation of the *English*, kept on his March slowly in those Countries about *Crespy*, and was received into the Towns of *Compeign*, *Senlis* and *Beauvais*, by a submissive Surrender to him, as their lawful Sovereign. The Castle of *Aumerle* stood out, but was surprized by the Lord *Longueville*, who slew all the *English* which he found in it. The *French* also took *Castle-Galliard* from the *English*, and found the Lord *Barbason* kept close Prisoner in a Dungeon in it, enclosed within a Grate of Iron like a little Chamber. He was thought to have been long dead, and there was found with a Joy as great almost, as if he had been raised from the Grave, by his Countrymen, who immediately broke open the Grates for his Deliverance: But he was made a faster Prisoner by his Oath to the Captain, one *Kingstone*, by which he engaged himself to be his true Prisoner, than all Iron-grates and Shackles could make him; in-somuch, that he would not come out of the Dungeon, until the *French*-Men had sent to the same *Kingstone* (who was departed out of the Castle upon the Covenants agreed on for the Surrender) and obtained from him a Discharge from his Oath. But all this Success was not enough to satisfy the *French* King, so long as the Friendship of the Duke of *Burgundy* with the *English* continued; for as he had found by Experience, that it was that, which had settled the *English* Power in *France*, so he did not doubt, but if he could break it, and bring over the Duke to his Natural Duty and Allegiance, it would be a Means to rout the *English* totally out of the Kingdom; and if he could not effect it, his Success hitherto would come to nothing. He resolved therefore to send Ambassadors to that Duke, who excusing the Death of his Father, might represent to him, how misbecoming it was for a Prince of his Quality, and of the Blood-Royal, to joyn with the Enemies of the Regal Dignity and Kingdom, to which himself, or his Posterity might, thro' a Failure of Succession in the nearer

Branches, ascend; and offering him what Conditions he pleased, if he would submit to him. But *Philip* being a very politick Prince, and sensible that neither Party could well subsist without him, as he was courted by both, answered them only in general Terms, which gave them little Hopes, yet did not quite deprive them of them, and made some Demands of Things impossible to be granted, yet with such an Indifferency, as shewed he stood not so much upon his Will as his Advantage, which he sought from both Sides, and would accept the biggest of either; and so dismissed them to their Master. The Regent being certified of these Things by the Duke of *Burgundy* himself, who at the same time let him know, he resented his Denial that *Orleans* should be resigned to him, 'gave him many Thanks for his kind Notice, promising him, that his Fidelity for the Future should be more fully rewarded by him, because he had so firmly withstood the insinuating Proffers of his Natural Sovereign, and had not suffered any former Disobligations to draw him from his League with the *English*. However, he could not but observe, how fast the *French* King pushed forward the Ruin of the *English*, and with Policy seconded his Fortune, which put him upon the Use of such Means as might prevent, if possible, the worst, and if he could not keep all *France*, might at least secure *Normandy*, which was a Province that of Right belonged to the Crown of *England*, and lay the most convenient for it of all the rest; wherefore leaving the Bishop of *Terrouen* and *Ely*, *Lewis* of *Luxemburgh* then Chancellor of *France*, for King *Henry*, with a competent Number of *English*-Men to defend and guard *Paris*, he went into *Normandy*, and being arrived at *Roan*, called a Parliament of the three Estates of the Dutchy, and declared unto them, 'That tho' he was confident, that the Inconstancy of their Neighbours in Revolting to the *French* King, contray to their Oaths and Allegiance due to King *Henry*, was detestible to them in it self, yet lest bad Example should infect them, he thought fit to let them know, how much it was their Interest; as well as their Duty to continue firm to the *English*: That as to the former, so long as a firm Friendship continued with *England*, their Freedom would be enlarged, and their Riches increased every Day; for as *England* would be always ready to receive their Wines and Linnens, so on the other hand it would be continually importing to them their Wool, Lead, and other staple Commodities; whereas on the contrary, if they revolted, they could hope for nothing but Slavery from the Arbitrary Power of *Charles*, the *French* King, and continual War from the *English*, who would very unwillingly lose the Dutchy, being the Inheritance of the *English* Crown, for tho' other Parts of *France* might of Right be thought to belong to King *Charles*, yet *Normandy* was undisputably his Nephew King *Henry's*, being descended to him in a direct Line from the first Duke of *Normandy*, *Rollo the Hardy*; wherefore since both Right and Interest concurred together to joyn their Loyalties to King *Henry* VI. he hoped that no Temptation would be able to allure them from their Faith and Allegiance so often sworn and promised to King *Henry* V. his Brother, in which so long as they persevered, they might be assured of Protection and Defence from the *English* against all their Opposers. The *Normans*

A. D. 1429. Reg. 8. *Burgundy's* Subtilty for his own Advantage.

Regent's Journey into *Normandy*, to confirm that Province in their Loyalty.

A. D. 1429. Reg. 8. King of France attempts to take Paris, but is repulsed.

hearing these Exhortations, declared their Loyalty to King Henry, to which their Interest and Duty did not more oblige them, than their Inclinations voluntarily swayed them; and with these Assurances he departed joyfully to Paris, whether he hastened with the greater Speed, because he had received some Information of King Charles's Attempt upon it in his Absence, which he did after this Manner: The Parisians being represented to him by his Friends, as very much inclined to their lawful Sovereign, if they could have a fair Opportunity to declare for him with Safety to themselves, King Charles thought the Regent's Absence much favoured that Purpose, and therefore soon after his Departure, leaving Senlis, he marched with his whole Army to St. Dennis, which being yielded without Resistance, he presented himself before the Walls of Paris; but not meeting with the Reception he expected, which was to be admitted into the City by his Friends without Delay, he ordered an Assault to be made, and did not doubt of a speedy Success, because Joan pretended a Revelation for the Taking of it. John, Duke of Alençon immediately began the Assault, and the chiefest Part of the Army, which were lodged at La Chapelle, levelled their Artillery against the Gate of St. Honorius, and took the Outworks of it. Joan also threw her self resolutely into the Ditch, contrary to the Advice of the Duke of Alençon, and all the Rest, and expected the Army should follow her to take Possession of the City, but the English Captains and Soldiers kept their Stations so firmly, and being assisted by the Parisians, defended the City so manfully, that they beat the French, and threw Joan, more forward than wise, into the Town-Ditch, full of the Filth and Excrements of the City; and had certainly taken her, had not a Servant of the Duke of Alençon pulled her out. King Charles, seeing this unexpected Resistance, founded a Retreat, and so with some Loss, but more Dishonour, left the City, not taking so much as his wounded Captains along with him, and marched by Touraine into Berry. The Duke of Bedford arrived at Paris soon after the French were gone, and understanding by his Soldiers, how faithfully and bravely the Parisians had behaved themselves in the Defence of the City, by which they had freed themselves from all Suspicion of Disloyalty, he gave them publick Thanks for their good Service, and promised them all the Felicity which might be expected from the Favour of a Prince, who loved nothing more than the Good of his Subjects, and would study to reward the well Deservings of a faithful People: Which grateful Return of their Services, the Parisians took so very kindly, that they declared a perpetual Friendship and Subjection to the King of England, making publick Acclamations in these Words. *Friends to King Henry, Friends to the Parisians, Enemies to England, Enemies to Paris.* But their after-Actions made the Sincerity of this Profession questionable.

A. D. 1430. The Regent recovers several Places taken by the French.

Not long after the Regent was come to Paris, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, with a great Number of armed Men arrived; and the Regent, who was under some Disturbance of Mind for the late Losses of the English, entred into a long and grave Consultation with him, how to proceed most effectually to recover them; and it was at length agreed between them, that the Duke of Burgundy with his Men should remain in Paris for the Defence of it, while the Duke of Bedford and his Army should

recover St. Dennis, and the adjacent Places which had lately revolted to the French. The Duke of Bedford therefore without Delay marched from Paris on this Expedition, and having regained St. Dennis, and the other adjoining Fortresses, with as little Labour as they were lost, he returned again to Paris, and sent out several Parts of his Army to recover other Places which he feared would prove more obstinate, viz. The Bastard of Clarence to besiege the Castle of Torci, a very strong Fortification, as well for its Site, as for the Artificial Strength of it; but by the Valour of the English, it was taken after Six Months Siege. The Earl of Suffolk to take the Town of Amarle, which had resigned to King Charles a little before; Monsieur de Romburris was made Governor, who so resolutely held it out, that the Earl of Suffolk made Twenty-five Assaults upon it, before it would yield, and then at last surrendered, not for want of Will, but Strength to oppose, all their Men being lost. The Earl of Suffolk, who took it without Conditions, hanged 30 of the Chiefest of the Inhabitants upon the Walls of the City, for their Perjury and Treachery to King Henry; fined the Rest of them, and sent Monsieur de Romburris a Prisoner into England, who did not recover his Liberty till Six Years after, and then by Exchange. Sir Thomas Kiriel also about the same Time, issuing out of Gournay in Normandy with 400 Men, ravaged and wasted the Country as far as the very Suburbs of Clermont, which the Earl of that Country seeing with Sorrow, drew out the Garrisons of that Town, and the neighbouring Places to chastise his Boldness, and repress his Insolency. The English retreated into an advantageous Ground near Beauvais, where the French Horse could prove of no Use to them, and there pitching, resolved to give them Battel. The French-Men being egged on with the seeming Flight of the English, and their smaller Numbers were eager to engage them, and because their Horses could do them little or no Service, the Earl commanded them to dismount, and engage them on Foot. Upon this a very fierce Skirmish followed, and the Advantage was a long while dubious on which Side it would fall; but at length, by the Valour and Force of the English Archers, the French were forced to give Ground, and in the End fly, having lost 300 of their Company. The Pursuit was close, so that the French could not recover their Horses again, but they falling into the Hands of the English, were made use of to overtake them, and so 200 of them were taken Prisoners, the Earl of Clermont himself, being saved only by the Swiftness of his Horse. The French in the mean while were not unactive, and tho' they lost in some Places, got in others; for they having laid an Ambush in the Night near the Town of Laval, and corrupted a Miller, whose Mill lying by the Town, he had often Admittance into it, got into the Town by his Advice and Notice, when the Gates were opened for him: All the English that they found in it, they put to the Sword, but several of them escaped over the Walls. A little after this, Sir Stephen de Vignois, surnamed La Hire, took the Town of Louviers, in Normandy, by Surprise, and having sworn the Inhabitants to be Loyal to King Charles, carried away with him a great Booty, and many Prisoners.

King Henry, according to the Determination of his Council for his Coronation in France, began his Journey thither early in the Spring, being

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French gained something.

K. Henry's Voyage into France, and Coronation being

A. D. 1430. being accompanied with the Two Dukes, of York and Norfolk, the Bishops of Bath, Ely and Rochester, the Earls of Huntington, Stafford, Warwick, Oxford, Devonshire, Morton, Ew and Ormond, and the Lords Bouchier, Beaumont, Tiptoft, Fitzwater, Rosse, Arundel, Awdley, Falconbridge, Gray of Codnor, Scroop and Wells, with a large Retinue of armed Men, as well for his present Guard, as for a Recruit of his Army in France. On St. George's Eve, April 23, he came to Dover; the next Day being Sunday, he landed at Calis, and after a (y) short Stay, marched slowly to Roan, where he passed all the Summer.

Duke of Burgundy's Marriage. While King Henry remained at Roan, the Marriage of Philip, Duke of Burgundy with Isabella, Daughter of John, King of Castile, and Philippa, Daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (in Honour of which Marriage, the King (z) instituted the Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece) was solemniz'd. And soon after, that the English might try their Fortune under his auspicious Presence, as well as signalize their Courage and Conduct to him, they undertook several advantageous, but hazardous Enterprizes. One Captain Franquet, or as the French History, Franchetto d' Arras, made an Assault upon the Town of Laignie, wherein Joan, and divers other good Captains were, who seeing Franquet's Men, but few, summoned the Garrisons adjoining together, and fell furiously upon them, resolving to beat them down at the very first Onset with their Multitude. Franquet was a Man of exceeding Courage, and his Company, tho' but 300, were resolved never to desert him in the greatest Dangers, whereupon a long Conflict happened between them, and the English repulsed the French with great Loss in the two or three first Onsets; but at last they were overpowered with Multitudes, and forced to give ground, but being unwilling to suffer the Shame of a Flight, they chose to die by the Sword, and so were almost all slain. Franquet himself was taken, and presented to Joan, as to a Commander in Chief in the Town; he was required to humble himself to her on the knee, which because he refused to do, she fell into a great Fury, and contrary to the Law of Arms and Reason, commanded his Head to be cut off, and all the English that were taken Prisoners with him to be slain. While this Enterprize was unsuccessfully carried on, a greater was begun, which was the Siege of Compeigne. This was a great Town, and well manned, victualled and fortified, and therefore the Regent sent his best Captains, the Duke of Burgundy, Earls of Suffolk and Arundel, and Lord John of Luxemburgh, to besiege it with a Body of many Thousand Men. In their Way thither, they took Soissons, which the French Historians say, was betrayed to them by a Captain of Picardy, who had the Command of it, and so having cleared their Way, sat down before the Town. There was very little Hopes of gaining it by Force, and therefore these wise Captains raised Batteries, made Trenches, and built Forts round it, partly for their own Safety, and partly to necessitate the

Besieged, hoping by length of Time, and inward Streights, to force them to surrender. A. D. 1430. William de Havie was Governor of the Town, Reg. 8. a very valiant and prudent Man, who by Sallies and Skirmishes kept the Besiegers almost in continual Exercise, especially after Joan, with a Reinforcement of 500 Men came into the Town from Laignie. On the Night of the Ascension of our Lord, the Besieged having Intelligence, that the Lord Bawdo de Noielles, who kept one of the Castles against them, was sent out by the Duke of Burgundy to Marigny upon some special Service, Poiton de Saintreilles, and Joan the Virgin, with a Party of Six Hundred Men, made a vigorous Sally out of the Town by the Bridge toward Montdidier, intending to master it, but being perceived as they were in the Action by the Lord John de Luxemburgh, he came upon them with a strong Force of English and Burgundians, as they were cutting down Tents, overthrowing Pavillions, and killing Men in their Beds, and beat them back again into the Town. In the Retreat, Joan, to save her Men, kept the Enemy in continual Skirmishes, being her self one of the last that entered (a), but the Bars thro' which they got into the Town, being kept very streight, lest the Enemy should enter with the Besieged; Joan was left at last with a few, or as some relate, shut out on purpose by the Malice of the Governor, who envied her the Glory of Defending the Town, and so fell into the Hands of the Lord John of Luxemburgh, who sold her to the English for (b) Four Thousand Crowns in present Money, and an Hundred and Fifty Crowns annual Rent, who sent her a Prisoner to Roan. After this Success the Siege of the Town still continued, and the Duke of Bedford, that he might hasten the speedy Taking of it, sent a Recruit of a Thousand Archers, under the Command of the Earl of Huntington, and Sir John Rokfert, Two Gentlemen as expert in all warlike Affairs, as valiant in all bold Attempts. These Men were so active in carrying on the Siege, that there could be no doubt of gaining the Town in a short time, had not the Death of Philip, Duke of Brabant, happen'd in the very Interval, by which the Duke of Burgundy, who was next Heir to his Duchy, was obliged to leave the Siege, that he might go and take Possession of it, before any Competition were started. The Lord John, of Luxemburgh, was by the Duke constituted General of the Siege, a Person of small Valour, and as little Conduct, who being discouraged at some brisk Sallies of the Garrison, and the Loss of some of his Men, entertain'd Thoughts of raising the Siege, and propounded it to the English Captains; but they would by no means consent to it, telling him, that the Town being so closely begirt outwardly, that no Relief could get in, and so afflicted within with Pestilence and Famine, could not hold out many Days longer, or if it did, yet it would be a mighty Disgrace to them, to leave the Place after so long a Siege. But no Reasons would prevail with him, he would hearken to no Intreaties, he would be gone, and accordingly he

(y) He staid some time at Calais. Hol. p. 605.

(z) The Duke of Burgundy instituted the Order of the Golden-Fleece, and the Kings of Spain have no other Pre- tence to the Sovereignty of that Order, but as they are Lineally descended from Charles the Bold, Son of Philip the Second, Duke of Burgundy, of whom the Author is now speaking.

(a) It seems she did not inter.

(b) Le Rosier, a French Author, who wrote the Life of the French King Charles VII. says, the Price was 10000 Pounds Tournois, and 300 Pounds Rent. Which being reduced into English Money, (for these Pounds are only Livres) make about 838 Pounds Sterling down, and 25 Pounds a Year Pension. Enough for the Head of a VVitch, or what is more probable a VVhore; as she confessed her self when she was condemn'd to be burnt, pretending she was with Child to save her Life, but that was a Trick, and did not do her Business.

A. D. 1429. he march'd off when the Town was reduced to Despair, to the great Disgrace of the *English*, who went into *Normandy*, and left *Luxembourg* to provide for his Fears, who burnt his Huts, and left his Artillery behind him, as if he had been forced to fly by the Enemy, when there was nothing less

Joan examined before the Bishop of Beauvois. Soon after the Siege of *Compeigne* was raised, the Regent being now a little at Leisure, caused *Joan the Virgin* to be examin'd and try'd before *Peter Cauchon*, Bishop of *Beauvois*, in whose Diocese she was taken, being requested thereto by the University of *Paris*, who put up a Petition to King *Henry*, that she might be deliver'd up to the Ecclesiastical Courts, because she had been a Cause of much Scandal among the People, to the Prejudice of Religion and the Catholick Faith. She was accused upon Seventy Eight Articles, the chief of which were these, viz. That tho' she was indeed found a Virgin, yet she had shamefully rejected her own Sex, imitating a Man both in her Actions and Apparel; That she had like a faithless Wretch been a damnable Instrument of Slaughter and Blood-shed, partly committed by her, and partly carry'd on by her Directions; That she had greatly seduced the People, by pretending, that she was sent from God, and vending many false Revelations in his Name; That she was a Sorceress and a Witch, foretelling Things to come by her Diabolical Arts and Skill; That she had dissuaded *Charles the French King* from Peace with *England*, and so had been the Cause of the Wars for several Years; That she had boasted, that she knew Things to come, and particularly had published the certain downfall of the *English* Power in *France*; That she had asserted, that the Saints conversed with her, and had been seen with her by the King of *France* himself, Duke of *Bourbon*, and two or three other Lords; That she had so seduced the People, as that many abused by her Hypocrisy and fained Devotion, worshipped her as a Saint. To these Articles of Accusation she made her Answer, sometimes very gravely and soberly, and sometimes foolishly. Her chief Advocate, one *Giles*, a grave and prudent Man, said, That though in Visions and Revelations she had shewed her self too Superstitious, and in the Levity of her Answers had discovered the Weakness of her Sex, yet he could not think that the Siege of *Orleans* was raised, or King *Charles* brought to his Crown by any means of the Devil. But neither this Man's Opinion, nor her own Defence, was sufficient to clear her from the greatest part of the Charge; which when she saw was likely to fall heavy upon her, she, with much seeming Sorrow, confessed her Wickedness, and begg'd Mercy, which the Judge willing to grant, mollified the Sentence, and only inflicted this Punishment on her for the present, viz. That from thenceforth she should cast off her unnatural wearing of Men's Garments and other Habilliments, and keep her self to such a Garb as is suitable and proper to her Sex; That she should abjure her pernicious Practice of Sorcery and Witchcraft, and all the other Evils, which she had committed contrary to the true Religion; That she should be kept in perpetual Imprisonment, being fed with Bread and Water, that she might, with a strict Penance, bewail her former Misdeeds. This Sentence being much milder than

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8. what she had reason to fear from an Enemy, to whom she had done so much Mischief, she gladly submitted to it, and took a solemn Oath punctually to perform it. But the Devil had too great a Power upon her, to be so easily vanquish'd: What she had promised was only for fear of Suffering, not thro' Conscience of her Wickedness; and therefore as soon as her Fear was remov'd, she fell again to her old Tricks of pretending Revelations, and foretelling future Events, by the familiar Converse she had with Evil Spirits, which she call'd by the Names of our Lady *St. Katherine* and *St. Ann*, who (as she said) brought her them from God. These things being heard of by the Regent, he caused her again to be brought to the Bishop and tried as a Person relapsed into the former Wickedness, of which being found guilty, she was resign'd to the Secular Power, and condemn'd to be burnt as a Witch. This unavoidable Sentence of Death fully discover'd the Falseness of her Pretensions to any Divine Inspiration: For whereas such Persons have joyfully suffer'd Death rather than save themselves by the least Sin, she did not stick to bely her self, by affirming, that she was with Child, and consequently, (not being married) to be guilty of Whoredom, that she might put off the Execution of so severe a Sentence. The Regent, tho' he look'd upon it as a false Pretence, which might have been easily remov'd by the common Methods, yet chose rather to respite her Punishment for Nine Months, that this Lye being discover'd, he might convince the World, that she being actuated by a lying Spirit all along, for so indeed it happen'd, that she was not with Child: Whereupon at Eight Days end, her Sentence of Condemnation being again pronounced upon her, she was in the Old Market-Place of *Roan* burnt to Ashes, which being cast up into the Air were dispersed by the Wind: *Valeran Veran*, a French Poet relates two Miracles in her Death, which as he imagines clear'd her Innocency, viz. That her Heart remained unburnt in the Flames, and that a White Dove came out of her Ashes and flew up towards Heaven; but as they are not related by any Historian of Credit, either French or English, so they seem a mere Poetical Fiction, invented long after to justify the Pope's Absolution of her from the Sentence of Condemnation the English had laid on her, which *K. Charles* obtain'd of Pope *Calixtus* Twenty-Six Years after her Death, when the English were quite expell'd *France*, because though her Actions were too scandalous to bear a Canonization, yet he thought it not fit to let her lie under so ignominious a Brand, who must not be deny'd the just Praise, That she was a brave and valiant Amazon, the Restorer of the French Monarchy, who if she did not drive out the English, as she vaunted her self, yet certainly was the chief Cause that the English lost *France*.

Reg. 9. About November King *Henry* went from *Roan* to *Paris*, in order to his Coronation there, for which great Preparations had been making great Part of the Summer. Many Princes and Lords, as well French as English accompany'd him, of which the Chief were the Cardinals of *Winchester* and *Tork* (e) the Dukes of *Bedford*, *Tork* and *Norfolk*, and of the French the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Lewis de Luxenburgh*, Cardinal and Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Bishops of *Beauvois*

(e) The Bishop of *Tork* was not a Cardinal at this Time. There was then but one Cardinal of the English Nation, *Henry Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester*, *John Stafford*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was not made Cardinal till three Years after, Anno 1424. and *John Kemp*, Arch-Bishop of *Tork* had not that Honour till after *Stafford*. See *Thin's History of Cardinals in Hol. pag. 1167.*

A. D. 1430. Reg. 9. *Paris, Paris and Noyon (f) first Peers of France, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntington, Ormond, Mortaigne and Suffolk, the Counts Longueville, March and Vaudemont, with a numerous Train of Gentry, and others of both Nations, and was met by the Parisians with very great Respect and Pomp. He was crown'd in the Church of Notre Dame on the 7th or 17th Day of December by the Cardinal of Winchester, which much disgusted the Bishop of Paris, who thought that honourable Office belong'd to him, as Bishop of that Diocese. The King return'd to his Palace with the Crown on his Head, and Scepter in his Hand, another Crown and Scepter being born before him to signifie his Kingdom of England, and was there receiv'd with sumptuous Feasting. He stay'd no longer, than till the whole Solemnity was over, and the Noblemen of France and Normandy had paid their Homage, and then return'd to Roan, where he kept his Christmas, and a little after by the Advice of his Council went to Calis, from whence after a short Stay he took Ship for England and landed at Dover, February 11. In his Journey to London he was met by the Gentry and Commons of Kent on Barham-Down, which lies between Dover and Canterbury, who congratulated his happy Arrival, and conducted him thro' their County to Black-Heath, where he was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London, who attended him thro' the City, which was adorn'd with many rich Pageants and shews to give him an hearty Welcome to his Palace at Westminster.*

Divers Skirmishes between the French and English. While these Things were transacting at Paris, divers Things of Moment were perform'd by the English Soldiers in several Places in France. In Normandy Sir Francis Surianes, call'd the Argonnois, a Captain of the English Side, surpriz'd Montargis, by corrupting a Woman that belonged to Monsieur De Villiers the Governor of the Town, to whom he gave 2000 Crowns to resign it to him, which she accordingly did, and so he became Master of that Place by Policy, which he could not get by Force. The French troubl'd at the Loss, sent an Army under the Command of the Messieurs de Graville, and De Vitry to regain it, who took the Town, but not being able to obtain the Castle by a long Siege of six Weeks, they were forced to forsake the Town, and leave it to the English, who re-fortified it, and held it, till with it they were constrain'd to relinquish all thereabouts. About the same time the Earl of Arundel having received certain Intelligence that the Lord Bousac, Admiral of France, was come to Beauvois with a Design to invade the Coasts of Normandy, gather'd a Body of 2300 Men, and laid an Ambush near the Town, into which that he might train the French, he sent a choice Troop of his Horsemen to brave them even at their Palisadoes. The French not suspecting the Snare laid for them, sallied out, and set upon the English with great Fierceness and Violence, but they retir'd and fled, as if they had been afraid and beaten, till they had brought them into the Ambush, which encompassed them so close on every side, that they were almost all slain except some that fled back into the Town, and some few that were taken Prisoners, of whom the Valiant Captain Ponton de Santrail, Monsieur St. Raigle, and some others were the chiefest. The Lord Talbot, who was taken at the Battel of Patay, was exchange'd for the former of these, or as others say,

for the latter. Before the Town of Gournay also Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick met a Party of French, and after a sharp Skirmish vanquish'd them, and having slain many of them took Forty Horsemen Prisoners, all of them Persons of Name and Worth. About the same time there having happen'd a Quarrel between Renatus of Anjou, Duke of Barr, Count de Province, and by his Pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, call'd King of Sicily, and his Kinsman Anthony, Count Vaudemont, who being Brother to Charles, Duke of Lorraine claim'd the Dukedom of Anjou for his own by Succession. It caus'd a War between them, and to strengthen themselves one against the other, Renatus engag'd the French, and Anthony the English to their Assistance. Renatus was the more powerful of himself, and before Anthony could get sufficient Forces to encounter him in open Field, besieg'd Vaudemont; which Anthony being chiefly oblig'd to secure, left his Men to defend for the present with the Help of the Citizens, and fled to the English at Paris to beg their speedy Assistance to raise the Siege. The Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy readily granted his Petition, and sent with him 600 Archers under the Command of Sir John Falstaff, and 1500 others under Sir Anthony Toulougon, the Duke of Burgundy's Marshal. Renatus hearing of this Design, and that Count Anthony was coming towards him to raise the Siege, he like a valiant Captain leaving a Part of his Army to carry it on, went to meet them, and encountred them at Valleamont not far from Nanci. The Battel was fierce and long, but at length the English Archers so gaul'd the French Horse, that they were forced to give Ground, and at length fled. In the pursuit there were 3000 slain, and 200 taken Prisoners, among whom were Duke Renatus himself, the Bishop of Metz, the Lord of Roquedemaque, Viscount Darcy, and Sir Everard de Salsenburg, who were imprison'd at Bracones upon Salin. This Defeat of Duke Renatus's Men struck such a Terror into the rest of his Army which carry'd on the Siege before the Town, that they immediately rais'd it, left all they had and fled away, but the Besieged pursuing them, took many of them, slew many, and took others Prisoners. The whole Camp then became their Prey, which they ransack'd; and being laden with the Riches and Spoils of it, return'd into their City. Thus the English attended by a good Fortune, not only were Victorious themselves, but made their Allies Successful.

Yet their good Fortune was not without some Mixture of Ill thro' their own Carelessness and Security; for the Lord Willoughby and Sir Matthew Gough besieging St. Severine, a strong Castle in Anjou, in the Absence of the Lord Ambrose de Lore, who was the Governor of it, this Lord fearing the Skill and Courage of his Deputy made all the Haste he could to the Relief of it, and King Charles sent along with him certain Noblemen with a considerable Body of Men to raise the Siege, who not following him with the Speed desired, the Lord de Lore tarry'd for them at Beaumont. The English about the Town having Intelligence of the Intentions and Motions of the French, Sir Matthew Gough was sent with part of the Army to surprize De Lore and his Forces before the rest came up to them, while the Lord Willoughby maintain'd the Siege with the other part of the Army. Gough march'd with Expedition, and in the Night entred the

A. D. 1431. Reg. 9.

Vaudemont besieg'd.

Reg. 10. St. Severine besieg'd by the English.

(f) The Bishop of Paris was not a Peer of France till very lately. Messire Francois de Harley, the late Archbishop was the first that had that Honour. Robt Geo. part 1. pag. 88.

A. D. 1431. Reg. 10. the French Man's Camp, before they were perceived, the Watch being careless and secure. The French thro' the Confusion they were in, made small Resistance, but despairing of Safety, fled towards the Noblemen, who were hastning up with another Body of Men to De Lore. The English in the mean Time plundered the Camp, and having taken some Prisoners, among which was De Lore himself, were returning to the Town, but slowly, being loaded with Prey and Prisoners. The French, who were coming, hearing of the Defeat of their Fellows, halted up to their Relief, and tho' too late to preserve them, yet they resolutely pursued the English, and set upon them with great Fury, who being in Disorder, and cumbered with their Baggage, were unable to resist, and so fled to the Town, leaving their Captain, Sir Matthew Gough, and divers others in the Hands of the French, with all their Spoil that they had taken a little before, yet could not they recover De Lore again, but he still remained in the Hands of the English. The Lord Willoughby, who lay still before the Town, was much troubled at this Misfortune, and having lost much of his Strength, thought it not safe to continue the Siege, and so he departed unwillingly from it, and in his Retreat was pursued so close by the Besieged, that he lost many Men in his Rear.

The Pope endeavours to make a Peace between the French and English. The Wars in France between the English and French thus holding on with almost equal Success, and with small hopes of a Conclusion, it much grieved the Pope, who was then Eugenius IV. to see and consider of the great Effusion of Christian Blood made thereby, and therefore that he might put an End to so great Cruelties, and establish a Peace, he sent his Legate, Nicholas, the Cardinal of St. Crucis, or the Holy-Cross, into France to make a Peace between them, but to little or no effect; for tho' the Cardinal was very earnest and industrious to compose all Differences between the Two Parties, yet he found them so obstinate in their Enmity one to another, that he could obtain no more of them by all his earnest and long Importunities, than a Truce for Six Years, which being very unwillingly granted, lasted scarce so many Months, and so was never ratified; for the Bastard of Orleans, lately made Earl of Dunois, having an Army of 3000 Men about him, surprised and took Chartres, a considerable Garrison belonging to the English, after this manner. A Servant of one of King Charles's Financiers had several Relations and Friends among the Inhabitants of Chartres, and among the Rest, a Brother, who having obtained Liberty by his Means to buy Provisions out of the Town, and sell them to the Garrison within, had a free Passage thro' the Gates with his Cart to carry it in, and because he often gave the Keepers of the Gates some of his Provisions gratis, could easily gain Admission at any Season. This Servant being instigated by the Bastard of Orleans, to tempt his Brother by large Rewards to betray the Town to the French, by many Requests and Promises prevailed with him, that upon Pretence of carrying a Load of Fish into the Town fresh and fair, he might be admitted thro' the Gate at Midnight, and it was contrived, that with him an Hundred Men, whom he had laid ready in a Cellar, which he had hired near the Gate for a Warehouse, should rush in, and having killed the Watch, let in the Rest of the French Detachment which lay in Ambush, and at a Sign

given, were ready to fall in with them. This was all successfully carried on, and the English Garrison, which was no more than an Hundred and Twenty Men, because they trusted to the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, seeing the Enemy in the City escaped out of the Gates that opens towards Eureux, and so saved themselves. The Inhabitants, who having always sided with the Duke of Burgundy, knew that they could expect no Mercy from the French, stood to their Defence, but being too weak, especially in that Disorder, to encounter so great a Force, were most of them slain, and among them the Bishop, who with Eighty more, was killed upon the Stairs of his Cathedral Church. After this the whole City was treated as conquered, the Clergy, and chief Magistrates that survived, were made Prisoners of War, never to be released, but for large Ransoms; their Goods were plundered and carried away, their Women were ravished, and all Persons put to Death, who had acted as Magistrates, or Officers under the English. This Breach of the Truce so lately made much offended the English, and so much the more, because the Bastard of Orleans defended it, as lawful by the Law of Arms to steal or buy a Town without Invasion. And so the War was again renewed with fresh Hostilities on both Sides. The French having been so successful in taking the Town of Chartres by Treachery, made a like Attempt upon the Castle of Roan, by corrupting the Captain of it, one Peter Andebese with Promises of giving him the whole Revenue of the Castle; which, tho' Andebese did as much as in him lay to perform, yet partly thro' the Cowardize and Backwardness of the French, and partly thro' the Courage of the English, who made a brave Defence, tho' surprized, by reason of the Earl of Arundel's Presence, they missed of their Design, most of the French being either slain in the Attempt, or taken Prisoners. This ill Success quelled the French a little, and the Truce took effect a while.

In England there was great Rejoycing for the late Coronation of their King, yet, as if the poor Followers of Wickliffe were to be their Peace-Offering, the Bishops persecuted them with the greatest Severity. Richard Hoveden, a Woolwinder, and Citizen of London, was burnt for Heresie on Tower-Hill, and Thomas Bagley, Priest, Vicar of Monenden, or Munden, not far from Maldon in Essex, suffered the like Punishment in Smithfield for the same Crime. In the Diocese of Norwich, Nicholas Canon of Eye, and several others were forced to abjure their Opinions, and undergo Penance, and so in other Places of the Kingdom. These Cruelties much incensed the Commons against the Clergy, who were always the most zealous and forward in such Prosecutions, and begat a Rebellion; for William Mandevile, Bailiff of Abington in Oxfordshire, a Man who favoured the Opinions of Wickliffe, and much disliked the Cruelty of the Clergy to them, having a great Interest in the Commons, stirred them up to Revenge against them, and getting a Multitude of People about him, took upon himself to be their Captain, under the Name of Jack Sharp of Wigmoreland, in Wales, giving out, That he would make the Heads of Priests as cheap as Sheep's Heads, which were then Three, or as others say, Ten a Penny. Some Historians make his Designs to be levelling, and affirm, That he held, that Priests ought not to have any worldly Possessions, and that Christians, whose

A. D. 1431. Reg. 10.

A. D. 1432.

The Persecution of Wickliffe's Followers in England begets a Rebellion.

Jack Sharp, Captain of the Rebels.

A. D. 1432. Reg. 10. whose Profession engages them upon a universal Charity, ought to enjoy no Properties, but to leave all things in Common. These Opinions were at that Time thought to be dispersed abroad by their Enemies, to make them more odious to the People, and 'tis not at all probable that he should attempt such an impossible Thing, as to take away all Title of Possessions. His Hatred was to the Clergy, and 'tis like, that as he would have destroyed many of that Order, if his Design had been successful, so he would have made such as survived poor enough: But his seditious Attempt was no sooner known, than it was suppressed; for the Duke of Gloucester, a watchful and good Governour, having Notice of this Insurrection, immediately sent down a sufficient Force to disperse the Rebels, which was soon effected, several of them were taken Prisoners, and among them the Captain himself, who being punished with Quartering, the Rest upon their Submission, were pardoned and dismissed.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

About the Time of this Rebellion, the (e) Cardinal of Winchester, a warlike and politick Prelate, who had staid behind in France to assist the Regent, in managing Civil Affairs, there came over into England for some fresh Recruits, both of Men, and Money to carry on the War, which by the late Breach of Truce was likely to be renewed. The Duke of Gloucester, being sensible of the Necessity of a present Supply, immediately called a Parliament, which ordered, That in the first Place a sufficient Number of Men and Money should be raised, and transported with all convenient Speed into France, and after spent some Time upon other Affairs of State. The Principal Matters Enacted were,

1. That whereas under the Colour of Outlawries, sued out against certain Persons, Occasion was taken to molest others of the same Name, and to seize their Goods and Chattels, especially when they were dead, because there was no Remedy at Common-Law for Executors to recover such Seizures, wherefore it was enacted by this Parliament, in Favour of Executors, that in Defence of the Testator's Goods, a Writ called *Identitate Nominis*, should be granted to them, and should be as maintainable by them, as by any other Person living.

2. That whereas the Welsh-Men assembled in great Numbers, armed, and did in a riotous and rebellious Manner, intercept, and stop, the Boats, Trowes, Floats, called Drags, carrying Wares and Merchandizes to Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, and other Places, upon the River Severn, and broke the said Vessels, to the end, that the Traders might have their Boats and Vessels of them only; therefore it was enacted, that all the King's Liege People should have free Passage upon the said River, to carry their Goods and Chattels as they please, without any Molestation from the Welsh, and if for the future they any Ways molested them in their Traffick, the Party or Parties aggrieved should have their Actions according to the Course of the Common-Law. But that which made the greatest Noise in this Parliament, was a Case of Bastardy, alledged against *Elleanor*, the Wife of *James*, Lord *Audley*, who claimed the Inheritance of *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, as being his Eldest Daughter, and a Legitimate Issue, or *Mulier*, by *Constance* his Wife; for which she had gotten a Certificate from the Ordinary. Against this Claim, the other Daughters of the said *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, put in their Peti-

tion to the Parliament, alledging, that the said *Elleanor* was a Bastard, that her Mother *Constance*, the late Wife of *Thomas*, Lord *Dispen- cer*, was never married to the said Earl, and that the Certificate brought from the Ordinary was obtained by Fraud. This produced an Act of Parliament, and by which it was ordained, 3. That in all Pleas, wherein Bastardy is alledged against any Person, Party to the said Plea, the Judge, or Judges of, or in the Courts where the said Plea is depending, shall certify it to the Chancellor of England, for the Time being, to the intent, that Proclamation be made in the said Chancery, by Three Months, once in every Month, that all Persons that have any Thing to object against the said *Mulier*, or Person pretending himself a Legitimate-Issue, may put in their Allegations and Objections before any Certificate be given by the Bishop.

In this Parliament also a Peace was concluded with *James*, King of *Scots*, who sent his Ambassador to the Duke of Gloucester to desire it. The Duke not willing to determine so important a Matter without the Consent of the Nation, referr'd it to the Three Estates, who after some Debates, settled a Peace with them, and then the Parliament rose.

A Peace made with the Scots.

The Bishop of Winchester, who had all the Session been very active to raise both the Men and Money appointed by the Parliament for the Service of France, was ready to pass thither about the same Time, and accordingly departed. The Duke of Bedford, having accompanied the King to *Calais*, remained still in *Picardy*, ready to receive the Cardinal; in the mean Time he having Information of a Mutiny among the Soldiers at *Calais*, partly because the Staple of Wool was removed from thence, and partly because in the Time of Truce they had been restrained from pillaging and ravaging the Neighbouring Countries, whereby their Prey grew too narrow to uphold their Extravagant Expences. The Regent knowing the dangerous Effects of such Discontents among the Soldiers, hastned thither, and having diligently examined the Matter, put Four or Five of the chief Mutineers to Death, and cashiered an Hundred and Ten more, banishing them from the Town and Marches of it, and so settled the Garrison in Peace.

A Mutiny at Calais.

While the Duke of Bedford was in these Parts, his Dutches, the Lady *Anne*, Sister to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, departed this Life at *Paris*. She had in her Life-time been the Cement of that firm Friendship and Love, which had so long continued between her Husband and Brother, by which the English Interests in France had been chiefly maintained and upheld, and by her Death it was much abated, and in a short Time was utterly dissolved by a second Marriage, which this wise Duke not very prudently made, with *Jaquet*, the Daughter of *Peter de Luxemburg*, Earl of *St. Poll* and Niece, to *Lewis de Luxemburg*, Bishop of *Turain* and *Ely*, and Chancellor of France, for King *Henry*, by whose Perswasion this Match was effected. *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* had never embraced any Friendship with this Family, and had he been consulted about the Marriage, would certainly have been against it, as being not only inferior to the Duke of Bedford's Greatness, but his own; besides, he was not at all acquainted with it, contrary to the usual Custom among Princes, especially of so great Intimacy, which he interpreted as a Contempt cast upon him, and

The Death of the Dutches of Bedford, and the Duke his second Marriage.

(e) This Rebellion, the Calling of the Parliament, and the Cardinal's Return to France, happen'd all before the young King's Return to England.

A. D. 1432. Reg. 10. grew every Day more and more cold towards him, till upon other little Occasions of Disgust offer'd, they became open and professed Enemies, which was a chief Cause of losing *France*. But however this was not discern'd till some time after, and the Duke of *Bedford* very well pleased with his New Spouse passed into *England*, and tarry'd there among his Friends, from whom he receiv'd many Congratulations of Happiness, and other Expressions of Love and Kindness, till the latter end of *Aug.* 1433. when he return'd again to his Charge in *France*.

The Dauphin's Soldiers break the Truce.

While the Duke of *Bedford* was Absent and in *England*, the *Dauphin's* Soldiers, who by reason of the Truce were almost starv'd, having no Wags, and not being allow'd to live upon the Spoil of others, as they had done in the Time of the War, began again to plunder and rob both the *English* and *Burgundians* as they pleased, and taking many Prisoners would not release them but upon great Ransoms. These open Breaches of the Peace being observ'd by the Duke of *Bedford* at his Arrival so awaken'd his Thoughts, and stirr'd up his Vigilancy, that he prepared an Army to repress the Insolencies of the *French*, or to renew the War, as occasion should offer; for it seem'd to him unreasonable, that the *French* should under the shew of a Truce do King *Henry's* Subjects as much Mischief as they pleased, and make the War cease in the *French* Dominions only. The News of the Duke of *Bedford's* Preparations, tho' really no more than what was necessary, was receiv'd by the *French* as a Prefage of the Continuance of the War; and therefore having gotten a Pretence for their desir'd Arms, they invade the *English* Territories immediately, before the Duke of *Bedford* could get an Army together, and by a sudden Surprise took *St. Valery*, a Town in the Confines of *Normandy*, lying upon the Mouth of the River *Some*, and another Party of *French* under the Command of Sir *Ambrose de Lore* wasted and destroy'd all the Country about *Caen*. The Invitation to this Attempt was the great Fair, which was kept on *St. Michael's* Day in the Fields adjoyning to the Town, about *St. Steven's* Church, which if they could seize upon without any Impediment from the Garrison, would be a great Booty for them. *De Lore* therefore thus contriv'd the Business. He himself with 100 Cross-bow-men, and 50 Horse went between the Fair and the Town to beat back the Garrison if they should fall out upon them, sending a Party of 500 Men to seize the Booty in the Fair in the mean Time. The Garrison of *Caen* had not the least Suspicion of this Attempt, and so came not forth to hinder them; whereupon the Merchants and Traders of the Fair became a Prey to the *French*, who took them all Captives with their Goods, and passed over the River *Orne* with them, where their Captain made a Scrutiny of the Prisoners, retaining such only in their Hands as could pay a Ransom, which were about 800, and suffer'd the Rest to depart Home, being in Number about 2000. These Hostilities of the *French* roused the *English*, who that they might draw them from their ravaging at a Distance, resolv'd to besiege the Town of *Laignie* upon the River *Marne*, which being a Place of Importance to the *French*, and a great Annoyance to the *English* in hindring their Commerce to *Paris*, would engage the *French* wholly upon its Defence, and accordingly sent the Earl of *Arundell*, the Earl of *Warwick's* Son, and the Lord *Lisle Adam* with 1200 Men, and all suitable Arms and Ammunition to besiege it. *Laignie* was

The English besiege Laignie.

well stored and fortified with Men and Victuals, having 800 Men of Arms, besides other Soldiers and Townsmen in it; so that they were of equal, if not greater Strength than the Besiegers. This did not at all discourage the *English*, but counting it a greater Honour to conquer those that were superior in Strength, they made many fierce Assaults, and by their Cannon-shot broke down one Arch of the great Bridge laid over the *Marne*, and burnt the Ravelin; but *Winter* coming on, and the Besieged making a Vigorous Opposition, they broke up the Siege for the present, and left the Town.

The Duke of *Bedford* disappointed of his Design in besieging *Laignie* resolv'd in the Spring to attack it more vigorously in Person; and having gather'd an Army of choice Men for Campaign put it under the Command of such Captains as he counted most Valiant and Experienced, viz. *Robert*, Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Andrew Ogard* his Chamberlain, Sir *John Salvain*, Bailiff of *Roan*, Sir *John Montgomery*, Bailiff of *Caux*, Sir *Ralph Nevill*, Sir *Ralph Standish*, and many others, by whose Conduct he did not doubt of Success. The *French* were much terrified at the Approaches of this strong Force, which to them as well as to all others seem'd almost irresistible. The Duke led it in Person, and drawing near to the Town fortified himself in a Park adjoyning; and having made a Bridge of Boats over the *Marne* brought his Ordnance so near the Walls, that he might batter them down for an Assault speedily, by which he intended with a full Resolution to make himself Master of it. The Earl of *Dunois*, commonly call'd the *Bastard of Orleans*, was not at all terrified at their Attempts; but having animated his Men to stand valiantly to their own Defence, repulsed the *English* with some Loss several times, inasmuch that the Duke of *Bedford* not thinking it safe to conquer it by Force, which would cost him the Lives of so many Men, chose rather by Delays and Watchfulness to starve it. The *French* King seeing the great Danger the Town was in, and knowing of what Importance it was to him to preserve it, being as the Key to the three Territories, *Burgundy*, the *French* and *English* part of *France*, sent the Count *Dunois* a Recruit of 6000 Men with Store of Victuals under the Command of Monsieur *de Rieux*, Marshal of *France*, Monsieur *de Coulant*, Admiral of *France*, the Lords *Poiton*, *Le Hire*, and *Gawcourt* intended by this Force to raise the Siege, or else to Victual the Town so, that it should not be reduced by Famine. This Army at their first coming breathed Revenge, and being equal to the Besiegers assur'd themselves of a Victory with the Help of the Besieged. The Duke of *Bedford* was sensible of the Advantage the *French* had of him, being fresh Men, and kept himself close in his Camp, which the *French* gave out they would assault, but the Regent's Courage would not suffer him to wait for that which would have been a Disgrace to him, tho' he had repulsed them, and therefore within a Day or two of their Arrival sent an Herald to them to bid them Battel, but they deny'd, maintaining only some small Skirmishes with the *English*, till their Men convey'd thirty Oxen and some other Provisions into the Town, and that with no small Damage to themselves; for in the Skirmishes the *French* lost above fifty noble and valiant Men, among whom were the Lord *Saintreiles*, and the Lord *Gawcourt's* Brother. The Town however having receiv'd some Relief, the Army remov'd in the Beginning of *August* to a Place call'd *Fort-under-yeer*, and by a Bridge of

A. D. 1432. Reg. 10.

A. D. 1432.

Laignie valiantly defended and held against the Duke of Bedford.

The Duke of Bedford raises the Siege.

A. D. 1433. of Boats passed into the Isle of France, where meeting with no Resistance they took many Castles and Towns. The Duke tho' very desirous to get *Laignie*, which after the Departure of the Army could not hold out very long, yet consider'd the various Disposition of the *Parisians*, and fearing least that City should revolt to King *Charles* when the Army drew near to them, raised the Siege in haste, leaving all his Engines, Pavilions and Provisions behind him: The Besieged pursu'd him in his Retreat, slew some of his Men, and took others Prisoners; but the Necessities of War obliging him to save *Paris*, he was forced to undergo that Loss rather than a greater. At *Paris* he sent the *French* another Challenge to fight, but they answer'd, *They had done what they came for, and would fight him when they saw their own Time*; and so retir'd without Battel.

Reg. II. The *French* being retreated, the Regent sent *Peter de Luxemburgh*, Earl of *St. Poll*, and *Robert*, Lord *Willoughby* with a sufficient Force to besiege and retake the Town of *St. Valery* which the *French* had gotten in the Beginning of the last Year; for the Regent was of that Disposition, that he could hardly sleep till all Losses sustain'd by the *English* were regain'd. *Messieurs de Vaucourt*, *De la Torre*, and *De Verfeil* defended the Place, and did for three Weeks space manfully and bravely maintain their Posts against the Besiegers, but at length yielded upon Condition, That the Garrison might depart with their Horse and Baggage. The Earl of *St. Poll* after their Departure put in a Garrison of *English*, of the valiantest and stoutest Men, made Sir *John Aubmond* Captain of it, and then with the Lord *Willoughby* return'd to the Regent at *Paris*, where they were joyfully received by the Army. Not long after their Departure there happen'd a very terrible Pestilence among the Inhabitants, whether by the Infection of the Air, or by any corrupt Victuals, which the Towns People during the Siege had eaten, is uncertain, but it rag'd so violently, that within a little Time it consum'd two Parts in three of them. The Success of the Earl of *St. Poll* in taking *St. Valery* was an Encouragement both to the Regent and himself to attempt other Places; and accordingly the Duke sent him to besiege the Castle of *Manchas*, which he readily undertook; but being in his March toward it he encamp'd near the Town of *Blangie*, where he was seiz'd with a very violent Distemper, of which he died suddenly, leaving his Title and Possessions to *Lewis de Luxemburgh* his Son and Heir. His Obsequies after his Death were solemniz'd with great Devotion both at *London* and *Paris*, because he was Father-in-law to the Duke of *Bedford*; with him died the Design of the besieging the Castle of *Manchas*, and the Town of *Rombarres*.

Sixth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes. On the 8th of *July* the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and sat till *Aug. 1.* when it was adjourn'd to *St. Edward's Day*, *Octob. 13.* and then compleated the Acts, which they had began before, in the former part of the Session, and being most of them about Matters of great Use to the Publick, they may not be unworthy our Observation.

1. It was provided by an Act, That such Persons as were Keepers of the *Stews* or *Whore-Houses* in *Southwark*, should not be impanell'd upon any Jury, nor keep an Inn or Tavern in any other Places, lest Men of such vile Consciences and Practices should corrupt Justice, and propagate their Villanies over the Nation.

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A. D. 1433. 2. It was enacted, That even Disseisors should not be put out of Possession by any Collusive Tricks of Law, as was then usual, by making the Sheriff the Disseisor, and then entering upon the Lands for the Default of the Tenant's not answering: Wherefore it was ordain'd, That all such Writs shall be abated and quashed: And,

3. In the Behalf of the Person disseised wrongfully of his Lands, whereas before the Law was, that the Disseisee might sue the Disseisor in his Life-time, if he took the Profits at the Time of the Suit commenced, which to avoid the Disseisors, made over the Land by Feoffments to others, and so avoided the Suit: Whereupon it was enacted, That the Disseisees should have their Action as well against the Feoffee, as Disseisor himself, if either of them take the Profits of the Land.

4. And because divers Tenants of Lands for term of Life and Years, made over the said Lands to other Under-Tenants to the End that they might not be liable to Writs of Waste, for the Damages done upon the said Lands by their Order and Connivance before the Grant of the said Leases; It was hereupon enacted, That the Tenant in Reversion might have his Action against the Tenant for Life or Years, for the Damages done, as well before as after the Lease made to any Under-Tenants, and recover treble Damages for the said Waste, provided that it were prov'd, that the said First-Tenants took the Profits of the Land to their own proper Use at the Time of the Waste done.

5. Whereas divers Suits and Inducements as well for the King as his Subjects were discontinued by making of new Commissions for the Peace, to the great delay of Justice, and wrong of the Subject, it was enacted, That no Pleas, or Processes should be discontinued by any new Commissions, but the Justices so made should have Power and Authority to continue all Pleas depending and determine the same.

6. An Abuse also being crept into the Nation about Measures contrary to the Statutes, and Purveyors, Bakers, Merchants, and Buyers of Corn, taking Nine Bushels for the Quarter; it was enacted, That the Statutes for Weights and Measures should be proclaim'd in every Market-Town, and that there should be a Bushel, common Balance and Weights in every Market-Town, City and Borough kept by the Mayor and Justices according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*; and if any Person shall presume to Sell or Buy by any other Weights or Measures, they shall forfeit Five Pound to the Person that shall sue for it, and Five Pound to the King.

7. Recognisors having found out a way to defeat the Executions of such Persons as they were indebted to by Recognizance, by bringing their Writs *De Corpus cum causa* out of *Chancery*, and giving Sureties to the King only, and deliver'd out of Prison, and their Creditors are defeated of their Debts; it was therefore ordain'd, That Sureties should be given as well to the Party as to the King, that their Debts may be surely paid.

Other Acts also of less Importance were also made this Session, as about the Measure of certain Cloths, call'd *Streights*, for the punishing of such as shall dare to assault any Person coming to the Parliament or Council by the King's Command: And lastly, For setting a Price upon Wax-Candles, Images and Figures: But these Acts being only Temporary, and long since out of Use deserve little Regard. We

D d d. 2

read

A. D. 1433. Reg. II. read not of any Taxes, that this Parliament gave the King, but perhaps it was because the Duty of *Tunnage and Poundage*, which was given the King in his Third Year, was still continu'd: And whereas before they were granted for certain Years only, they were now indefinitely given him for the Charge of the War, and from thence as *Stow* says, They received the Name of *Customs*, i. e. usual and constant Payments.

Customs, why so call'd.

The Council of Basil, and its Decrees.

The Council of *Basil*, which, tho' call'd by Pope *Martin V.* and after his Death confirm'd by his Successor *Eugenius IV.* in the Year 1431. was scarcely settled by reason of the Turbulency of *Eugenius*, who took upon him to dissolve it, and bring it to *Ferrara*, began now to assume a Power of acting without the Pope, and in their Eleventh Session, *February* the 27th, made these Decrees or Canons.

1. That the Bishop of *Rome* ought under the Pain of Suspension and Deposition to be present, either by himself, or his Legates chosen by the Consent of the Cardinals, at General Councils, with all other Ecclesiastical Persons.

2. That the Pope cannot lawfully hinder any Man, not so much as a Cardinal from coming to such a Council, but ought to give a License to all that desire it; and that the Pope cannot call a Council, dissolve it, or remove it from one Place to another, without the express Consent of the Council.

3. That the Council of *Basil* cannot be dissolved without the Consent of all the Bishops assembled at it.

And then they proceeded to consult about Ecclesiastical Matters, and made divers Constitutions for the better ordering of the Church, viz.

1. That no Person should be made a Bishop, but such as have been in Holy Orders a considerable time, are of fit Age, and are eminent for their Piety, Holiness and Learning.

2. That Bishops should hold a Diocesan Synod once a Year in their Diocesses about the *Octaves* of *Easter*, and diligently inspect into the Manners of the Clergy, and amend all the Corruptions of their Diocese.

3. That all Monks and other Religious Persons should carefully observe the Three Substantial Vows of their Profession.

4. That in such Places as the *Jews* inhabited, all Bishops should take a particular Care to settle such Pastors, as may be able to convince them of their Errors, and by their Authority draw them to hear the Word of God; with many Canons of like Nature: But the Three chief Canons which they most strongly asserted against the Pope and desir'd, to be believ'd by all, as the most infallible Truths, calling them, *Veritates Fidei*, were these, viz.

The Canons call'd, *Veritates Fidei*.

I. That a General Council is above the Pope, and any other Person.

II. That the Pope cannot dissolve or remove a General Council lawfully call'd without their Consent, by his own Authority, or at his own Pleasure.

III. That whosoever opposes these Assertions is an Heretick.

This Council sat many Years after this, and stoutly maintain'd its own Power against *Eugenius*, who sought to dissolve them, and by its Authority the Christian World hath armed itself against the Pope's Supremacy, as usurped, and against the Word of God.

The Death of *Peter de Luxemburg*, who after certain Funeral Ceremonies perform'd at *Paris* was sent over into *England*, and interred with much Solemnity in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*, causing some short Cessation of Arms on the *English* Part, gave an Opportunity to the *French*, who watch'd all Advantages, to commit some Outrages upon them and their Allies. Into *Burgundy* they entered with a strong Body of Men, and burnt, took and destroy'd many Towns. The *Burgundians* much enrag'd at their Losses gather'd a great Army to revenge their Quarrel, and recover their Towns, and the Duke of *Bedford* being much troubl'd for the Loss of his Friends, sent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell* with a good Force to their Assistance. These joyning the *Burgundians* fell upon the Enemy in *Lynnois*, and after a long Battel vanquish'd them, and recover'd all the Places to the Duke of *Burgundy*, which they had gain'd from him. *Le Hire* also accompany'd with many Gentlemen and 1500 Soldiers at the same time acted his Part with great Violence, taking the Town of *Somme*, and in it a great Number of Prisoners, by whose Ransoms he maintain'd his Soldiers, better than by their Pay. He afterwards divided his Men into two Parts, sending one of them into the County of *Cambray*, and conducting the other himself in those Parts. The former being inform'd of a great Concourse of People, met at *Haspre* at a Feast, set upon them unawares in the midst of their Mirth, took many of them Prisoners, (the rest of them which were of better Condition saving themselves by getting into a strong Tower adjoining) and having plunder'd the Town, and burnt the Church and Abbey, with many Houses they retreated to Mount *St. Martin*, where *Le Hire* and his Men expected them, who in the mean time had not lain still, but done as much or more Mischief; for they burnt and plunder'd the Town of *Beauvevoir*, and *La Motta*, an House of Pleasure belonging to the Countess of *Laigni* near by it, secur'd all the Champion Country about it, and having gotten much Booty went to *Laon* to divide it; which done he dismissed them to their Garrisons laden with Spoil without the Loss of so much as one Man, because they met in all their March with no Opposition. *John de Luxemburg*, Count de *Laigni*, to whom the Defence of those Parts belong'd, being otherwise busied at that Time by reason of the Death of the Old Count *Peter* his Brother. The Success of *Le Hire* encourag'd *Pawnfach*, the Captain of *Laon*, who envy'd his good Fortune, to make the like Attempts, that he might enrich himself and his Garrison; and to that end he march'd with 400 Soldiers towards *Marle* intending to surprize *Vervins*, a Town belonging to *Giovanna de Barr*, Daughter-in-law to *John* of *Luxemburg* above-nam'd. Posing by *Marle* he burnt the Suburbs, and plunder'd them, but stay'd not to attack the Town, being mindful of his richer Booty at *Vervins*. *John de Luxemburg*, who was before alarm'd at the Insults of *Le Hire*; having now gotten to his Charge again, and rallied his Men, set upon them, and gave them Battel. The *French* scarce suspecting any Opposition soon fled, leaving 160 of their Brethren slain upon the Place, and 80 Prisoners. It is said, That *John de Luxemburg* himself fought with that daring Courage and Resolution, as if he would have conquer'd them alone, and slew many of them with his own Hands. He had with him in this Skirmish a young Nephew whom he was training up for War, for whose sake he was the more venturous

A. D. 1433. Reg. 12.

The Lord Willoughby and Sir Thomas Kiriell, Acts in Burgundy.

Le Hire infests the English much.

Pawnfach's Design upon Vervins.

John de Luxemburg routs him.

A. D. 1433. Reg. 12. Valour, and the more glad of the Victory, as an Encouragement to his future Proceedings; and that he might embolden him the more in Warlike Atchievements, he caused him to slay several of the Prisoners then taken with his own Hands, which 'tis said, he did with so much Unconcern and Readiness, that he shew'd a natural Disposition in him to be a Soldier; especially, if that Maxim be true, *That a Man cannot be a good Warrior unless he be very Cruel.*

A. D. 1434. The Lord Talbot lately come out of England, takes several Places in France. Whilst these Things passed in France, the Valiant Lord Talbot, who had been some time in England among his Friends, was very busie in gathering a Recruit of fresh Men to carry with him into France, and having gotten a Body of Eight Hundred, march'd thro' London, March the 9th, in order to his Journey with them thither. He landed in Normandy, and took his Way by Roan to Paris, but the Active Spirits of both Captain and Soldiers could not be idle in an Enemy's Country; and therefore passing by a strong Castle, call'd Joing belonging to the French King, and lying between Beauvais and Gisors, he besieged it, and having taken it hang'd up all the French he found in it, razed the Castle, and then proceeded directly in his Journey to Paris, in which he had an hearty Welcome from the Duke of Bedford and the English. The Lord Talbot having rested himself and his Men at Paris a while, and consulted with the Regent and other Nobles, which way it was best for him to proceed against the Enemy without prolonging Time, was at length sent with the Lord Lisle-Adam, and 1600 Men in their Army to besiege the Castle of Beaumont upon the River Oise, of which Sir Amadour de Veignolls, Brother to Le Hire, was the Captain: But whether the French were terrified at the News of the Approach of the English Forces, or whether they found themselves too weak to oppose them is uncertain; for they had left the Castle, and were all withdrawn to the next French Garrison at Creil. The Lord Talbot follow'd them thither and laid close Siege to it; but Sir Amadour the Captain of it being slain by the English in a Skirmish, the Town and Castle soon yielded it self upon a Composition, and the Terror of it so awed the adjoining Towns, as Pont St. Maxence, Neuville and Rouge-Maison, that they all submitted without any Resistance at all. Crespi in Valois made a small Opposition, but was soon forced to surrender, and Clermont follow'd their Example; which Towns having been formerly subject to the English, but revolted, were used the more severely by the Soldiers, who plunder'd many of the Inhabitants, with whose Spoils they return'd Rich to Paris. The same Success had the Earl of Arundel at the same time in propagating and enlarging the English Power, by taking several Towns then in the Possession of the French; for he besieged the Castle of Bommolins, and took it by Surrender, and least it should harbour the like Enemies for the future, he demolish'd it. From thence he march'd to Orle in the County of Marne, and after a sharp Attack with his Cannon brought it to a Composition, which being put in Order he set forward toward St. Selerine, of which Town the Lord Ambrose de Lore was Captain. This Man being a Person of signal Valour, and not willing to bring the Place to the Hazzard of a Siege, sally'd out with a considerable Body of Men, and fell so eagerly upon the English, that he made them give back a Bow-shot; and as the French History relates, slew about 100 Men, and got their Artillery, Victuals and

Tents into his Possession: But the Earl of Arundel encouraging the English Soldiers to return and retrieve their Honour by Fight; which would be irrecoverably lost if their Artillery remain'd in the Enemies Hands, so raised their Courage, that they made Head again, slew a great Number of them, and drove them back into the City, recovering all they lost in about an hour's Time. Though he resolv'd to besiege the Town, yet thinking it also convenient to take some Places adjacent, because he thought it would cost him some Time, he pass'd it by and besieged Louviers. Le Hire and his Brother Amadore de Vignolls were Captains of it; and there were many other Persons of Valour and worth in it, who defended it very bravely; but the French Historians say, the English Army was 12000, much too great for the Garrison to grapple with, and therefore they yielded the Place; and the English being in the Possession of it, broke down the Walls and Fortifications. Having reduced Louviers, the Earl of Arundel returned to St. Selerine and closely besieged it; but the Besieged defended themselves so valiantly for Three Months together, though the Earl every Day almost attempted somewhat, that he was at last forced to take the most desperate Courses he could, and by Assault make himself Master of it. In entering the Town John D'Almain, and William De St. Albin, two of the chief Captains, and 800 Men of the Garrison were slain. The Children of the Lord De Lore were taken Prisoners. The Earl put in a new Garrison of the English, and made Sir John Cornwall Captain of it. This Success stirr'd him up to try his Fortune further; and thereupon went to the Town of Silly, and pitched his Camp by it. The Terror of the Fate of St. Selerine had seized the Inhabitants so much, that they immediately offered him Hostages to submit to him within thirty Days, if they were not relieved, their Lives only saved. This Agreement the Besieged advertised the King of France of, that they might have Succour within the Time appointed, and were not only promised it, but as if that King had been as Zealous to save it, as the English were to take it; he appointed the Duke of Alenxon, Arthur, Earl of Richmond, Charles D'Anjou, and a Marshal of France, who at the importunity of the Lord De Lore had gotten together a considerable Body of Men to succour St. Selerine, but too late to undertake the Rescue of Silly, and with all convenient haste to march thither for that End. These Orders were readily obey'd, and the French Army within the Time appointed presented it self before the Town, and incamped so near the English, that only a small River parted the Camps. The English seeing this Bravery returned their Hostages and prepared for a Battel; but the French, though to rescue the Town they ought to have refused no small Dangers, finding the English posted to Advantage, only entertain'd them a few Days with smart Skirmishes, and then in the Night broke up their Camp and departed. The Besieged in Silly being mightily disappointed of their Hopes immediately after their Retreat surrendered the Town to the Earl of Arundel according to their Agreement, and were well received by him, who restored them to their Houses and Possessions, and leaving a Garrison with them departed towards Mans, and in his Passage having taken the Castles of Millay, and St. Laurence, and clear'd the Country of Main of some straggling Enemies which much infested it, as soon as he was arrived, dismissed his Men

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12.

St. Selerine taken by the Earl of Arundel.

Silly surrendered.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. to their Ease for a while in their wonted Gar-
risons. About the same Time the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Thomas Kiriell returned out of Normandy with Honour and Victories, and with their Men supplied Louviers, a Town lately brought into Subjection to the English with a sufficient Garrison and Ammunition.

A Rebellion in Normandy, suppressed by the Earl of Arundell. While these open Hostilities were maintained by both Sides, one against the other, the French King was busie Under-hand to disturb the English Settlement in Normandy, and by his Instigation a raised formidable Rebellion there; for a great Number of the common People about the Sea-Coasts, discontented at the English Yoke (and the French never could heartily love the English, or patiently live in Subjection to them) took Arms, and under the Conduct of the Marshal de Rochfort, Walter de Brusack, and Charles de Mares (who were laid with some Troops to joyn with them, and form them into some Military Order for their Enterprize) march'd to the English Garrisons, publishing and proclaiming it in all Places where they came, That it was their Resolution and Interest to expel the whole English Nation out of their Country and Coasts; and pursu'd this their Design so furiously at first, that in a few Days they took the English Garrisons of Deip, Fescamp, Harfleur, Montrevilliers and Tancherville, with all the Country of Caux, except Arques and Caudebec. This Success increased their Boldness, and they went on to Caen, a chief City on the Sea-Coasts, purposing to make themselves Masters of that Place, to the End, that they might not only increase their Numbers, but have a fit Rendezvous from whence to pursue their Enterprize. The Dukes of Somerset and York, who commanded in that Province, and lay there with an Army, having Intelligence of their Proceedings, sent the Earl of Arundell and the Lord Willoughby with 6000 Bow-men, and 1300 Horse to lie in Ambush for them in their Passage. The Lord Willoughby accordingly with 2000 Archers, and certain Horse-men went before, and lay with his Men in covert by the Way which they were to pass, the Earl of Arundell pursuing them at some Distance behind with the rest of the Forces, a Sign being agreed to between them, when they should both set on them. The Rebels were ignorant of the Design, and securely march'd toward Caen; but when they came at the Lord Willoughby's Ambush, the English under his Command having shot off a Gun, which was the Signal for the Earl of Arundell's Men, fell on the Rabble both behind and before with that Fury, that the poor Wretches unable to withstand their Forces threw down their Arms and begged Mercy and Pardon. The Earl knowing them to be instigated to this Enterprize by other Heads, and much pitying their Ignorance gave command immediately to his Soldiers to stop their Hands from Slaughter, and apprehending such as were thought the Incentives of this Rebellion, he permitted the rest to depart to their Houses; but such was the Fury of the Soldiers, that before they could be recalled to their Standards they had slain above 1000 of the Rebels. The Authors of this Insurrection being upon a strict inquiry found out, were put to most cruel Torments, as their Crimes deserv'd, and the Places which had been taken by them being badly treated by the Commanders, who were left in them, revolted, and recall'd the English, and so this Storm, which made an huge Blustering for the present, was soon blown over and quiet. The Earl of Arundell having thus successfully settled the Distur-

bances of Normandy return'd to the Earl of Bedford to give him an Account of it, who much fear'd the ill Consequences of it, and by the good News of the Victory was so much refresh'd and pleased with the Earl, that as if the English Affairs could thrive in no other Hands, he immediately dispatch'd him upon another Enterprize of almost equal Importance, viz. the Recovery of the Fort of Rue, lately taken by John de Bressay, Lieutenant to the Marshal de Rieux. This was a Loss of very great Consequence to the English, because the Garrison put into it by the French very much annoy'd the Countries of Ponthieu, Artois and Bolonnois, and therefore the Recovery of it was absolutely necessary. The Earl of Arundell willingly undertook it, and with 800 Men began his March to besiege it; but being come as far as Gourney he alter'd his Resolution for a little time, upon this Reason. There was an Old Fort near Beauvais, call'd the Castle of Gerberoy, which had been lately dismantled and demolished, but being observ'd by the French King to stand very commodiously for a Garrison against the English on those Frontiers, he commanded Sir Stephen de Vignolis, commonly call'd Le Hire, to repair and newly fortifie it. The Earl of Arundell in this Expedition taking Notice of the Building, and knowing that it would be very prejudicial to the English, resolv'd to dispossess the Enemies of it immediately; thinking, that in so short a Time as it had been built, it could be in no Condition of Defence, or if it were, it would be easier and better gained now than hereafter. Upon this Presumption, which was badly grounded, he march'd up to it only with 500 Horse, leaving his Foot behind him to follow him at Leisure, and question'd not to take it with small Resistance, but it prov'd a very fatal Mistake; for Le Hire, who was there himself in Person, and had a Body of 3000 Men, which the Earl was ignorant of, observing, that the Earl's Force was small, and his Horses tired, resolve to set on them before they could refresh themselves, or the Foot could get up to them to their Assistance, and to animate them in the Attempt, he sent out to them Fifty Horse, as if there had been no more in the Castle. Sir Ralph Standish with an Hundred Men was sent by the Earl to encounter them; but before the Battel between them was begun, the rest issued out of the Castle, and having slain Sir Ralph and his Men, they set upon the Earl and the Horse-men about him, who fought very manfully in their Defence; but Le Hire ordering three Culverins to be discharg'd in the midst of the English as they were fighting, many were swept away by that means, and at the second shot was the Earl's Leg broke a little above the Ankle, which so pain'd him, that he fell from his Horse in a Swoon, and the French pursuing the Advantage, put the English to Flight, taking the Earl himself, Sir Richard Woodvile, and 120 other Prisoners with their Horses, 200 were slain, and the rest escaped. The Earl himself was carry'd to Beauvais, where he dy'd within a few Days of his Wound, and was buried in the Church of the Friars-Minors. His Death was much lamented by the English, being their Glory in present, and Hope for the future. He was the Fifth Earl of the Noble Family of Fitz-Allen.

About the Beginning of June, John, Duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, who had been taken Prisoner at the Battel of Agincourt Eighteen Years before, was admitted to pay a Ransom of 18000 l. Sterling, and be freed from his long there.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. The Earl of Arundell to recover the Fort of Rue.

The Earl of Arundell in taking the Castle of Gerberoy, and is slain.

The Rebels suppressed by the Earl of Arundell and Lord Willoughby.

Duke of Bourbon's Captive in England 18 Years, this Im-

A. D. 1434. Imprisonment and Captivity; which being done, he made all Haste to return into his Native Country, *France*, again; but Providence had order'd he should never see it; for, upon the Day appointed for his Departure, he was seiz'd with a violent Disease, of which he died in *London*, and was buried in the Church of the *Gray-Friers* in that City.

The Breach between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy*.

Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy* quarrel.

With this Year concluded the long Friendship and Confederacy between those Two Great Princes, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, which had been slacken'd for some time before by the Death of the Duke of *Bedford's* Lady, and new Marriage, but at this Time was quite dissolved by many fresh Distastes and Grudges taken one at another, which had been rais'd and fomented to so high a Pitch by the Tales of Court-Parasites, that they both thought it dishonourable for them to hold any League or Amity longer one with another: But some there were, who being sensible how fatal this Breach would prove to *England*, as well as mindful of King *Henry* the Fifth's Charge given to his Lords upon his Death-Bed, viz. *That by all means they should be very careful to retain the Duke's Friendship and Amity*; used their utmost Endeavour to make up the Breach, by bringing them to an Interview, that by producing the Causes of their Displeasure, they might, if possible, be removed, and they made Friends. *St. Omers* was the Place appointed; a Town, which being in the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy*, might seem a Condescension, and an Earnest of the Duke of *Bedford's* Desire to be reconciled, for him to meet at it. The Duke of *Burgundy* ought in Compliance, when the Duke of *Bedford* had stoop'd thus low, to have visited him first, and gave him a Welcome into his Dominions, since it hath been always accounted Rudeness to affect Priority in our own Houses and Territories; but *Burgundy's* Mind was so inflamed, that he would be first visited, as the Lord of the Town, and Sovereign in that Place, a *Punctilio*, which when the Duke of *Bedford* consider'd, he began to think with himself, that he was not only the Son, Brother and Uncle of Kings, but being Regent of *France*, he sustain'd the Person of one of the greatest Monarchs of *Europe*, and 'twould be a Disgrace for his Master, if not to himself, to stoop to the Humour of a petty Prince, especially since he had obtain'd *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friesland*, by the Aid of the *English* only; and for these Reasons he would not give him the first Visit. *Burgundy* was not insensible of these Reasons, yet would not bend: However, to end the Dispute, propounded, that the Matters in Difference might be discuss'd by Three Persons, which the Duke of *Bedford* not hearkening to, they departed without the Sight one of another in great Anger and Discontent, and lived ever after it, as if there never had been any Affinity or Friendship between them, in the most inveterate and implacable Enmity, which though indeed it had been *Bedford's* Prudence and Policy, by any Acts of Condescension, to have prevented, (and that he did not do it was thought highly blame-worthy) yet it may bear a Dispute, whether any thing would have prevail'd, since that Duke had given many wide Proofs of his good Inclination to the *French* Side, by allowing his Brother-in-Law, the Earl of *Richmond*, to be Constable of *France*, and

consenting that his Sister *Agnes* should marry the Duke of *Bourbon*, a great Friend of King *Charles*; so that it is to be thought, the Breach was unavoidable.

While this Treaty was on Foot between the Dukes, the Earl of *Dunois*, commonly called the Bastard of *Orleans*, the Lord *Rochfort*, Marshal of *France*, and some others, having had Information from one *Reginold de S. John*, a Gentleman born in the Isle of *France*, but a Soldier in *S. Dennis*, with whom they had a Correspondence, how they might surprize the Town, sent Captain *Deinville* with a sufficient Number of Troops thither, who scaled the Walls by Night, and made himself Master of it, turning out the *English* Garrison, commanded by Sir *Matthew Gough* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*. This Action is interpreted by some, as if the Duke of *Burgundy*, tho' he pretended a Willingness to be reconciled to the Duke of *Bedford*, never really intended it, because the King of *France* at that Time so highly courted the Duke of *Burgundy's* Favour, that he would never have permitted such an hostile Action in the Time of Treaty without his Leave, tho' this may be allowed only conjunctural, yet 'twas suspicious in the Duke of *Bedford's* Absence. However that be, 'tis certain the Loss was very great to the *English*, being upon the very Gates of *Paris*, and if kept by the *French* King, it would be a perpetual Molestation to that City, especially, since the *French* would be obliged to keep a very strong Garrison in it. These Thoughts induced the *English* to resolve upon the speedy Recovery of it, which Sir *Matthew Gough* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, whose Honour was much impaired by the Loss of it, were ready to undertake, and accordingly did by the Assistance of the *Parisians*. The Bastard, who yet continued at *St. Dennis*, had Notice of the Design of the *English*, and being sensible it was as much the Interest of his Master to keep it, as of the *English* to regain it, left the Marshal *De Rieux* to defend it, if the *English* besieged it, while he went himself to raise greater Forces for the Relief of it. The *English* soon after his Departure began the Siege under the Command of the Lord *Talbot*, Sir *Matthew Gough*, Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, the Lord *Lisle Adam*, and others, with a full Resolution to take it; and tho' the Bastard joining with the Forces of the Counties of *Champagne* and *Valois*, took the Towers of *Houdan*, and *Montmuran* (f) to draw them from it, yet the *English* held on the Siege, and would not be drawn from it. The Constable of *France*, the Bastard of *Bourbon*, *Monsieur de Lohéac*, and others were sent with a great Army to raise the Siege, but seeing the Resolution of the *English*, they dar'd not to set upon them, which when Marshal *de Rieux* saw, he yielded up the Town to them upon as honourable Conditions as he could: *Reginold de S. John*, who had betrayed the Place, and *Dionegius de Vancourt*, a Person of great Valour and Conduct, upon whom the Governours chiefly relied in the Siege, were both slain. The Walls of the Town were all beaten down, unless on the Side next the Abbey, and the Tower *de Veneno*, which remained all the while in the Custody of *Simon de Morier*, Son to the Provost of *Paris*, with the *English* Soldiers with him, and so the *English* recovered but a very shattered Place of it.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12.

Reg. 13.

S. Dennis taken by the *French*.

But retaken by the *English*.

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

October the Tenth in this Year, (as *Fabian* relates, but our Statute-Books place this Parlia-

(f) *Pont Meulan* it should be. This Town was taken by Surprise: Two Fishermen entered it at a Common Privy standing on the Wall, and open'd the Gates to the *French*.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. ment in the Fourteenth Year of King Henry the Sixth, by Mistake) the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and continued till the latter End of December. The Business of this Session seems to be only to regulate some Abuses of other Acts of Parliament, or interpret them, for it was therein enacted,

1. That the Judges in their Circuits, shall have Power to give Judgments in all Cases of Felony and Treason, as well upon Persons acquitted as attainted, and award Executions according to that Judgment.

2. That all Wools and Woolfells, that shall be shipped to be transported, shall be carried to *Callis* only, and no License shall be granted to the contrary, but by the King, with the Advice of the Council.

3. That the Justices of Peace in *Cumberland* should hold their Sessions Quarterly at *Carlisle* only, and in *Middlesex* only twice a Year, because of the Terms.

4. That all Wool and Woolfells, and other Merchandizes of the Staple, which shall be shipped in any Creeks or Ports, clandestinely to cheat the King of his Customs, and Subsidies, shall be forfeited to the King.

5. That all Persons, who shall dare to disturb any Foreigners, in selling Fish, or other Victuals, either by Whole-sale or Retail, shall forfeit Ten Pounds, one Moiety to the King, and the other to the Person, that shall sue for the same.

These Acts being finished, the King had a Fifteenth given him to carry on his Wars with *France*, and they were dissolv'd. During the Sitting of this Parliament, on the Eve of St. Katherine, November the 24th, began a Frost, which lasted to the Feast of St. Scholastica, February the 10th, and held with so great Violence, that the *Thames* was frozen over, so that the Merchandizes and Provisions brought to the *Thames's* Mouth, were conveyed to *London* by Land thro' *Kent*.

A great Frost, by which the *Thames* was frozen over.

A. D. 1435.

The Council of *Basil* endeavours to make a Peace between *England* and *France*.

In the Council of *Basil*, which still continued Sitting, there was a Motion made by *Sigismund*, the Emperor, and assented to by the Rest of the Christian Princes, who were all present to compose the Difference between the Scismatical Popes, *Felix* and *Eugenius*, That a Mediation should be made for a Peace between *France* and *England*, since so much Bloodshed among Christians was a great Scandal to their Holy Profession, and this they had a great Encouragement to do, because the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had been the Support of the Quarrel from the Beginning, was now willing to be reconciled to the *French* King upon honourable Terms, provided that it could be so managed, as that it might seem not so much his own, as that King's Desire. The Settling a Peace at this Juncture between Two such great Nations, was indeed a Work worthy the Endeavours of the Council, and the great Danger that all *Christendom* was in, from the Arms of the *Turk*, whose Emperor, *Mahomet* the First, having not many Years before made *Adrianople* in *Thracia* his Royal Seat, left *Amurath*, his Son, an ambitious and aspiring Prince, to propagate his Victories further into *Europe*, made it necessary, if possible, for all the Christian Princes to unite among themselves, and join against this common Enemy: And to this End, *Nicholas D'Albergat*, a *Carthusian* Frier, Cardinal de *Sancta Cruce*, or the *Holy Cross*, and *Hugh de Lassignan*, a *Cypriot*, Bishop of *Præneste* in *Italy*, were sent to the Princes at Difference, to come to a Conference in order to a Peace, and obtained by their

earnest Solicitations, that they would send their Ambassadors to an Assembly at *Arras*, a Town in *Artois* to conclude all Matters in Controversie between them. The Commissioners sent by Henry, King of *England*, were *Henry Beaufort*, Cardinal and Bishop of *Winchester*, *John Kenp*, Archbishop of *Tork*, *William de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, the Bishops of *Norwich*, *St. Davids*, and *Lyseux*, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen. For the *French*, came *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Constable of *France*, *Lewis*, Earl of *Vendosme*, the Archbishop of *Rheims*, Chancellor of *France*, for the *French* King, with many other Persons of Note. The Emperor, the Kings of *Cyprus*, *Portugal*, *Castile*, *Sicily*, *Navarr* and *Poland*, sent also their Ambassadors to assist at it, and further the Agreement, as Occasion should offer. *Nicholas* also Cardinal of the *Holy-Cross* was ordered by the Bishop of *Rome*, to perswade an Union in the Name of his Master the Vice-gerent of the Prince of Peace. The Duke of *Brittain* had also his Deputies, the Earls of *Alenxon* and *Barr*. But the Duke of *Burgundy* was there in Person, attended by the Duke of *Guelders*, his Chancellor, the Bishop of *Chambrays*, with divers other Earls, and Barons, and a gallant Train of Courriers. The Cardinal of *Holy-Cross* opened the Assembly with a pathetick Speech to the Parties in Difference, representing to them the great Mischiefs that had redounded to all *Christendom*, by the continual Wars between Two such potent Kingdoms, and exhorting them by the Honour of God, and for the Love they had to Religion, that they would lay aside all Enmity one to another, and embrace such a Peace and Union, as might be for the Glory of God, and the eternal Advantage of their Souls; which Speech being ended, Consultations were entred into by the several Ambassadors to bring in their Demands and Proposals. The *English* Ambassadors brought in their Demands first, and urged, 'That King *Charles* should lay down his Pretences to the Kingdom of *France*, and should enjoy no Part of it, but what the King of *England* should out of his mere Favour allow him, and those should hold of him, as his Homager and Feudary. The *French* Ambassadors on the contrary, as positively 'Demanded the whole Kingdom of *France*, as their Master's Right, and required, that the King of *England* should lay aside the Name, Arms, and Title of the King of *France*, and relinquish *Paris*, and all the Towns which he held in *France*, being content with the Dukedoms of *Aquitain* and *Normandy*, with such Part of *Guizenne* as they were now in Possession of, yet to pay homage for them to the King of *France*, as the Supream Sovereign of them. These Propositions seeming more to incline to a War than Peace, the Cardinal of *S. Cross* endeavoured to mitigate them on both Sides, and bring them to more near Terms, but all proved in vain; and because he saw, it would be next to impossible to make a Peace between them, he offered them reasonable Conditions for a Truce, but this was also rejected on both Parts, and the *English* displeased with the great Demands of the *French*, whose Spirits they supposed to have been more humble, departed to *Callis*, and so returned into *England*. The Cardinal de *Sancta Cruce*, seeing all Hopes of Concluding a Peace between *England* and *France* to be to no Purpose, turns all his Endeavours to work an Accommodation between the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, which he did with

A. D. 1435. Reg. 13.

The King of France and Duke of Burgundy made Friends, and upon what Terms with

A. D. 1435. with no great Pains, the former being ready to stoop almost to any Terms to win him, and the latter ready to embrace any Thing honourable and advantageous, so that a Peace was immediately agreed on upon these Conditions, viz.

I. That King Charles, tho' he excused himself from the Murder of the Duke of Burgundy, his Father, yet should make Satisfaction for his Death, by punishing all that were found guilty of it, if they could be discovered and apprehended, by Death, if not, by perpetual Banishment, and should build a Church in *Monberr*, with a Monastery of Twelve Monks, and a Superior, which he should endow with a sufficient Maintenance, to pray for his Soul for ever.

II. That King Charles, should pay to the Duke of Burgundy 50000 Crowns for the Jewels, that were taken from his Father at his Death, and should have Liberty to recover those that were not named, particularly the Fleece, which was of a very great Value, from any, in whose Possession they were found.

III. That the following Countries, Cities, and Towns, with all their Præeminencies and Jurisdictions, should be immediately delivered up to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and settled upon him and his Heirs, whether Male or Female, viz. *Muscon* in *Xantoigne*, the City of *Auxerres*; with the Jurisdiction of *Bair* upon the *Seine*, the City of *Castel*, with the Lay-Patronage of the Church and Abbey of *Leuxeuile*, pretended to, but never possessed by the Dukes of Burgundy before, the Cities of *Montdidier*, *Peron*, *St. Quintin*, *Corby*, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, the County of *Pontian* and *Poictou*, with the Outbound of *Champaign*.

IV. That in Case the King of England should make War upon the Duke of Burgundy and his Subjects, King Charles should assist him both by Sea and Land, as in his own Cause, and should not make Peace with him, unless he included him in it; and that if King Charles should not fully keep to this Agreement, his own Subjects should not be bound to obey him, but being freed from all Oaths of Allegiance to him, might assist the Duke of Burgundy against him.

V. Lastly, That Charles, Count *Carolois*, Son to Duke Philip, should marry the Lady *Katherine*, King Charles the Third's Daughter, and have with her in Portion 120000 Crowns; but this Marriage was not consummated till Four Years after, by reason of their tender Age, not being above 7 Years old.

By these Articles the French King may seem to have bought the Duke of Burgundy's Friendship dear, but he being the Hinge upon which the Kingdom of France turned, nothing could be too much to gain his Friendship, which being obtained, all must soon follow, as indeed it did.

The Duke of Burgundy being thus united again with the French, to whom he had a long time born a good Affection, knew very well that the News of it would be very surprizing to the English, his old Confederates, and would certainly produce some ill Effects, if they were not pacified with some palliating Excuses, whereupon he sent *Jouison d'Or*, his chief Herald, into England, to give an Account of this new Confederacy, and his Motives to embrace it, which were, 'Not any real Disaffection to the English, but merely to satisfy his People, and in Compliance with the earnest Entreaties of the general Council at *Basil*, the Pope

and other Princes of *Christendom*. For by the Continuance of the Wars, his own People with bitter Lamentations complained to him, That they were utterly ruined and impoverished, and the whole Kingdom of France in a manner destroyed, which because all Men laid upon him as the Cause of it, he thought it his Duty to yield to the Exhortations of so many grave Persons, to unite with King Charles, and so avoid the Guilt of so much Bloodshed, as would else be laid to his Charge. And these Reasons he thought so strong, in reference to King Henry, that he could not but heartily wish, he would accept of a Peace upon honourable and reasonable Terms, that so these cruel Wars, which were so displeasing to God, and prejudicial to both Nations, might have an End, and Peace be established amongst them. This Message, which was delivered by Letter to King Henry's Council, was very amazing, and so much the more, because the Superscription was very unusual. For, whereas before he used in his Writings to stile King Henry, King of France and England, his Lord and Master (g), now he entitiled him only, The High and Mighty Prince, Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, his Well-beloved Cousin; as if he had been no longer King of France, and the Duke by joining with Charles, had utterly disowned his old Master. This Letter being read, and considered on well by the Council, raised such Indignation in them against the Duke, that they would not let the Messenger see the King, but sent him back to his Master without any Letters, telling him, that the Duke was a perjured Traitor, whom they could not think worthy of Answer. But the News of this Peace was received with much greater Disgust by the Citizens of London, who were more heady and furious, and because they could not revenge themselves upon the Duke himself, fell heavy upon his Subjects, who for Traffick sake resided in, or about their City, and slew many of them. King Henry, whose mild Temper better qualified him for Mercy, than Revenge, was much troubled for the outrageous Facts of his Subjects, and put out his Proclamation, strictly charging all his Subjects, under severe Punishments, to forbear the like Disorders for the future; which stopp'd their Hands from Bloodshed, but did not restrain their Tongues from charging Philip with the grossest Perjury, Treachery and Hypocrisie; who, contrary to all his repeated Oaths and Promises to obey King Henry, as his lawful Sovereign, had deserted him, and reconciled himself to his Enemy, in which, tho' the Pope's Legate had given him Absolution to pacifie his guilty Conscience, yet that was but a delusive Salve for so foul a Breach of Fidelity in the Sight of all the World; but Burgundy had served his Turn by Siding with the English to revenge his Father's Death, and now had another Game to play, which was to raise his own Greatness, which he did effectually by making up with France, whereby he gained many large Countries and Territories, which his Ancestors had no Title to, nor could he himself by any other Means have gained, and for this Reason he held firmly ever after to the French Interests.

Seven Days after the Conclusion of this Peace, Charles King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, died at Roan, September the Fourteenth, a wife and warlike Prince, who by his Courage,

(g) He used to stile him his Sovereign Lord only, Lord and Master not being usual from Feudatory Princes to their Superiors.

A. D. 1435. and prudent Conduct had kept up the English Power in France almost alone, it is thought, that the Prospect of the Change which would inevitably follow upon the League between the French King and Duke of Burgundy, was a Means of hastening his Death; for he easily foresaw, that their Union would root the English out of France. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of our Lady in that City, with all Funeral Solemnities, on the North-Side of the High-Altar, under a sumptuous and costly Monument, which remaining whole and entire many Years after, in the Reign of Lewis XI. Son of King Charles, some of his Courtiers advised him, being then at Roan to demolish it, because his Memorial was a Shame to France. But King Lewis generously reply'd, *God have his Soul, and let his Body lie now at Rest; who, when he was alive, would have made the proudest of us to tremble. As for his Tomb, it is not so decent and convenient, as his noble Achievements deserved, and I am sorry it is no more stately, than its Richness might answer his Worth.* The News of his Death caused great Grief in England, not only for the Loss of so excellent and great a Person, but for the Danger France was in by his Death, there being scarce any Man left behind him equal to him in Courage and Wisdom, and none of Experience to manage so difficult a Station; but Necessity required, that one should immediately be put in his Place; and therefore K. Henry's Council proceeded to an Election (b). The Dukes of Somerset and York became Competitors for it, both of them nearly related to the Crown, and therefore might be thought to have an equal Zeal for the Support of it. Somerset was most desirous of it, but York had the Votes of the Council, because he had the fairest Pretences to the Crown, and so he was elected; yet with so great Offence to Somerset, that he sought all Ways to obstruct his Commission, and hinder his speedy Passage thither, which though it might prove the common Loss, yet he thought would turn to York's Disgrace with the Commons, who, not knowing the secret Causes, hate or love for what appears. And, indeed, Somerset was not out in his Politick Design; for before the Duke of York could get his Dispatch into France, Paris, and many other chief Towns, for want of a Governour, were revolted to the French King; and though he was not really in Fault for it, he was forced to bear much of the Blame, upon the Account of his Delays. The Duke of York was not insensible as well of the Cause, as of the Effect, and tho' he would not at present seem to resent it, yet he laid it up in his Memory, that when Occasion should offer, he might revenge it upon the Duke of Somerset, who bearing an equal Hatred to him, they wrought each other's Destruction in a few Years, and entailed the Quarrel upon their Posterities, to the Ruin almost of both Families.

In the same Month with the Duke of Bedford, died Isabel, late Queen of France, Mother of Charles, the present King, and Catherine, Queen of England, at Paris, and was buried by her Husband at St. Dennis, without any Funeral Pomp or Solemnity, the Times not permitting such Ceremonies. She died hated by the French, and not much regarded by the English; for tho'

indeed she had been the main Instrument of the Success of the English in France, and their Establishment there, yet they being sensible, that what she did for them was not out of any real Love to them, but out of an insatiable Desire of Revenge upon her Son Charles the Dauphin, could not affectionately requite the Kindnesses they received, because they were intended chiefly to gratifie her own Malice, and the English were used but as Instruments for her unnatural Cruelties.

The Death of the Duke of Bedford was no sooner known in France, but, as though he had been the only Restraint upon the French to yield Obedience to the English, they began almost in all Places of the English Dominions to think of a Revolt to their natural Prince. Normandy began first to shew its Inclinations to King Charles; and having given Intelligence of their Design, invited his Army to come among them, under the Command of Marshal de Rieux, Charles de Marest, Messieurs de Bausack and Longueville, to whom they immediately surrender'd Depe, Roan (i), Bois de S. Vincennes (k), and several other considerable Places; in which though there were English Garrisons, yet either being overpowered, or betray'd by the treacherous Inhabitants, they were forced to relinquish them, and shift for themselves as well as they could; but some were taken Prisoners; and the Citizens, who had been for the English, were either plunder'd of their Goods immediately, or made to take an Oath of Fidelity to the French King. This Success drew Multitudes to them. The Lords Sentraglie, Esouteville, and many other Lords, brought an Army of between 3 and 4000 to join with them; and one Kernier, a Captain of the Rabble, follow'd them with 6000 Commons, who all readily took the same Oath; so that Charles's Party became very strong, and able to take the remaining Towns by Force, if they should stand out against them, which it could not be thought that many would do, since the strongest Towns had submitted. Fescamp yielded it self on Christmas-Eve, without Assault, and the Captain of it, Monsieur Villers, a Gascoigne, was so zealous for his new Master, that he assaulted Harflure on St. Stephen's Day to reduce it. The Garrison repulsed him at first valiantly, and beat him off at the Onset with the Loss of Forty of his Men; but while he was putting himself in Order for a Second, the Inhabitants capitulated to surrender the Town to the French, upon Condition, that the English Garrison, which consisted of 400 Men, should be suffer'd to depart peaceably with all their Goods; which being granted and accepted, many other Towns follow'd their Example, as, Beurespin, Tancherville, Gomeffeulle, Loges, Vallemont, Graville, Longeville, Neneville, Lamberville, and many others, into which the French having put Garrisons, became almost absolute Masters of Normandy.

Things being thus settled here, Charles cast an Eye upon Paris it self, which being kept only by 2000 Men, a weak Garrison, under the Command of the Lord Willoughby and the Bishop of Turwin, was easie to be recover'd, the Citizens, as he was inform'd, being well affected to him, and willing to submit; whereupon he commanded the Constable, Arthur of Brittain, the Earl of Dunois, the Lords de la

(b) He was appointed by Parliament to be Regent of France. Hol. p. 613.

(i) Roan was not yielded to the French King till Twelve Years after, Anno 1447, as will be seen in the Course of this History.

(k) Bois de St. Vincennes is no Part of Normandy.

A. D. 1436. *Roche and Lisle Adam*, with a good (1) Body of *Burgundians* and *French Men*, to present themselves before it, hoping to get the Possession of it without much Labour; but when they arrived, they found their Friends so carefully watch'd by the Garrison, that they could not betray the City to them, as was designed; and therefore they retreated to *St. Dennis*, which they besieged. The *English* Garrison there was 400 strong, but the Place weak, being wholly dismantled, unless it were on the Abbey-Side; yet they withstood a very powerful Assault, wherein they lost 200 Men, and were forced to flee into the Abbey and Tower *Venin*, in which they only kept themselves, till they could gain a Composition to render up the Place with the Safety of their Lives.

St. Dennis taken.

The Lord *Beaumont*, who was lately come out of *Normandy* with 600 Men; hearing what Danger *St. Dennis* was in to be lost, but not knowing that it was yielded, sallied out of *Paris*, with some Addition to his Forces, to observe the Posture of the Enemy, and if they could relieve the Place; but being discover'd by the *French* Army, they so encompass'd him on every Side, that though both himself and his Men defended themselves valiantly, yet 300 were slain, and himself, with Eighty of his Men taken Prisoners; the rest fled, but were closely pursued to the very Gates of *Paris*.

This Loss on the *English* part not only weaken'd the Garrison, but made the Citizens, who stood in Fear chiefly of the Lord *Beaumont*, to resolve upon a Revolt, which having acquainted the Lord *Lisle Adam* with privately, and obtain'd an Assurance of him and the Constable, That their former Offences should be pardon'd, and their ancient Liberties and Privileges confirm'd to them, on their part they promised to receive them into the Town. The Constable delay'd no Time, but drawing up his whole Army, presented himself before the City, displaying the Charter of their Pardon to the View of the Citizens, and requiring them, as it were, to open their Gates. The *English* Garrison, suspecting the Treason, endeavour'd all they could to keep them shut; but the Citizens had drawn up the Chains in every Street, and opposed them not only themselves in Armour, but even their Wives and Children from their House-Tops so annoy'd them with Stones and Scalding-Water, which they pour'd upon them, that they could not prevent their Design; so the *French* Army partly got Admission at the Gates of *St. Dennis* and *St. James*, and partly scaled the Walls. The *Parisians* in a great Tumult meeting them, cry'd out with Joy, Long live King *Charles*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *English*, seeing all Opposition in vain, retired into the Street of *St. Anthony*, where they remain'd safe for the present under the Cannon of the *Bastile*, which they victualled as much as they could in so short a Time, and then betook themselves to it for their Defence. The Constable and his Forces pursued them to their Fortrefs, and closely besieged them; but they defended themselves very bravely for Ten Days, in Hopes of Relief; their Victuals failing at the End of that Term, and no Assistance appearing, they agreed to yield up the Place, their Goods and Lives being saved, and so they were safely conducted to *Roan*.

Paris betray'd to the French King, and the English driven out.

Thus the Capital City of *France* submitted to King *Charles*, Sixteen Years after the Duke

of *Clarence* had placed a Garrison in it for the *English*; but not by the Valour of the *French*, but by the Perjury of the Citizens, who contrary to their frequent Oaths and Promises of Fidelity to Two Kings, most treacherously revolted from them, shewing themselves a false and inconstant People.

The *English* being gone, the *French* seized on and shared such Goods of theirs, as they found in the City, and confiscated the Estates of such of the Citizens as had sided with them, displacing all the Officers and Governours that had not further'd their Attempt, and putting new ones in their Places.

While Fortune thus prosper'd the *French* in some Places, the *English* were not unactive in others to recover their Losses, or, if that could not be, to endamage them so, that they might not be so great Winners. The Garrison of *Callis* issued out, and made a sudden Assault upon *Bullen*, and had almost taken the Lower Town, but failing of it, they burnt many of the Ships that were in the Haven, and pass'd from thence into the Confines of *Gravelin*, and destroy'd all the Country round about it. The furious People, impatient of their Losses, got together, and took Arms to oppose them, but being unskilful and undisciplin'd, were soon routed by the *English*, 400 of them being slain, and 120 taken Prisoners; the rest flying into the Country for Safety; while the *English*, with their Spoil and Prisoners, return'd to their Garrisons.

Other Advantages the *English* had in other Places against the *French*, which something abated the Glory of their Victories; for at the Siege of the Town of *Crail* upon *Oise*, Sir *William Chamberlin*, Governour of the Town, issued out of it with 500 Men upon the *French*, who assaulted it, and, after a long Fight, routed them, slew 200, and took a great Number Prisoners, the rest flying into *Champaign*, and the adjoining Countries. Nor was *La Hire* more fortunate at *Gisors*, which Twelve of the *Burgesses* had betray'd to him for a Sum of Money; for tho' he got a quiet Possession of the Town by their Treachery, yet the *English* Garrison, who had fortified themselves in the Castle, and sent to the Lords *Talbot* and *Scales*, who lay at *Roan*, with a good Force, to assist them, stood out firmly against all the *French* Forces, in Hopes of Succour, which coming timely to them, while the Enemy were in the Heat of their Opposition, freed the Castle, drove away the *French* with Loss, recover'd the City, and punished the Traitors.

Gisors recover'd with Loss to the French.

While these Things were doing, the Duke of *York*, though later than he would, landed in *Normandy* with an Army of 8000 fresh Soldiers, being accompanied with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and several other famous Captains. It was no small Trouble to the new Regent to hear of the Losses of the *English* in this Vacancy of the Government, and therefore upon his Arrival he doubled his Diligence to regain as much of them as he was able. The Earl of *Salisbury* he dispatched to besiege the Castle of *Chambois*, which he soon regain'd by Surrender. The Lord *Scales* and *Hoo*, with Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, he sent to suppress the Rebels of the Country of *Caux*, which they did so effectually, that they left no Fears of like Disturbances from those Parts; for they slew 5000 of the Rebels, burnt all the unwall'd Towns and Vil-

Duke of York arrives in France, and recovers several Places.

(1) This Officer had lately dispersed the *English*.

A. D. 1436. lages in the Country, and brought away all their Cattle to *Caudebec*, where they sold a Sheep for an *English Penny*, and a Cow for Twelve Pence.

The Regent himself took his Way to *Roan*, where, after he had put Things in good Order, and settled some Differences among the Inhabitants with admirable Lenity and Justice (for which the *French Chronicles* highly extol him to this Day) he went to besiege *Fiscamp*, which he in a short time recover'd, and brought in Subjection to the *English*.

Duke of Burgundy seeks the English Friend-ship again The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had so lately joyn'd himself with the *French Interests*, tho' his Subjects had been much wrong'd and abused by the *English*, as well in *France* as *England*, yet shew'd no open Acts of Hostility, but as if he had repented of the Fact, and were willing to be reconciled to his Old Friends, permitted the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, who suffer'd very great Losses by his League with the *French King* for want of the Commerce, which they formerly had with the *English*, to endeavour a Restoration and Continuance of the Peace with them, who thereupon employ'd *John de Luxemburgh*, Count de *Ligni* to write to his Brother the Arch-Bishop of *Roan*, who was one of King *Henry's* chief Counsellors in *France*, to propound it to, and obtain it of King *Henry's* Council in *England*, which he did so earnestly and effectually, that he found no unwilling Compliance with the Proposal. But because in the mean time the *English* in *France* had not desisted from making Invasions upon his Territories, and destroying his Subjects, and King *Henry* had at the same time written to the *Hollanders* to offer them the Continuance of his Friendship, *Philip* being highly offended at these Things, and especially at the latter, which he interpreted to be done to seduce his Subjects from their Obedience to him, receded from his Word, and told *Ligni* plainly, That he would never more entertain any Thoughts of Peace with the *English*, because they had very much injur'd him in his Honour, ravaged and plundered his Subjects upon the Confines of *Flanders*, endeavour'd to surprize *Ardures*, sent Ambassadors to the Emperour to provoke his Imperial Majesty against him, sought to seduce and withdraw his Subjects from their Allegiance, and done many other Things not to be pass'd over without the highest Relentments by any Prince. These Things he writ in a Letter to King *Henry* and his Council in *England*, and in it he declared War against him for the said Wrongs and Injuries; which tho' many of them were falsely charg'd upon him, as was prov'd by the Answer given him by King *Henry* and his Council, yet they serv'd for a Pretence for the irreconcilable Enmity that ensued upon it: For the Duke of *Burgundy* immediately call'd a great Council of his chief Men, and represented to them the Mischief done to himself and Subjects by the *English*, desiring their Advice and Assistance to revenge him and themselves upon them, and remove so troublesome an Enemy, if not out of *France*, yet from their Confines.

Duke of Burgundy resolves to besiege *Calis*, and raises an Army for that End. *Calis*, he said, belong'd to his Jurisdiction, as a part of the Province of *Artois*; and as it was now the greatest Annoyance to his Dominions, being in the Hands of the *English*; so if they could recover it, it would be as great an Advantage to them, for it would perfectly secure *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Picardy*, and the Country about *Bullen*. Indeed it was a very strong Fort, and very well mann'd and provided, and therefore the Siege was not to be undertaken without

sufficient Forces, but he did not doubt they would assist him with all Things necessary to effect it, if they concurred with him in the Design. These Proposals the whole Assembly approv'd of, and assur'd him of their Readiness to lend him all the Assistance they could in it; and because they judg'd sufficient Forces might be rais'd out of *Holland* and *Flanders* to effect their Purpose, it was advis'd, That the Duke should in Person go into those Provinces and solicit their Help in so advantageous an Attempt, which he immediately upon the Dissolution of this Council did. He began with *Gaunt* the head City in *Flanders*; and having assembled the Magistracy there publish'd his Resolution to them, and met with such a general Approbation from them, that they easily granted his Desires, and thought long till it was put in Execution; and the like Concurrence it had in all the Province of *Flanders*. The *Hollanders* indeed shew'd not that Forwardness and Readiness in the Design as the *Flemmings* did; but at length they consented to satisfy their Prince's Desires, and so all Things were provided for so great an Attempt, which either Invention or Caution could devise. These Preparations and the Intent of them were certified to King *Henry* and his Council by Sir *John Ratcliff*, Deputy-Governour of the Town of *Calis*, who was as careful to provide for the Defence of it, as the Enemy to assault it, and there were sent over with all Expedition 1500 Men, with good store of Provision, under the Command of the Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Camois*. This strong Garrison, that they might make the Country about it unfit to harbour and receive the Enemy, pillag'd and destroy'd all the Villages and Corn; and though they were encounter'd first by a strong Body of *Flemmings*, and then by a Party of 1500 *French* under the Command of the Lords of *Warren* and *Bado*, yet they were Victorious over them, killing many, and taking almost an equal Number of Prisoners.

The Duke of *Burgundy* having spent some considerable Time in fitting out his Troops, and ordering his Men, at length began his March towards *Calis*. His whole Army which consisted of Men out of several Provinces, as *Picardy*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Hannault*, to the Number of 40000, was furnish'd with such an Abundance of Victuals, Arms and Artillery, that they may seem to be fit to conquer a Nation, and not a Town, which they themselves thought so inconsiderable an Attempt; that they supposed the very Approach of their Captains would fright the Inhabitants out of it, and it would be taken without Resistance; but they found their Mistake soon after, the *Calisians* neither fearing their Numbers nor Strength. In their Passage towards *Calis*, when they drew near *Gravelin*, they beat down Two Mills, imputing the late Loss of the *Flemmings* to their Situation; and though *Philip* himself dissuaded them from such an inglorious Attempt, yet they would not desist. Being pass'd the Waters of *Gravelin*, and come into the *English* Territories, the Duke thinking it not convenient to leave any Thing behind him that was held by his Enemy, besieged the small Castle of *Oye*, which had but Fifty Soldiers in it. These defended that Fort very courageously, till twelve of the Chief being slain, the rest yielded themselves up to the Duke's Mercy, but found little or none; for he giving the Castles and Captives to the People of *Gaunt*, who were the greatest part

Duke of Burgundy's Army resolved to besiege *Calis*.

The Castle of *Oye* yielded to the Duke.

A. D. 1436. part of the Army and had suffer'd much by their Resistance, they to revenge the Blood of their Country-men hang'd up Twenty Nine of them immediately, and razed the Castle down to the Ground. The residue of the Captives were condemn'd to Death; but the Duke being offended at their Cruelty in slaying the former, sav'd their Lives by much Intercession. Within the Prospect of *Callis* stood another Castle, held by the *English*, call'd the Castle of *St. Mark*, of greater Strength than the former, containing a Garrison of 200 Soldiers, under the Command of *Sir John Gedding* their Captain, who made a bolder Resistance than the Governor of *Oye* was capable to do, and slew many of the Duke's Forces. But was at last over-power'd, and despairing of Relief from the People of *Callis*, to whom he had in vain given Signs of the bad Condition of his Garrison, by ringing their Bells, and hanging out Colours, (for tho' they would, they could not do it) he resign'd upon Condition, That his and his Men's Lives should be sav'd; and so being made Prisoners of War, they were sent to *Gaunt* to be kept for an Exchange, if any of them should happen to be taken. The Way to *Callis* being thus clear'd, the Duke of *Burgundy* accompany'd with the Duke of *Cleves*, the Earl of *Estamps*, the Lords of *Dantoing*, *Croy*, *Crisquie*, *Humieres*, and many others of Note, laid Siege to the Town on *July* the 19th, as was most to his Advantage, and at his first coming caused three Assaults to be made, but with so much Loss, that he was forced to draw off his Forces further from it. The *English* entertain'd them with continual Sallies, and in most of them were Victorious. The Duke of *Burgundy* was not much dishearten'd at these first Successes of the Enemy, but he look'd upon them as flashes of Courage, which by length of Time, and the Straights of a Siege would much abate; and therefore in the mean time he was careful to block up the Haven, that no Supplies of Men or Victuals should come to the Besieged out of *England*, which to his great Grief he had hitherto seen done, because the Fleet from *Holland* and *Zealand* was not come up, as he had appointed and expected, and to that end he caused Four great Hulks, fill'd with great square Stones cemented together with Lead, to be sunk in the Haven at High-Tide, but with no Damage to the Harbour as it happen'd. He also diligently survey'd the Walls of the Town and the Castle, that when occasion offer'd, they might repeat their Assaults with better Success. But the Besieged were on the other side as watchful of all Advantages; and seeing the Duke observing their Town shot at him, kill'd his Trumpeter, and three Horses of such Persons as were next him.

While the Army lay before *Callis* the Lord *de Croy* was sent with a good Party to besiege the Castle and Town of *Guisnes*, of which he soon took the latter, but was kept so long in the Siege of the former, that he was forced to quit what he had gotten and leave them. In the mean time the Duke of *Gloucester*, who knowing the Importance of the Town of *Callis* to the *English* in *France*, was resolv'd to raise the Siege, sent over his Herald, call'd *Pembroke* to tell the Duke of *Burgundy*, That the Protector of *England*, his Master (if God favoured him with Wind and Weather) intended with all convenient Speed to pass over to him and give him Battle, either before *Callis*, or in any other Place in his own Country which he should appoint, and if he refused would seek him where he could find him. The Duke

of *Burgundy* answer'd the Herald, Tell your Master, that his Challenge is both Honourable and Reasonable, and that I will save him the Pains to seek me, for (God willing) I will not leave the Town till I have my Will of it, and if he comes here he shall find me ready to encounter him with all the Forces he can bring. After the Duke of *Burgundy* had given the Herald his Answer, he took him to his Tent, and having feasted him plentifully gave him a Silver Cup, and an Hundred Pieces of Gold, and so sent him back again. The Herald departed to *Callis*, and so home to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was hastening with all speed to get an Army, and all other Things necessary for his intended Expedition.

The Duke of *Burgundy* also as soon as the Duke of *Gloucester's* Embassy and his Answer to it, he entreated them for his Honour's sake and their own, not to desert him, but stand by him, and defend themselves manfully upon this Occasion, which they all voluntarily and readily promised. This encourag'd the Duke so, that he forthwith sent into *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Henault* to levy new Forces, and augment his Army to such a Proportion to the *English* Army (which he fear'd would be great) as they might be able to oppose them. But as the News of the Duke of *Gloucester's* coming begat Caution in the *Burgundians*, so it rais'd the Courage of the Besieged so much, that they made many brisk and fortunate Sallies; and among other Things won a Fort built by the Duke of *Burgundy* upon an Hill so near the Town, that they could see all the Transactions of the Besieged, and by that means much annoy'd them; which Loss damp'd the Besiegers Spirits, and made them despair of carrying the Town, especially since the Duke of *Gloucester's* Arrival was daily expected. In the midst of these Terrors and Fears the Duke of *Gloucester* had fortunately pass'd the Seas with 500 sail of Ships, and landed at *Callis* with a powerful Army on the Second Day of *August*, intending on the Day following to have issued out of the Town and gave the Duke of *Burgundy* Battle; but when that Day was come the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army was departed, the very News of his coming so affrighted the *Flemmings*, that no Persuasions of their Prince could prevail with them to abide the Battle, and so they all departed and left the Siege the Night before to the great Grief of the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Gloucester*, when he brought forth his Army found some of their great Ordnance, which were too heavy for their Flight, with much Victuals and Ammunition; but thinking he might overtake them, he pursu'd them Eleven Days; but not being able to do it, he ravag'd part of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Country, and having burnt two Towns, *Popering* and *Bell*, he return'd again to *Callis*. The Lord *de Croy* also at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Command left *Guisnes*, and the *English* repossessing themselves of the Town took some of their Baggage and Artillery, and among the rest a great Gun of Brass, call'd *Dijon* from the chief Town of *Burgundy*. And thus the Duke of *Gloucester* finish'd his Expedition, and return'd into *England* with Honour and Triumph.

In the Absence of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the former Discontents between the Scots and *English* broke out into open War. *James*, King of Scots, having married his Daughter to *Lewis* the Dauphin, gave great Suspicion to the

Duke of
Gloucester
challenges the
Duke of
Burgundy.

Scots and
English at
War.

A. D. 1436. the *English* of such an Affinity and Confederacy between them, as might prove very prejudicial to them: Whereupon they first endeavour'd to intercept her, and take her Prisoner in her Passage into *France*; but missing of that, they began to treat the *Scots* as no fast Friends, and did some Damages to them upon their Borders. These Things incensed King *James* so much, that he sought Opportunity of Revenge, and in the Duke of *Gloucester's* Absence besieged *Roxborough* Castle with an Army of 30000 Men. Sir *Ralph Gray*, a Person of great Courage and Fidelity, commanded the Castle at that Time, and defended it for Twenty Days against so powerful an Army, which though he could not have withstood much longer, yet his holding it out so long prov'd the Cause of its Deliverance; for the King of *Scots* being advertised, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was coming with an Army to raise the Siege, but chiefly, his Queen being come into his Camp to give him Notice of a Conspiracy form'd against his Life, by certain Persons whose Names she could not at present find out, chose rather to release the Town, than lose his Kingdom and his own Life, by giving his Enemies Time and Opportunity in his Absence to bring their wicked Contrivances to Perfection, and so he left the Siege. But this Design, though seemingly prudential enough, prov'd fatal to him: For *Wal-ter*, Earl of *Athol*, the King's Uncle, who was the Chief in the Conspiracy, being fearful of being discover'd by the Diligence of such as the King had employ'd to find him out, with his Associates, desperately put them forward to a more speedy Execution, which by the Help of one *John* a Frier Preacher of *Pearth*, into whose Monastery the King was fled for Safety, they effected; for by his Means the Porter being corrupted, and the King's Chamber being left unbarr'd, the Conspirators boldly and violently rush'd into the King's Presence, and giving him 28 Wounds, slew him. Three of the Chief of them, the Earl of *Athol* himself, *Robert* his Grandson, and *Robert Grimes*, were very severely punish'd for the Murther by the People, and his Son *James* the Second, a Child of about Seven Years old, was raised to his Throne in the Right of Succession.

James,
King of
Scots, kil-
led.

Reg. 15. After the disgraceful Departure of the Duke of *Burgundy* from *Callis*, the *English*, in all Parts of *France*, became very troublesome to him and his Subjects. At *Bruges* they rose in a tumultuous manner against him, and slew a Captain of his Guard, the Lord *Lisle Adam* himself very hardly escaping with his Life. These Dangers made him employ his Neighbouring Princes to solicit a Peace between him and the King of *England*, That he should remain a Neuter between *England* and *France*. The Perfidiousness of the Duke was an invincible Objection against their Petition; but an Expedient being found out, that the Dutchess should act for her Husband, and should be admitted to a Treaty for him, Commissioners were appointed on both Sides to meet at *Gravelin*, viz. The Dutchess of *Burgundy*, the Bishop of *Arras*, Lord *Croy*, and others for the Duke: And *Henry*, Cardinal of *Winchester*; *John Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*; *Humphrey*, Earl of *Stafford*, and divers other Persons of Honour, for King *Henry*. After some Debates, a Truce was concluded between King *Henry* and the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, her Husband not being so

Duke of
Burgundy
seeks a
Neutra-
lity.

much as named in it; but it lasted a little time, the Duke taking Liberty to break that Covenant, in which his Enemy would not have him tied; and so it only served a Turn, till he could better secure himself against the *English* Enmity.

On the 2d Day of *January* this Year died A. D. 1437. (m) Queen *Catherine*, the Wife of that renown'd Prince King *Henry* the Fifth, and Mother of this King *Henry* the Sixth, at *Bermondsea* in *Surrey*, and was, with all due Solemnity, buried at *Westminster*, in the midst of our Lady's Chappel, under a Marble-Tomb, by her Husband, where she rested, till King *Henry* the Seventh pull'd down the said Chappel, and erected that most sumptuous Pile of Buildings, which retains his Name to this Day. She had in her Life privately married a Noble *Welch* Gentleman, of the Lineage of *Cadwalader*, the last of the *British* Kings, named *Owen Tudor*, or *Theodore*, a Person of rare Beauty and Parts, but of small Fortunes, and therefore accounted a very unequal Match for this Great Princess; yet it was wink'd at by the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Bedford*. By him she had Three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jasper* and *Owen*; the last was a Monk at *Westminster*. Her Daughter by him died in her Infancy. After her Death, *Owen* was apprehended (n) and imprison'd, because that, contrary to an Act of Parliament made in the Sixth Year of this King's Reign, he had presumptuously married the Queen, without the King's special Assent. He escaped twice out of Prison, and let out others with him, but the Third time, it is said, he lost his Life. However, his Children which he had by the Queen sunk not by the Misfortune of their Father; for King *Henry* either out of Respect to his Mother, or in Recompence for the too great Severity against his Father, soon after his Death, created *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, and *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and married *Edmund* to *Margaret*, Daughter and sole Heiress to the Duke of *Somerset*, of whom he begot *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, who afterwards was King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry* the Seventh.

Biondi
Hist. of
the Civil
Wars of
England,

About the same Time, the Dutchess of *Bedford*, Sister to *Lewis*, Earl of *St. Poll*, as if Queen *Catherine's* Example had taught her to marry for Affection rather than Honour, married a brisk young Knight, Sir *Richard Woodville*, afterwards created Lord, and Earl of *Rivers*, to the great Displeasure of her Brother, and Uncle, the Bishop of *Turwin*, whom she had not acquainted with it. By him she had many Children, both Sons and Daughters, and among them the Lady *Elizabeth*, who being married to King *Edward* the Fourth, was afterwards Queen of *England*.

Dutchess
of *Bedford*
married
Sir *Richard*
Woodville.

Whilst this Marriage was in the Celebration, *Jane*, the Wife of *Henry* the Fourth, and Daughter of *Charles*, King of *Navarre*, surnamed, *The Wicked*, died at *Bermondsea* in *Surrey*, and being carried to *Canterbury*, was there interr'd by her Husband King *Henry*. Some remarkable Accidents also happened about this time, viz. the furthest Gate upon *London-bridge* next *Southwark*, with the Tower upon it, and Two Arches upon which it chiefly depended fell down suddenly, but did no Harm, all the Lions also in the Tower died.

On the 21st Day of *January*, King *Henry* assembled his Parliament at *Westminster*. This Par-

Parl. 8.
its Acts
and Taxes

(m) In the 38th Year of her Age.

(n) *Owen Tudor* was beheaded after the Battle of *Mortimer's-Cross*, for fighting in the Quarrel of the House of *Lincafter*, Anno 1460. *Holl.* 660.

A. D. 1437. liament was first appointed to meet at Cambridge, but for some Reasons of State is was Reg. 15. recall'd to Westminster.

In this Parliament, 1. A Remedy was provided against vexatious and troublesome Suits of such Persons as were not of the King's Houshold, in the Court of Stewards and Marshals in the King's House, and it was allow'd as an Exemption from their Jurisdiction to plead and aver, that they are not of the King's House.

2. An Allowance was given to all the Subjects of England to transport Corn of small Price out of the Realm, viz. Wheat at Six Shillings and Eight Pence, and Barley at Three Shillings and Four Pence the Quarter.

3. An Injunction to all Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Franchises and Coroners, that in Actions, or Writs of Attaint of Plea for Lands of the Yearly Value of Forty Pounds, they do not return nor impanel any Persons, but such as be inhabiting in his Bailiwick, and have an Estate to their own Use in Lands and Tenements, to the Yearly Value of Twenty Pounds or more, upon the Penalty of forfeiting Ten Pounds to the King, and Ten Pounds to the Plaintiffs in the said Action, or Writs of Attaint; and that no Person of less Sufficiency of Freehold than Twenty Pounds a Year shall be sworn in the King's Court upon any Issue in the said Actions, if he be for the same by the Plaintiffs in due Form challenged.

4. A Permission was given to all Persons, as well Religious as Secular, to appoint themselves General-Attornies to sue or plead for them in every Hundred and Wapentake. And,

5. A Prohibition was laid upon all Merchants to ship, or cause to be shipped, any Wool, Woolfells, or other Merchandizes belonging to the Staple, in any Place within this Realm, except at the Keys and Wharfs assigned by the Statute, where the King's Weights and Wools be set, excepting the Merchants of Genoa, Venice, Tuscany, Florence, Catalonia, and the Burghesses of Berwick. To this Parliament came the Bishop of Terwin and the Earl of Arminack out of France, but their Business was not known, and if important, was soon dispatch'd, and the Parliament soon after dissolved.

In the late Insurrection in Normandy, the English had lost Harflure, a Town of great Consequence for the Preservation of that Province, which being found to be extremely inconvenient in the Enemies Hands, they resolv'd upon the Recovery of it. The Duke of Somerset, attended with the Lords Falconbridge and Talbot, were sent with a strong Force to besiege it. The Captain of the Town was Sir John D'Estauteville, and the Garrison was 600 strong. The English at their first Approach were sensible, that they should meet with a strong Opposition, as well from the Besieged as the French King's Party, whose Interest it was to preserve the Town, as much as the English to gain it; and therefore they strongly intrrenched themselves before the Town, and then began to batter the Walls, that they might gain an Entrance into it, but were so valiantly opposed and repulsed, that tho' the Town suffered much Damage, it held out, and kept them from an Assault. The French King in the mean Time was very desirous to relieve it, and to that End sent the Earls of Ely and Dunelm, the Valiant Bastard of Bourbon, and the Lord Gaucourt, with an Army of 4000 Men to raise the Siege; but when they came, they found their Enemies so strongly entrrenched, that they could molest them ve-

ry little by all the Means they could devise, and so saw it next to impossible to do their Friends within the Town any good, whereupon they fearing lest their Delays might prove dangerous to themselves, lest the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Governor seeing it past all Hopes of being saved, thought it better to surrender the Town upon some honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpose, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of himself and Soldiers, and left the Place in the Hands of the English, who joyfully received it, as their desired Prey. The Duke of Somerset committed it to the keeping of Thomas Pawler, Christopher Barber, William Limerick and George St. George, who manfully defended the Town and Haven many Years. The Lord Talbot, after the Taking of Harflure, was left Captain of the Army to carry the Victory on, as his Courage should lead him, who thereupon besieged Tankerville, which he took in Four Months, being delivered up to his Discretion, and soon after Beauchastellan and Maleville, which following the Example of Tankerville, yielded without Blows. But the English by all these Victories were no Gainers, for Charles, the French King, passing over the River Loire, besieged the strong Town of Monstreau Fault Yonne, of which Captain Thomas Gerard was Commander, who forgetting his Honour and Trust, sold it to the French King for a Sum of Money, as was afterwards discovered. The French that were in it, were all hanged for their Treason to him, and the English at the Dauphin's Request set at Liberty. After the Taking this Town, some smaller Garrisons, as Chasteau, Landone, Char-mi and Nemours, yielded to him without Resistance, and then passing on, he took his Way to Paris, where having not been since it returned to his Obedience, he made his Entry with Solemnity, and loud Acclamations. The English, tho' not unconcern'd at these Losses, were under no possibility of Regaining them thro' the Change of the Regency, which unfortunately happen'd in this Juncture, otherwise Monstreau had not been so easily parted withal. The Duke of York, who had held the Place with great Applause, tho' he was never personally present at any Battle or Siege, unless at that of Feschamp, was displaced, and the Earl of Warwick put into his Room, a Person every ways qualified for so great a Charge, but being detained Seven Weeks by cross Winds from arriving in France, they wanted a Power in York to oppose the Current; and so the French King carried on his Victories without Controul. At the same time Arthur of Brittain, Constable of France, John, Duke of Alençon, and La Hire, with a great Army, made divers Attempts in Normandy, first upon the Town of Auranches, and then upon the City of Roan, but fail'd in both by the Courage and Diligence of the Lord Talbot, Lord Scales and Sir Tho. Kiriell, who set upon the French suddenly, and routed them at a Town called Riez, not far from Roan, killing about 200, and taking a great Number Captives, among which were the Lord of Fontains, Sir Aleine Geronne, Sir Lewis Balle, and Sixty Knights and Esquires, by which Normandy was preserved to the English.

The Earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp, who had been endeavouring a Passage into France for several Weeks before, and in order thereto had Seven times taken Ship, but was as often driven back again, at length arriv'd at Honflur, Nov. 6. with a Thousand fresh Soldiers, and from thence went to Roan, where the Duke

A. D. 1437. Reg 15.

And surrendered upon Articles.

The Lord Talbot takes several Places.

The French gain on the Loire.

Earl of Warwick made Regent of France.

Harflure besieged by the English.

Earl of Warwick arrives at Honflur.

A. D. 1437. of York having received him with a kind Welcome, resign'd his Dignity to him, and returned by the same Ships, with all his Train, into England. This New Deputy was no sooner in his Place, but he was forced upon Action; for *Florimand de Brimau*, Bailiff of *Ponthieu*, having private Advertisement, that *Crotoi*, an English Garrison, was in great Want of Victuals, and could not hold out, if suddenly besieged and begirt round, gave Notice of it to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who immediately sent an Army of above 10000 Men, with Guns and other Materials, under the Command of Messieurs *D'Archi*, *Crovi*, *Kenti*, *Faques de Brimeau*, and others, to lay close Siege round it. The Garrison, who fear'd nothing but Hunger, seeing their Danger, began to provide against it, and finding the Sea open, sent out a Ship immediately, which by its nimble Sail in a Day or two supplied them with Plenty of Provision. The Duke of *Burgundy* saw his Error too late, and endeavour'd to prevent it, by sending Four Ships to lie at the Mouth of the Haven; but the Inhabitants of *Crotoi* would not endure this Blockade, and sending Six Ships out, routed them, and kept the Sea open for their continual Relief. By this means they were in no Fear of Want of Victuals, but could hold out till Aid should come. The Earl of *Warwick* had News soon of this Attempt, and immediately dispatch'd the Lords *Talbot* and *Falconbridge*, Sir *Tho. Kiriell*, and divers other Knights and Esquires, with an Army of 5000 Men, to raise the Siege, who were also so zealous to deliver the Town, that they all waded thro' the River, some up to the Chin, to get the nearest Way to it, resolving either to drive the Enemy from it, or die in the Quarrel. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay with his Forces beside the City, had News of the Approaching of the Lord *Talbot*, with all his Power, and thereupon drew off his Forces, as if he would have confronted his Army and fought them; but when they came nigh one another, the Duke and his Forces retreated to *Abville*, and left the Town; but being unwilling to lose the *Bastile*, which he had lately built to annoy it, he left 400 Men to keep it. The Lord *Talbot* kept on his Way, and came to *Crotoi*, but not finding the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army there, he assaulted the *Bastile*, and took it, all the Men being either slain, or made Prisoners. Then he sent Messengers after the Duke of *Burgundy* to challenge him to a Battle, threatening, that if he refused, he would destroy all his Country of *Picardy* with Fire and Sword; but the Duke, stricken with a Panick Fear, fled the faster from him, and passing by *Amiens*, lodged himself and his Army at *Arras*. The Lord *Talbot*, enraged at this Cowardize, staid Twenty Days in *Picardy*, burning Towns, slaying the People, and taking what Spoil and Prisoners he could, and so return'd to the Earl of *Warwick*, who highly extoll'd his Courage and Conduct.

A. D. 1438. About *Christmas*, in this Year, King *Henry* caused a solemn Obit to be celebrated in *St Paul's* Church in *London*, for that eminent and wise Prince *Sigismund*, the Emperor of *Germany*, who died a little before, and left the Empire to *Albert*, who had marry'd the only Daughter of the said *Sigismund*.

On *Easter-Day*, one *John Gardiner*, a Person that favoured the Doctrines of *Wickliff*, but yet conformed outwardly to the *Romish* Ceremonies, either out of Fear or Interest, was discovered to convey the Sacramental Bread from

his Mouth, after he had received it from the Priest's Hands, in a foul Cloth, in *St. Mary Ax's* Church in *London*. This Fact was observed with Abhorrence by all his fellow Communicants, and he being examined, was found to be an obstinate Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield*, May 14. for his Crime.

In the Spring of this Year, *Henry*, Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerset*, sail'd out of *England* with 400 Archers, and 300 Spears, and landed at *Cherburg* in *Normandy*, and passing through the Country of *Main*, he besieged and took the Castle of *St. Anian*, putting the *Scotch* Garrison of 300 Men to the Sword, and hanging up all the *French* Men he found in it, because they had formerly taken an Oath of Fidelity to King *Henry*, and had falsified it. The Lord *Talbot* also, about the same Time, gat several other Places more thro' the Terror of his Name, than by his Sword; for *Longaville*, *Carles*, *Mannille*, and many other Towns, yielded themselves to him without any Resistance. The Earl of *Mortaigne* further advanced his Success, and took the Castle of *Algerche*, and the Lord *Camenis* in an Ambush, who came to the Relief of it; but the *English* were not the only Gainers, what they got in one Place, they lost in Another; for *Montarges*, and *Cheroffe* submitted themselves to King *Charles*, and the Burgeses of *Meaux* and *St. Susan*, in the Country of *Brie*, sold and delivered those Towns up to the *French* for Money; so that what Courage and Diligence got on the *English* Side, Treachery lost them, for tho' they could subdue the *French*, they could never make them faithful, seldom continuing in Obedience longer than they were kept in Fear by the Sword, or other Force.

The Unseasonableness of the Harvest this Year, which was full of raging Winds and excessive Rains, caused such a great Scarcity of Corn in *England* and *France*, that Wheat began at this time to be sold at 2 s. 6 d. per Bushel, and Malt at 18 d. and before the Year passed, increased so much in the Price, that the Poor underwent great Hardships, and were forced to make their Bread of Vetches, and Pease, and Beans, coarse Grains, with which before they usually fed their Beasts and Poultry; and in some Parts of the Nation they were so pressed with Want of these courser Grains, that they made Bread of Fern-Roots and Ivy-Berries. In the City of *London*, the Dearth was not so great as in the Country, thro' the Care and Vigilance of *Stephen Brown*, then Mayor, who seeing the great Danger the City was in, of suffering Famine, sent several Ships into *Prussia* for Rye, which brought such Quantities of that Grain into the City, that there was a Sufficiency of Bread with the poorest. Divers other lamentable Accidents attended this publick Calamity. On Nov. 25. there was such a terrible Wind, that it did much Harm in many Places of the Nation, and particularly at *London*; it blew off the Leads of the *Grey-Friers* Church, and almost beat down a whole Side of a Street, called the *Old Exchange*; so that the Inhabitants were forced to underprop it with great Studds to keep it from falling. On *New-Years-Day* a great Stack of Wood fell down at *Bainard's* Castle, and killed Three Men, many more being bruised and wounded dangerously. At *Bedford* also, upon the Day of the Affizes, there were Eighteen Persons killed, and several more hurt, by the Fall of a Pair of Stairs. With these unlucky Events happen'd the Death of that useful and charitable Citizen Sir *Robert Chicheley*, Grocer,

Crotoi besieged.

Crotoi relieved.

Lord *Talbot* challenges the Duke of *Burgundy* to a Fight.

An Obit for the Emperor *Sigismund*.

One *John Gardiner* burnt for Heresie.

A. D. 1438. Reg. 16.

Earl of *Mortaigne* sent into *France*.

French revolt.

Reg. 17.

A Dearth in *England*.

Several unusual Accidents.

A. D. 1439.

A. D. 1439. cer, Brother to the Arch-Bishop and twice Mayor of London, who by his last Will and Testament ordain'd, that on his Mind-Day a good and competent Dinner should be provided for 2400 poor People of the Housholders of the City of London, if so many could be found, and after Dinner every one should have Two Pence given them, which in these Times was a bountiful Charity.

The Duke of Burgundy, who, after his shameful Retreat from Crotai, studied how to revenge himself upon the English, and recover his lost Reputation, now sent many Wood-Cleavers, Smiths and Pioneers, under the Conduct of 1600 Soldiers, to cut down the Sea-Banks about Callis, believing that by that means he should drown the Town, and all the bordering Country; but the Event answered not Expectation, whereupon they turn'd to Pont de Millay, and pretended to lay Siege to it, but soon drew off their Forces, and return'd Home, seeking rather to find themselves some fair Excuse, than effect any thing. But tho' this Stratagem prov'd very foolish, the French had other Engines, which did them greater Service, and got them many Towns about this Time, which were, their Preferments and Money, large Promises and great Sums. These Things prov'd so prevalent, as well with the English as French, in the English Garrisons, that no Place could withstand them. Indeed, the French wanted Money, 'tis plain, in the Camp, insomuch, that they spent their Time in plundering one another; but yet since Money made way so easily to King Charles's Design in regaining his Country, he chose rather to want himself, than his Enemies should. This Piece of Policy the English hardly knew how to prevent; but it being related to the Council of England, they sent over the Earl of Huntington in June, with 2000 Archers, and 400 Spear-men, as a Supply to the Garrisons, and a fresh Recruit to the Army. At his coming he found the Earl of Du-
nois near Thoulouse, where, partly by Rewards, and partly by fair Promises, he had won several Cities in Guien, besides those which Rodrigo de Vellandras had recover'd by like Policy, to atone for his late Disobedience to his Master's Command to attend him. The Earl seeing this, put in fresh Garrisons in many of the Towns, yet in the English Hands, out of his own Forces, which he had brought out of England, and removed the old Garrisons to other Towns, where they were not acquainted. He displaced also the old Magistrates, and put in new ones, and secured several of the remaining Towns, most of which had an itching Desire to be fingering the French Money, and would have probably revolted to them; had not this Earl's coming and prudent Management prevented it. Nor had the same Methods a worse Success in Normandy, whither Sir Richard Woodville, Sir William Chamberlain and Sir William Peito were sent; with a Thousand Men, upon the like Errand, who kept the wavering Towns by so doing, tho' they recover'd not what had revolted till the Divisions among the French gave them this Opportunity.

The English remove their Garrisons to prevent Bribery.

Lewis the Dauphin rebels against his Father.

Lewis the Dauphin, a Prince of a very ambitious Spirit, young and hardy, being now arrived at the Sixteenth Year of his Age, and married, grew impatient to be under the Government of a Father, and reach'd at some Authority that might make him look like the Son of a King, which his Father, who was very suspicious and jealous, being even from his Child-

hood exercised with the Persecutions of his Mother, and the Enmity of the English and Burgundians, observing, treated him with a little more Severity than usual, and kept him to a shorter Allowance, which much discontented him. The Nobles, who were not well pleased with King Charles's Carriage to them, because he had always put most Confidence in the People, as being less able to hurt and damnify him, laid hold of this Opportunity of incensing the Dauphin against his Father, thereby to raise themselves into greater Places and Trust under him, if they should prevail, and under his Father, if they came to an Agreement. The Chief of the Nobles, who were most active to stir up this Dissention, were the Dukes of Bourbon and Alenxon, the Counts of Vendosme, Chabanes, Chaumont, Roceant and Prie. These told him, That tho' his Duty to his Father was a great Obligation to Obedience and Submission, yet since the Welfare of the Publick was the main Thing he ought to respect, as a Prince, the former ought not to tie him up from the Use of any proper Means to secure the latter: That 'tis evident his Father had been guilty of many Faults in his Government, as the Murder of the Duke of Burgundy, Contempt of his Nobles, and the like, which ought to be redress'd, and by none so fitly as himself, who was the next Person to the Crown: That those who were at present in greatest Authority about the King, perswaded him daily to a Peace, which could not be effected, but with a great Loss of his own Patrimony: That he had excluded them from his Favour and Trust merely that he might Tyrannize the more securely over the Kingdom, and keep the Dauphin under: That the King his Father had placed him at Loches, a remote and private Part of his Kingdom, that being far from the Court, and ignorant of Affairs, he might be led by them, who ruled as they list, contrary to his and the Kingdom's Interests: That a Resolution to redress these Things could not be interpreted in him Disobedience, but a noble Attempt to preserve the whole State, as well his Father and himself, as his Subjects. The Dauphin being of a contumacious Disposition, presently yielded to these Reasons, and told them, That he was ready to do whatever his Quality obliged him to, and if they would join their Power with his, would not be wanting to himself nor them. The Lords having thus obtain'd their desired Ends, take the Dauphin with them, and began to raise what Forces they could to oppose the King, resolving never to lay down their Arms, till Disorders were reform'd, the Authority of the Princes established, and Men of Merit and Worth brought into Favour. The Lords endeavour'd all they could to bring the Duke of Burgundy over to their Party, but he not only denied them, but advised them to desist from their Enterprize, which was unjust, dangerous and groundless. Then they sent Men into the several Provinces of the Kingdom to gather up a Strength out of the Commons; but these also gave them no Encouragements, telling the Messenger, That tho' they loved the Dauphin well, and were willing to serve him, yet they would not do it against his Father, nor in the Face of a common Enemy, who would make use of this Division for the Destruction of all of them. These Disappointments were unexpected, but yet the Nobles having gone too far in their Design to retreat honourably, proceeded as well as they could, and the Duke of Alenxon seiz'd on the Town of Noyard, and John de la Roche on St. Maxence. The Counts of Chaumont, Bouciquault and Prie headed a great Number of Volunteers, Freebooters, and such Rabble; Vol. I. F f f and

Several Lords encourage and assist him.

A. D. 1439. Reg. 17. and the Duke of *Burbon* with a good Force had the Command and Guard of the *Dauphin's* Person. The News of this Insurrection of his Son, which was as Unreasonable as Undutiful, was very ungrateful to King *Charles*; but knowing it the greatest Wisdom to crush such Attempts in the Birth, he immediately sent a Messenger to the Duke of *Bourbon* to deliver up his Son, and to the Duke of *Alençon* to surrender his Towns of *Noyard* and *Maxence*, and both of them to come to him to give a Reason of their taking Arms; but they made some Excuses, which tho' they did not amount to Denials, yet apparently discover'd their Designs to delay both. The King seeing their Obstinacy resolv'd to crush them by Force, and so march'd against them toward *Maxence* and *Noyard*, which immediately submitted to the King all but the Castle, which was besieged and taken by the King's Forces, and the Commanders hang'd. The other Towns that follow'd the *Dauphin's* Party, came into the King, and left the Lords destitute of all Assistance, insomuch that they were forced to humble themselves to him, who sent the Earl of *Eu* to offer them Terms of Reconciliation, and so they met the King at *Clermont*, and after begging Forgiveness they were reconcil'd and all pardon'd, except *Trimouille*, *Chaumont* and *Pry*: The *Dauphin* stood much upon their Pardon at first, and told his Father, That he would not accept of his own, unless they had theirs, because he had engaged his Word and Honour for their Safety; but when King *Charles* said briskly to his Son, That he had free leave to depart, he valued not his Enmity, he should find enow to defend his Right, *Lewis* submitted to his Pleasure, and the three Lords were left out: And so all Things were accorded between King *Charles* and his Son: But while this Disturbance lasted, which was almost all this Summer, the *English* had a good Opportunity of recovering their Losses, which they so well made use of, that they regain'd the greatest part of them, and were preparing to attempt *Paris* it self, but the unexpected Agreement of the *French* King and his Son put an End to those Designs, and confin'd their Thoughts to preserve what they had gotten, rather than win more.

Grecians subscribe to the *Romish* Doctrines at *Florence*. While *France* was thus busied in composing Things, another Difference tho' not of like Nature seem'd to be adjust'd; for Pope *Eugenius* at the Council of *Florence* perswaded the Emperor and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the rest of the *Grecians* there present, to receive and subscribe to the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, receiving the Sacrament of the Body of Christ in unleaven'd Bread, Purgatory and the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*. But this Act of theirs was so highly Offensive to the *Grecian* Churches when they heard of it, that they publicly declared their Dissent to this Subscription, and with a publick Execration condemn'd all the Legates that had assented to them, and would not permit them to be buried with Christian Burial.

Reg. 18. A great Frost, by which the *English* recover'd *Pontoise*. In November this Year began a Frost, which held with such Violence, that it froze all Ditches so hard, that they were passable, and being follow'd with a deep Snow made them almost indiscernible from the Ground. This Weather put the *English* upon a Stratagem to recover *Pontoise* by Surprize, which the *French* King had lately got from them by Money, because the chief Strength of the Place lying in the deep Ditches about it, the Frost had made them Unserviceable; they therefore covering

their Armour with their White Shirts, and their Head-pieces with White Caps, pass'd over the Ice undiscover'd by Night, and Scaling the Walls flew the Watch sleeping, and took the Town with many Prisoners of Worth and great Spoil, to the great Dissatisfaction of the People of *Paris*, who were much damag'd by the Loss of it. The Two Captains of the Town and Castle, *John de Villers*, and one *Narabon* a *Burgundian* Knight escaped, tho' hardly; but the treacherous Burgeses fell into their Hands, and suffer'd their deserv'd Punishment. *John* Lord *Clifford* was the Leader of the *English* in this brave Attempt, and being Master of the Town was made the Governour of it, to defend it with the same Valour he had taken it.

On the Morrow after *St. Martin*, November Ninth the 12th the King summon'd his Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, where several Things of great Benefit to the Nation were enacted.

1. That Cheese and Butter may be carry'd out of the Kingdom without License.

2. That Merchants Strangers shall not sell their Merchandizes one to another in *England*, but that every such Merchant shall have an Host or Surveyor appointed him at his Landing by the chief Officer of the Town or Place where he shall Land, who shall keep a Register of all he buys and sells, and take Two Pence in the Pound of him for all Merchandize by him bought or sold, and the said Merchants shall sell and buy all within eight Months.

3. That all Persons made Justices of the Peace shall have Lands or Tenements to the Value of twenty Pound a Year, except in Cities and Corporations.

4. That no Captain shall detain the Wages of the common Soldiers, except it be for their Clothing.

5. That every Person mustering and receiving the King's Wages, who shall depart from their Captains and the King's Service, without apparent License granted them by the said Captains, shall be punish'd as Felons: With some others of less Importance.

It seems, that the King had by this Parliament a Fifteenth or a Disme granted him for the Necessity of the State, because there is an Act made for the regular Collections of Fifteens and Dismes within the Cities and Boroughs of this Realm; and besides it was enacted, That every Householder that is an Alien shall pay the King thirteen Pence a Year, and every Servant Alien six Pence.

Soon after the taking of *Pontoise* by the *English* the Earl of *Warwick* Regent of *France* fell sick, and in April following dy'd in the Castle of *Roan* in *Normandy*. His Corps was kept there till October following, when it was carry'd over into *England*, and honourably interred in his College of our Lady Church at *Warwick*, built by his Noble Ancestors, in a fair and sumptuous Tomb. He left only two Children, *Henry*, who after him was Duke of *Warwick*, and *Ann*, who was marry'd to *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Salisbury*. *Henry* lived some Years, but dying without Issue, his Honour descended to his Sister, in whose Right the Earl of *Salisbury* became Earl of *Warwick*. The Duke of *Tork*, *Richard Plantagenet* succeeded him in his Government in *France*, being made Deputy there a second Time. He was more speedy in going over into *France* this Time than before; for being accompany'd with the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Bourchier*, call'd Earl of *Eu*, Sir *James Ormond*, the Lord *Clinton*, and divers other Noblemen, pass'd into *Normandy* in a few Weeks after

A. D. 1440. Earl of *Warwick* dies.

Duke of *Tork* succeeds him in the Regency of *France*.

A. D. after the Earl Warwick's Death. His Arrival was as seasonable as it was speedy. The French had made use of this Interval in the Government to fall upon the English Conquests in France; for the Parisians, to whom the Loss of Pontoise was very inconvenient, raised a great Sum of Money to enable King Charles to besiege it, and endeavour the Recovery of it, which he accordingly did, carrying along with him 1200 Old Soldiers, and the greatest part of the Nobles and Princes of France with a great Army. The French began the Siege with great Fury, encompassing the Town with Bastiles, Trenches and Ditches, battering its Walls with their great Ordinance, and giving it many fierce Assaults. The Lord Clifford who was Captain of it defended it with so much Valour, that the French Men rather lost than won, tho' it was impossible he could hold out long against so great an Army without Succour. The Duke of York immediately upon his Landing receiv'd the News of the Condition of Pontoise, and sent to the Lord Talbot to come to him, and bring all the Forces he could get together for the Relief of it. Talbot was as zealous to obey, as the Duke was to command; and having assembled a strong Body of Men to join the Duke, they marched to Pontoise and challenged the French King to come out of his Trenches to give them Battle. Charles by the Advice of his Council refused it, and thought himself secure from any Attempts of the English, because the River Oise was between them; but the Duke of York, who came provided with Boats, Cordage, Timber, and Planks, by the Use of them gained a Passage over the River, and resolv'd to attack King Charles in his Trenches. The News of this being carry'd to the French King surpriz'd him with Wonder and Fear at once, and that he might escape the Danger, he raised his Camp that Night and withdrew to Poissy, leaving the Lord Cotignie with 3000 Men to defend the Bastile. The Duke of York and the English Army were not sensible of the French King's Retreat, so marching up in Order towards the Camp found no Enemy, but only their Tents and heavy Baggage, which they seiz'd on as Prey. The Duke then entred the Town, and having repaired the Walls and stored it with Victuals, put in Sir Gervois Clifton and Sir Nicholas Burdet with a Garrison of 1000 Soldiers, and went to offer the French King Battle at Poissy; but not being able to draw him into the Field, he after some small Skirmishes dislodged his Army and return'd to Roan.

About the Time that Richard, Duke of York, went to his Government in France; viz. on June the 17th, a certain Priest named Richard Wiche, Minister of Hermetsworth in Essex, who had been before convicted of Heresie and abjured, was found guilty of a Relapse; and being degraded from his Priestly Dignity was burnt as an incorrigible Heretick on Tower-hill. Before his Death he had foretold, That the Postern-gate of the Tower should sink into the Ground, which accordingly coming to pass upon the 18th Day of July following; when the said Gate sunk in the Night more than seven Foot into the Earth, it added so much to the Opinion, that many had of him, after his Death, that he was a good Man, and burnt out of Malice, that many Men and Women went by Night to the Place where he was murther'd, and offer'd many Images of Wax and other Things according to the Superstition of those Times, making their Prayers to him, kissing the Ground where he suffer'd, and carrying away the Ashes of his Bo-

dy as a sacred Relique. This blind Devotion being observed by the Vicar of Barking, in whose Parish this Burning happen'd, he to increase their superstitious Adoration mingled Spices with the Dust of the Body and Ashes, that they might believe the Fragrancy to proceed from the Holiness of the Sufferer, which so deceived the People, that they raised a great heap of Stones in the Place, and erected a Cross, and many went on Pilgrimage to it, to the great enriching of the Vicar of Barking, who received the Offerings of the People. The Churchmen, who were much blam'd for putting to Death so holy a Man, were much offended at this Action of the People, and made their Complaints to the King, that it was a great Slander to the Church to have Worship paid to him; whereupon the King put out a * Proclamation to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, commanding them to hinder and forbid all Persons resorting to the Place of the Execution of the said Richard Wiche under Colour of Pilgrimage, or any other pretence of Devotion or worshipping him publickly or privately as a Saint, under the Pain of being taken and reputed for Hereticks and punish'd as such. Upon this Order from the King and his Council, the Mayor and Aldermen of London set armed Men about the Place where he was burnt, to restrain the People from coming, who apprehending some (among whom was the Vicar of Barking) and committing them to Prison, so deterred all others, that in a short Time they left off their Pilgrimages and Devotion to him, which appear'd the more ridiculous to all, because the Vicar of Barking confessed the Delusion, that for his own Gain he had put upon them.

When the Regent and the Lord Talbot were return'd into Normandy, Charles the French King seeing that he had extremly suffer'd in his Reputation, especially among the Parisians for leaving Pontoise in the Hands of the Enemy, again assembled his Army, and return'd to it, resolv'd either to take it or die in the Enterprize. He divided his Forces into Three Parts, of which Two were under the Command of himself and the Dauphin his Son, and assaulted the Town in eight Places: By the first Assault he got the Church, and soon after the whole Town; but with so great Loss of his Men, that it could be reckon'd little or no Gain; for the English resolving to die with their Swords in their Hands were most of them slain, but sold their Lives very dearly, for they slew above 3000 French. The Commander of the Town Sir Gervois Clifton was taken Prisoner, and some few of the Soldiers, who were sent to the Castle of Corbeil, but Sir Nicholas Burdet was slain. Corbeil, Melune and Eureux were soon after taken by the French; it being usual for the smaller Towns to follow the Fate of a Chief Garrison.

The English Prisoners in Corbeil-Castle being impatient under their Restraint, racked their Invention to find out Ways for their Deliverance; and because they thought Interest would be the most tempting Argument; they petition'd the Captain that one of them might be set at Liberty to go among their rich Friends and solicit them to pay a Ransom for them. The Captain easily consented to the Proposal, and released one of them instantly; but he according to their Agreement went to the Governour of the next English Garrison, who was an Arragonian, placed there by the Duke of York, and told him, That the Castle of Corbeil was slenderly Mann'd, and might with no great

A. D. 1440. Reg. 18. The Vicar of Barking cheats the People,

* Cop. in. Fox Ass. and Mon. p. 644.

Reg. 19. K. Charles returns again to besiege Pontoise.

English Prisoner at Corbeil's Castle escape.

A. D. Force be won. The Governour gladly embraced 1440. the Discovery; and having placed an Ambush Reg. 19. in the Night, sent four Men the next Morning with Sacks full of Fruit to the Castle to sell them to the *French*. These Men speaking *French* were not suspected of any Design, but let in to sell their Fruits, the Gates being carelessly left open in the mean time. These Soldiers gave Notice to the Ambush by a Sign already agreed on, and they immediately forcing themselves an Entrance easily got the Castle into their Power, the Captain and many of the Soldiers not being out of their Beds. The *English* Prisoners they set free, and the *French* they carried Prisoners to *Roan*, taking all the Spoil of the Castle to themselves, and leaving enow to secure it till an *English* Garrison could be put in.

A. D. Notwithstanding the former Warlike Enter- 1441. prizes on both sides, there were some Over-
tures of Peace made, and at length accepted, for all Parties were almost weary of the War. Some Propositions as to Time and Place had been made the last Year, which being agreed upon to be at *Callis* (for the *English* would not consent to any other Place.) In the Beginning of this Spring Deputies met there on both Sides. For King *Henry* appeared, the Cardinals of *York* and *Winchester*, the Duke of *Exeter* (o), and several other Noble Personages, bringing with them *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, who had been twenty five Years a Prisoner in *England*, that he might be a means to settle a Peace, and procure his own Deliverance. The *French* King sent the Archbishop of *Rheims* and *Narbonne*, and the Earl of *Dunois*, a Bastard of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Lord de *Creveceur*, and some others. Many Days were spent in finding out means for an Accommodation, and divers Proposals made. The *English* were to be satisfied chiefly, but their Demands were thought so unreasonable as they could in no wise be granted. Three Things they chiefly insisted upon, viz.

I. That they should hold the two Dutchies of *Aquitain* and *Normandy* discharg'd of all Superiority and Sovereignty from the Realm of *France*, and the Governours of the same.

II. That they should be restored to all the Towns, Cities and Places, which they within thirty Years last past had conquer'd, or otherwise taken in any part of the Realm of *France*.

III. That in whatever part of *France* the said Towns lay, they should hold them without any Dependancy upon the King of *France*.

The First of these was easily granted by the *French* Commissioners, but the other Two were so unreasonable, that it was impossible they should accord to them, because King *Charles* was resolv'd to restore nothing that he had recover'd from the *English*, nor would quit that Sovereign Power over any part of *France*, that his Predecessors had without any Interruption long enjoy'd, so that nothing was concluded: Yet this Meeting broke up very civilly with Promises, that they would certify their Masters on both Sides, and try what might be done at a Second Meeting, which they then appointed in the same place. After these Matters of publick Concern were ended, the Freedom of the Duke of *Orleans* was next treated on, and it was agreed, That he should be released from his Captivity for 400000 Crowns;

Duke of
Orleans
released.

but because the Money was not ready, and the *English* would not depend upon Promises, he was still kept Prisoner till the Money could be provided. The Reasons why the *English* detain'd him so long a Prisoner was partly to oblige the Duke of *Burgundy*, and partly to weaken the *French* King's Interests, but now the Duke had revolted from *England*, it was thought a greater Advantage to release him (especially for a good Ransom which might supply the Wants of the State in some Measure) than to keep him, because the Enmity, which he had to the Duke of *Burgundy*, might do greater Service to the *English* Affairs. This Reason mov'd the *English* to offer his Redemption. The Duke of *Burgundy* was not insensible of the Consequences of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Freedom, which certainly would produce bad Effects to him if not timely prevented. He saw his Friends active to get his Release, and could not think 'twould be long ere it would be effected. Wherefore that he might lay an Obligation upon him to forget all Grudges, he shew'd a great Zeal for him; and having obtain'd a Promise of him to marry the Lady *Mary*, Daughter of *Adolph*, Duke of *Cleve*, he himself paid down the whole Sum for his Ransom, and so he was deliver'd, and a perfect Amity concluded by the Marriage between 'em, tho' it did not last long, as the History of the following Times will shew.

A. D.
1441.
Reg. 19.

Duke of
Burgundy
pays his
Ransom.

How much Greatness exposes to Malice and Envy, now began to appear in the Case of *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*, who tho' a wife and cautious Prince, yet could not escape the Malice of those who sought his Ruin. They began with his Lady first, and having apprehended her with four Persons, whom they call'd her Accomplices and Confederates, viz. *Tho. Southwell*, Canon of *St. Steven's* Church in *Winchester*, *John Hume*, Chaplain to the Dutches, *Roger Only*, alias *Bullingbrooke* a Priest, a Man very expert in the Art of *Necromancy*, and *Margery Gourdain*, commonly call'd the *Witch of Eye*, near *Winchester*, charg'd her with High-Treason; For that she the said *Eleanor*, Lady *Cobham*, Dutches of *Gloucester* to bring her Husband to the Crown, had procured and contrived with the said Persons to make an Image of Wax like unto the King; which Image they dealt so with by their devilish Incantations and Sorceries, that as the Image consum'd by little and little, the King's Person should so daily decay, till he was brought to his End. *Roger Bullingbrooke* being examin'd before the King's Council own'd, That he had by the Procurement of the said Dutches wrought by *Necromancy* to know what should befall her, and to what Estate she should come; and *Margery Gourdain* confessed, That she had prescrib'd some Love-Potions for the said Lady to make the Duke of *Gloucester* love her, which also the Dutches herself did not deny, but she deny'd the Treason which was laid to their Charge; and for which they were all condemned, though only *Roger Bullingbrooke* was hang'd drawn and quarter'd, and *Margery* burnt: The said *Roger* at his Death affirming his Innocency to the last. The Dutches only did Penance by walking through *Fleet-street* Hoodless with a Taper in her Hand of two Pound Weight, which she offer'd at the High-Altar in *St. Paul's* Church, and then was sent to the Castle of *Chester*, where she remain'd a Prisoner under Sir *Thomas Stanley* all her Life. Mr. *Fox* endeavours to shew, that the Dutches was thus accu-

The
Dutches
of *Gloucester*
accus'd
of
High-
Treason.

A.D. 1441. fed, because she favoured the Lollards, *Acts and Monuments*, pag. 646.

Reg. 19. In the Beginning of this Twentieth Year of the King, *Richard*, Duke of *York* Regent of France and Governour of *Normandy*, as if he thought to compleat the Conquest of *France*, determin'd to invade the Enemy's Country by sundry Armies, and in sundry Places, and thereupon without Delay sent the Lord *Willoughby* to ravage and destroy the Country of *Amiens*, *John*, Lord *Talbot* to besiege the Town of *Dei*, and the Regent himself accompany'd with *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerset* went into the Duchy of *Anjou*. The Lord *Willoughby* according to his Commission suddenly entred the Enemy's Country, and took many Prisoners before they could get into any Place of Defence. The *French* in the adjoining Garrisons being amaz'd with the Cries of the People sally'd out in good Order, and courageously fought with the *English* for their Relief, but being over-power'd by the *English*, who slew them without Mercy, they gave Ground and retreated into their Towns, leaving their Country to be pillag'd by the Enemy, and the Forces of the Earl of *St. Paul*, who came in to their Aid just upon the Flight of the *French*. In this Conflict the *English* slew about 600, and took a great Number of Prisoners, with which they retreated into *Normandy*. In the mean time the Dukes of *York* and *Somerset* acted their Parts in *Anjou* and *Main* with the like or greater Success, for they destroy'd the Towns, robb'd and plunder'd the People, and meeting with no Opposition return'd loaden with Prey and Prisoners as they pleased. The Duke of *Somerset* also to give further Proof of his Valour entred into the *Marches* of *Brittain* and took the Town of *La Perche* by fierce Assault, spoiling and burning the adjoining Country: From thence he march'd to *Ponxay*, where for two Months together he sent out Parties to plunder and destroy the Countries *Traonnois* and *Chatragonnois*. The *French* King much disturb'd with these Insolencies of the *English*, sent out the Marshal *Loiach* with 4000 Men to put a stop to the Invasions of the Duke's Men, and guard the Country, who suddenly entring in the Night thought to have set upon the Duke in his Lodgings and take him; but the Duke like a politic Captain had Intelligence of his first Appearance, and wisely foreseeing the Danger approaching march'd toward the *French* and met them half way, who not being able with Honour to retreat joyn'd Battle with him. The Fight was maintain'd a while well on both sides, but at length the *English* got the better, and routed the *French*, slaying an Hundred of the Marshal's Men, and taking Threescore and Two Prisoners, of which the chief were the Lord of *Dauphnie*, and Sir *Lewis Buell*, the rest were most of them Esquires and Gentlemen. After this Victory the Duke of *Somerset* went forward and took the Town of *Beaumont Le Viscount*, and having well mann'd and provided all the Castles and Forts, which were in those Parts on the Frontiers of the Enemy, he return'd with his Spoil and Prisoners to the Duke of *York*.

Duke of Somerset takes several Places.

Talbot besieges Dei in Normandy.

The Lord *Talbot*, whose invincible Courage made the most dangerous and daring Attempts to be allotted him, was all this while diligently employ'd about the Siege of *Dei*, to which he had made his Access by subduing the adjacent Places of Strength. When he came to the Town to besiege it; he cast up Trenches about it, and rais'd a Fort or Bastile upon the Hill

Pawlett, which stood so conveniently, that he could with his Ordinance annoy both the Town and Haven at once. Having thus prepared Things for an Attack, he found that the Town was so strongly defended, that it would take up more Men and Time than was at first expected, and thereupon thought it convenient to get a Recruit both of Men, Provision and Ammunition from *Roan* before he proceeded in it, and to that End leaving the Conduct of the Siege to his Bastard Son, he went to *Roan* to provide all Things necessary for taking of it. The *French* King, who was as much concern'd to rescue *Dei*, as the *English* were desirous to get it, being advertised of *Talbot's* Departure sent an Army of 15000 Men under the Command of his Son *Lewis* the Dauphin, assisted by the Bastard of *Orleans* and Bishop of *Avignon* to relieve it. The Count of *St. Paul*, who being sorely vexed by the Duke of *Burgundy's* Forces, which took away from him his Towns and Castles, was oblig'd to go over to the *French* Interests, attended the Dauphin in this Expedition with divers other of the *French* Nobility. After they had entred the City and prepared six Bridges running on Wheels, and other Things necessary to attack the Fort; they began with it, but the *English* defended themselves so valiantly, and with so great Loss to the *French*, that had not the Dauphin himself in Person gave them an Example of undaunted Valour, the *French* would have left it, but being led by him, they overcame all Difficulties, and tho' with much Loss gain'd it. The Bastard of *Talbot* was taken Prisoner, with Sir *William Paiton*, and Sir *John Reply*, but were shortly after redeem'd. Three Hundred *English* were kill'd, and above double the Number of *French* dy'd with them. The rest of the *English* were taken Prisoners, and the *French* in the *English* Service were all hang'd. The Dauphin after this Victory rewarded the Constancy of the Inhabitants of *Dei* with several large Immunities and Priviledges, which were confirm'd to them by the succeeding Kings, and left Monsieur de *Marrets* Governour of the Town, because he had behav'd himself so valiantly in it, and so departed.

The Dauphin raises the Siege of Dei.

The Activity of the *English* in *Normandy*, and the bordering Provinces against the *French* was a Spur to the Earl of *Huntington*, who was Lieutenant to King *Henry* in the Duchies of *Aquitain* and *Guyenne* (p) to attempt something of equal Importance to the *English*, as the Lord *Talbot* had at *Dei*, and to that End sent his Captains into *Guyenne* to besiege the strong Town of *Tartas* belonging to the Lord *D'Albret*, the old Enemy of the *English*. The Inhabitants and Garrison seeing the *English* Army approach the Town were loth to hazard themselves in vain; and having taken a full View of the Strength of the Enemy sain'd that they were not able to defend themselves long, and therefore before they came to make any Assaults agreed, that they would surrender it up to them, if it were not reliev'd before *St. John's* Day, and gave them Monsieur *D'Albret's* Eldest Son for an Hostage for the true Performance of their Agreement; but because Monsieur *D'Albret* himself was not present, and being Lord of the Town, it was reasonable his Concurrence should be had, it was reserv'd, that if Monsieur *D'Albret* did not approve of their Agreement, he should signify it to the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Pledge should be return'd, and the *English* do their best. This Condition

A.D. 1442.

The Earl of Huntington besieges Tartas.

(p) *Aquitain* and *Guyenne* are the same, the former being the Ancient Name of the Province; and the latter the Modern.

A.D. 1442. left the *French* at Liberty, and gave them Time to raise the Siege, which the Lords of *Guienne* thus improved. They sent first to the *French* King, to beg of him to gather his Army together to raise the Siege of *Tartas*, which he easily granted, and having assembled an Army of 6000 Men, they caused the Lord *De la Bret* to signify his dissent to the Agreement, which the Garrison and Town had made with the *English*, to the Earl of *Huntington*, and take the Lord's Son back from them. The *English* suspected not the Design, but intended to go on in their Siege, but the *French* King lying ready with his Army to prevent the Effect, before they could bring Things into order for an Assault, the *French* Army appeared, and the *English* unable to encounter them, raised the Siege and departed. The *French* Forces being almost irresistible at the present, made use of the Advantage, and proceeded to besiege and take several *English* Garrisons, as *St. Selerine*, which they gained by Force, and slew 300 *English*, taking *Sir Thomas Rampstone* Governour of it Prisoner; the City of *Arques*, which after the Bulwark was taken by Force, yielded the Town by Composition, and the Captain of it, the Lord *Monferrat*, departed with his Garrison to *Burdeaux*, where he found the Earl of *Longville*, Captain *De Beuse*, and *Sir Thomas Rampstone*, who was lately released; *Riolle*, a City seated upon the River *Gyronne*, Seven Leagues distant from *Burdeaux* and *Mermandie*, which both yielded to them without Opposition: But the *English* in the mean time, tho' they dare not oppose them, yet so bestirred themselves, and stopped all ways of their Foraging, and other Supplies of Provision, that they were forced to withdraw and march up into *France* for better Quarters. The *English* soon after their Departure, recovered *St. Selerine*, *Arques*, and several other Towns from the *French*, taking their Lieutenant *Reginald Guillian*, a *Burgundian*, Prisoner, with many other Gentlemen, and slaying all the Common Soldiers; but Count *de Foix* regained *St. Selerine* from them. While these Things passed in *Guienne*, the Lord *Talbot*, whom Fortune's Frowns could never daunt, took the Town of *Conchet*, and hearing that *Galliardon* was besieged by the Bastard of *Orleanse*, hastened with all speed to the Relief of that Place, which the very Report of his Approach effected; for the Bastard immediately withdrew upon the News of his coming, and *Talbot* possessed himself of it, but finding that it would be almost impossible to keep it, partly thro' the Inconstancy of the Inhabitants, and partly because it stood so much exposed to the Incursions of the *French*, he demolished it to the Ground, and so left it.

The Lord *Talbot* takes *Conchet*, &c.

The Earl of *Warwick's* Estate seized and restored.

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of *Warwick*, dying in *France*, his Honours and Estate, by the Custom of the Realm was to have descended to his only Son and Heir *Henry*; but he being absent in *France* with his Father, his Estate was seiz'd on by the King, and kept Two Years from him, the Revenues of it being employ'd for the King's Use. What were the Causes of it, we find not; but whatever they were, the Consideration of his Father's Merit, and the natural Justice of the King, were such Motives for his Restoration to his Right, that, as if the King had design'd to repay all that he had taken from him at once, he not only gave him all his Estate again, but received him into his special Favour, nominating him the first Earl of *England*, and making him King of the *Isle of Wight*, crown'd him with his own Hands.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, provoked by the intolerable Height and Pride of Cardinal *Beauford*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who out of Hatred to him, had lately instigated, as was generally thought, certain Persons to accuse and prosecute his Dutcheſs for Treason, Witchcraft, and many other notorious Crimes, to his great Disgrace and Shame, made a strict Reflection upon the Cardinal's Carriage for many Years past, and finding him to have done many Things derogatory and prejudicial to the King's Prerogative Royal, he digested them into 24 Articles, and presented them to the King, desiring that Judgment might be given upon him according to his Crimes. The chief Things alledged against him in the said Articles were:

I. That the Bishop of *Winchester* had not only taken upon himself the Dignity and Title of a Cardinal, contrary to the express Command of King *Henry* the Fifth, and in Derogation to the Church of *Canterbury*: But,

II. Having forfeited his Bishoprick thereby by the Act of Provisions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to secure his Bishoprick still to him, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, which made it a Premunire so to do.

III. That the said Cardinal, with *John Kemp*, Archbishop of *York*, had assumed the Government of the King's Person and the Realm, which no Subject could do without a Treasonable Usurpation.

IV. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

V. That being Chancellor of *England*, he had against Law set at Liberty the King of *Scots*, and forgiven him part of his Ransome upon Condition the said King should marry his Niece.

VI. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King by Taking the Customs of Wools, and other Merchandizes at the Port of *Hampton*.

VII. That notwithstanding the said Cardinal neither hath nor can have any Title to the Crown, yet he presumeth to take upon him Royal Dignity, in summoning and calling Persons before him in Derogation of the King's Authority, being without his Permission or Command.

VIII. That the said Cardinal had obtained a pardon from *Rome*, to exempt his Diocess from paying of Tenths to the State, and so had given both an ill Example to the other Bishops to do the like, and laid the whole Burden upon the Laity, to the great Discontent of the Kingdom.

IX. That the said Cardinal had been a Means of Uniting the *French* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and this latter with the Duke of *Orleanse*, to the great Damage of the Realm, and Benefit of our Adversaries the *French*.

X. That the said Cardinal, after Communication had with our Enemies, sent the Archbishop of *York* to the King, to perswade him to leave his Right and Title to the Crown and Kingdom of *France* for certain Years, and be content to write himself, *Rex Angliae*, &c. to the great Disgrace of the King and his Progenitors.

XI. That the Release of the Duke of *Orleanse* was brought to pass only by the Mediation and Procurement of the said Cardinal and Duke of *York*, contrary to the Will of King *Henry* the Fifth.

XII. That being their Chancellor, he had instead of Promoting the Good of the King, bought his Lands and Mannors of him.

XIII. That

A. D. 1442. XIII. That the said Cardinal by sending such Captains and Soldiers into *France* as he thought fit, hath been the Cause that so much of *Normandy* and other Parts are lost.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath sold Places of Captains and other Officers for Money in *France*, whereby unfit Persons have been put into the Army, to the Loss of the King's Dominions there.

These Articles with some others of less Importance, the Duke tender'd to the King himself, desiring in the Two last, that the King would put the said Cardinal out of his Council to answer the said Articles alledged against him, and that Persons aggrieved may freely utter their Complaints. The King hearing these Accusations against the Cardinal of *Winchester*, ordered, that they should be looked into, and examined by the Lords of his Council, of whom the greatest Part being Ecclesiastical Persons, they not only were favourable to him, but fearing they should disoblige him, delayed the Examination and Judgment so long, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was always rather passionate than revengeful, letting fall the Prosecution, as weary of it, the Bishop escaped, and the Matter was hushed up, as tho' the Crimes alledged had been inconsiderable, and not worth regarding; so that indeed the good Duke got nothing by this Attempt, but made the Cardinal a worse Enemy than ever, which tho' he dissembled, yet he so cunningly managed, that in the end he wrought his Destruction, as will after more plainly appear.

Also in *August*, this Year, happened a notable Quarrel in *Fleetstreet*, between the Students of the Inns of Court, and the Inhabitants of the said Street, occasioned by one of *Clifford's Inn*, named *Harbottle*. It began in the Night, and lasted till the next Day with great Fury and Fierceness on both Sides, several Persons were hurt and slain, but the Mayor and Sheriffs having received the News of it, went with a good Force, and appeased the Fray, which by Party-making, was likely to have drawn in the greatest Part of the City which flock'd thither to assist or relieve their Friends on either Side.

Reg. 21. In the Beginning of this Twenty first Year of the King, *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, had a Son born at *Roan*, in *Normandy*, christned by the Name of *Edward*. He proved a very valiant and fortunate Prince, and in the Quarrel for the Crown, (which his Father began with King *Henry*, but lost his Life before he could gain his Wishes, being slain at the Battle of *Wakefield*) was so successful, that he was proclaimed King a few Days after, having won the Battle of *Ferribridge*, and gotten a perfect Victory over the *Lancastrians*.

Recruits sent into France. By the coming over of the Lord *Talbot* in the latter end of the Summer; when the Season for Action was almost past, the Council of King *Henry* had Information of the State of the *English* Affairs in *France*, and particularly in *Guien*, where they had sustained considerable Losses the last Summer. The Council upon this relation, believing the Success would encourage the *French* in further Attempts; thought it necessary to send over some Recruits to strengthen the Garrisons there, and defend their Borders; and forthwith dispatched away 800 Men well armed under the Command of Sir *William Woodville*. With these it was thought convenient to send a good quantity of Provisions, because that Country was surrounded by the Enemy on every Side, that it could get no Supply from the

adjacent Parts; whereupon a Proclamation was put out, that whosoever would send over any Provisions and Victuals into *Guienne*, should pay no manner of Custom nor Toll, which encouraged so many to export Cheese, Corn and other Provisions thither, that the whole Province was abundantly supplied with all Necessaries. In the mean time Care was taken to gather a bigger Body of fresh Men to send over with the Lord *Talbot*. And because this valiant Captain had been for some time the main Support of the *English* Affairs in *France*, the King and Council judged it fit to give him the encouraging Marks of his Favour; and thereupon he was created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a Title which none had born for near Three hundred and Forty Years before, the Family of *Roger Montgomery*, whom the Conqueror had dignified with that Title, being extinct in the second Generation; but it hath proved a lasting Title to that noble Family, which still inherits the Honour, Title, and Worth of that valiant and brave Lord to this Day. With this Badge of Royal Favour, he departed soon after into *Normandy*, and carried over with him 3000 Men for the better Defence of it.

Upon the Day of the Translation of St. *Edward*, viz. *October* the Twelfth, on which Day the Mayor of *London* for the next Year was nominated and chosen; out of Two Persons, who have been Sheriffs of that City, presented by the Commonalty to the present Mayor and Aldermen his Brethren, was a great Disturbance made amongst the Citizens about the Election, upon this Occasion. The Commons of the City having fixed upon *Robert Clopton*, Draper, and *Ralph Holland*, Taylor, presented them according to the Custom before the Mayor for the time being, and the Aldermen, who having chosen *Robert Clopton*, declared him Mayor for the ensuing Year. This Election extremely disappointed the Society of Taylors, and their Friends, who were very zealous that *Ralph Holland* should be chosen, and therefore grew very mutinous and discontented upon the Declaration of the other, and cried out, Not that Man, but *Ralph Holland*. The Mayor commanded them Silence, but they more enraged, demanded more passionately, that *Ralph Holland* should be chosen. The Mayor seeing that fair Means would not prevail, and considering, that if such tumultuous Proceedings were yielded to, the Order of Elections would be quite broken; commanded the Sheriffs, to apprehend some of the most clamorous and furious, that they might be punished for their disorderly Behaviour, which the Sheriffs immediately put in Execution, and carried Twelve or Sixteen of them to *Newgate*, where they were kept a while, and then dismissed upon Payment of a moderate Fine; that it might be a Terror to the Rabble to behave themselves more civilly at such Elections.

While the Lord *Talbot* remained in *England*, *Jane*, Countess of *Cominges*; Daughter to the Count of *Bullen* and *Cominges*, died, and left her Country to be disputed for by *Charles*, King of *France*, to whom the said Countess had given it, by Will, and the Earl of *Arminack*, who pretended to be the Heir of it, and accordingly entred upon the said Territories; and took Possession of them as his own. The King of *France* highly resented this Usurpation of his undoubted Right, as he termed it, and sent the Dauphin to recover the Countries by him unjustly possessed. The Earl withstood the *French* Forces a while, but being deserted by his Confederates, the Counts *Perdriacke* and *March*, and *Salatzar*, a Cap-

A Fray at the Election of the Mayor of *London*.

A. D. 1443.

French King and Count of *Arminack* quarrel for the Dutchy of *Cominges* &c.

Bishop of *Winchester* cleared.

A Fray in *Fleetstreet*.

Reg. 21. *Edward*, Eldest Son of the Duke of *York* born.

Recruits sent into *France*.

A. D. 1443. Reg. 21. a Captain of Arragon, who were his great Supports against his Potent Enemy, he was forced to shut himself up in his Castle, and endeavour to coufin the Dauphin by diffimulation and feigned Treaties. But the Dauphin, who was excellent in those Arts, soon spy'd his Design; and having gain'd Access to him upon that Account took him Prisoner, and sent him, his Wife, Second Son and Two Daughters to Carcassone, yet he was soon after releas'd at the Intercession of Count de Foix, but Charles kept the Possession of his Country.

Count Arminack being thus releas'd, used all means to regain his Right, and sent solemn Ambassadors to the King of England, offering him his Daughter in Marriage (q), and with all promising him not only great Sums of Money with her, but to deliver into the King of England's Hands all the Castles and Towns which he and his Ancestors, detain'd from him in the Dutchy of Aquitain or Gascoigne, either by the Conquest of his Ancestors, or by the Gift of any French, and further would aid and assist him with Men and Money to recover all other Cities within the said Dutchie as were kept from him by Charles the French King, Monsieur de Albret, or any other Persons. This Offer appear'd so Honourable, as well as Profitable to King Henry and his Council, that they gave the Ambassadors a very kind Entertainment, and sent them away with great Rewards into their own Country.

Soon after their Departure certain Persons were selected to go over to the Earl of Arminack to conclude this Match, viz. Sir Edward Hull, Sir Robert Rous, and John Galton, Dean of St. Severines, who accordingly were dispatch'd away with a special Commission to perform the same; and not only agreed all Things between them, but by Proxy affianced the young Lady. All this was transacted with all the Secrecy possible; but yet got to King Charles's Ear, who immediately caused him to be summon'd to appear at his Parliament at Tholouse within fifteen Days to answer to what shall be alledg'd against him; but he not appearing, the Dauphin was again sent against him to ravage his Countries; and though the King of England was oblig'd in Honour to assist him, yet through the Management of the Earl of Suffolk he was deserted and left to himself, contrary to the Will of the Duke of Gloucester, which rais'd such an Hatred between those two Noble Persons, that it could not be extinguish'd but by the Destruction of both the Families, and many others who adhered to them.

On Candlemas Day the Steeple of St. Paul's Church was set on Fire with Lightning in the midst of the Wood of the Shaft, but was quench'd by the great Pains and Diligence of the Citizens; and at the same time the Steeple of Waltham-Cross in Essex was in the same Tempest consum'd, but the Church was saved.

John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, was made Duke of Somerset. (r)

The Common-Council of London observing the general Prophanation of the Lord's Day amongst Victuallers and lesser Artificers, as Taylors, Shooc-makers, and the like, made a severe Order to be observ'd within the Franchises and Liberties of the said City, that no Person should buy or sell any Victuals, or any other

Goods upon the Lord's Day, and that no Artificer or Handicraft should carry out his Wares, Commodities or Work to any Person or Persons to be worn or occupy'd on that Day: An excellent Law, and worthy to commend the Makers of it to all Ages; but it never was observ'd either thro' the Negligence of Under-Officers, or generality of Offenders. Our Author says, that it was too good a Law for such corrupt Times.

The Citizens of Norwich incens'd with the Encroachments of the Monks of Christ-Church in that City rose against the Prior, and would have fired the Priory. The Duke of Norfolk with all the Force he could gather together went down to suppress them; the Citizens kept their Gates and Walls against them a while, but at length they gain'd Entrance. The King sent down Judge Fortescue with the Earls of Stafford and Huntington to decide the Quarrel; who indicted many of the Citizens, and the Prior himself for his Sedition and Riot, and seiz'd the Liberties of the City into the King's Hands, who made Sir John Clifton Captain of it for the present, which so dissatisfied many of the Citizens, who had not been concern'd in the Quarrel, that they left their Habitations and went some of them beyond Sea, and others got them Dwellings in other Cities or Towns.

The Miseries of France, and lamentable Distractions all over Christendom caused by the War there, mov'd the Hearts of the Pope, and most of the Christian Princes to endeavour the Conclusion of a Peace between England and France once more, hoping, that they might now more effectually prevail, because both Parties could not but be tired with the length of War and the vast Expences of it; which tho' they might be well laid out, if either the English, were likely to make a Conquest of France, or the French expel the English; yet being so equal a Match, that neither of them was near effecting what they desir'd, a Peace, they believ'd, would be welcome to both Sides; and therefore sending Ambassadors to both Kings they so far prevail'd, that a Meeting was appointed by them to be at Tours in Touraine to adjust and conclude all Matters of Quarrel between them. To this Assembly the King of England sent William de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, Dr. Adam Molins, Lord Keeper, Sir Robert Ros, and several others: For the French King appear'd, Charles, Duke of Orleans, Lewis of Bourbon, Earl of Vendome, Great Master of the French King's Household, Pierce de Bresse, Steward of Poitou, and Bertram de Beauvan, Lord of Pesignie. The Emperour, Kings of Spain, Denmark, and Hungary also sent their Ambassadors, persons of the greatest Quality and Authority to be Mediators for a Peace between these Two Princes. This Assembly was one of the most Magnificent and Glorious that had been known in these Times, every Prince setting forth his Ambassadors with such an Equipage, as might be for the Honour of their Countries.

Many Meetings were had for a final Conclusion of the Peace, and all the qualifying Proposals made that might tend to an Agreement between them, but the Old Difficulties being again started, and maintain'd with the usual Heat and Resolution, the English being for keep-

(q) The Treaty of Marriage was concluded before the Dauphin took the Count D'Armagnac, his Son and Daughter Prisoners. Holl. p. 624.

(r) John Beaufort was created Duke of Somerset by Henry the Fifth, above twenty Years ago. Cambd. Britain. Tit. Com. Holinshed says.

A. D. 1443. Reg. 22. ing all they had, and the French for getting what they call'd their King's Right, there was nothing effected, but a Truce for Eighteen Months was clapp'd up for the present both by Sea and Land, with Hopes, that in that Time all Matters might be adjusted, and by the Mediation of the Princes a firm Peace made up.

During this Treaty the Earl of Suffolk, perhaps knowing the King's Natural Mildness and Disposition to Peace, ventur'd one step further than his Commission gave him leave, to propound a Marriage between his Master King Henry and the French King's Kinswoman, Margaret, Daughter of Rayner, Duke of Anjou, and Titular King of Sicily, Naples and Jerusalem, which gave him a great Name, but brought him no Profit or Authority. This Match Suffolk believ'd would prove an effectual Means of uniting the Minds of the two Princes; and tho' there were likely to be no Porcion given the King with her, yet since she would be the Foundation of a firm Peace, it would save England more Treasure, than the greatest Prince of the World could give with his Daughter. This Presumption made Suffolk very eager to promote the Match, and solicited the King of France for that End, that it might be yielded to, and agreed on. His Passion caused a little Averseness in the French King and the Lady's Father, who alledg'd, That tho' they were not unwilling to comply with the Match, yet it was not consistent with their Honour to do it, so long as the King of England held a part of the Dutchy of Anjou, and the whole County of Main, which of Right belong'd to Duke Rayner the Lady's Father. But the Earl of Suffolk more Zealous than Cautious easily satisfied this Objection, and told them, That he would undertake, that those Countries should be restored to Duke Rayner, if the Marriage was consented to; which Promise being according to their Minds, the Lady was assured in Matrimony to the King, and Suffolk dismissed to carry it on with his Master.

A. D. 1444. These Things being thus transacted and agreed on, the Earl of Suffolk with the rest of the English Commissioners return'd Home to give an Account of their Negotiation; and tho' there was only a Truce concluded, yet Suffolk assured the King, That it would certainly produce an Immutable Peace thro' the Means and Methods he had taken, if they were comply'd with; for he had propounded and obtain'd a Match with the French King's Kinswoman, the Daughter of Rayner, Duke of Anjou, one of the most accomplished Ladies in all Perfections of a Woman in the World, Beautiful without Blemish, and Virtuous to Admiration, fitted every way for the greatest of Princesses; but that which would be of greatest Advantage to England was, that this Match would be a certain means to end the Wars, settle a Peace every ways advantageous to the King, and so make the whole Kingdom happy.

King Henry partly out of Affection to Suffolk, who was his great Favourite, and partly out of a Desire of Peace, greatly approv'd of all he had done, and was desirous the Match might be effected with all speed. The Council, to whom all this was related, consented to it to please the King and Suffolk, only the Duke of Gloucester, who was too great to flatter Suffolk's Actions, and too honest to call that Good, which he saw would certainly be of an ill Consequence to the Nation, oppos'd the Match with some warmth and heat, alledging, That it would be contrary to the Law of God and the Honour of the King, to break the Contract of Marriage so solemnly made with the Daughter of the Earl of Arminack,

upon Conditions very advantageous to the King and his Realm; That the Match with the Daughter of the Duke of Anjou was both dishonourable to the King, and disadvantageous to the Nation; because by restoring the County of Main, and part of Anjou, the King would seem to purchase a Wife at the Expence of the Blood of his Subjects, and would much weaken his Affairs in France, which ought to be maintain'd in their full Force; that a Peace may be concluded upon better Terms, because Anjou and Main are the Bulwarks of Normandy, and in surrendering them, that Country which was the Patrimony of the King would be exposed to the Violence of the Enemy. These were undeniable Reasons, and the only true way to keep up the King's Credit and Interest: However, Suffolk ruled all, having the King's Affections, and so it was determin'd that the Marriage should be consummated, and the Train he had laid follow'd. Gloucester's Advice, though the best, was slighted, and Suffolk and the New Queen made his Enemies, which as it prov'd fatal to him, so to the King himself and the Nation.

These Resolutions about the Marriage being unalterable, all Things were hasten'd to bring it to a Consummation. The French King having Notice of it, sent the Earl of Vandomme, a great Master of his Horse, the Archbishop of Rheims, first Peer of France, and divers other Noble Personages into England to have the Instruments of Marriage seal'd and ratified on both Parts. These Ambassadors were kindly received by the Earl of Suffolk and his Party; and having their Business dispatch'd were sent away with Rewards.

Upon the Conclusion of this Marriage King Henry made a Creation of Noble-men at Windsor, viz. John Holland, Earl of Huntington, he made Duke of Exeter; Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Earl of Warwick, Duke of Warwick; and the Earl of Suffolk, who was the only Promoter of it, Marquess of Suffolk, and conferred on him this further Honour to be his Deputy in celebrating the Formality of the Marriage, and conducting his Bride over into England.

These Things being thus order'd and appointed, the rest of the Summer was spent in providing an Equipage sufficient to fetch over the Royal Bride; for her Father, who was Rich in Titles, was so poor in Purse, that he was not able to send her over to her Husband, which was much laugh'd at by the Duke of Gloucester's Friends, who were all against the Marriage. Many costly Chariots and gorgeous Horse-litters were provided, and the Marquess and his Wife with many Persons of the greatest Quality, as well Women as Men, were richly adorned with Apparel and Jewels, with whom the Marquess of Suffolk took his Voyage into France in the Month of November to bring the Queen into England. This gallant Company being landed in France, went to Tours in Touraine, where they were met and honourably received by the Kings of France and Sicily, the Father of the Royal Spouse, and after a convenient Time allow'd for Preparation and Ceremony, the Marquess of Suffolk, as Procurator to King Henry, was married to the Lady Margaret in the Church of St. Martins in that City. There were present at the Marriage the Father and Mother of the Bride, the French King who was Uncle to King Henry, and the French Queen who was Aunt to the Lady Margaret, the Dukes of Orleans and Calabria, Alanzon and Bretagne, seven Earls, twelve Barons, twenty Bishops, and a great Number of Knights and Gentlemen. After the Celebration of the Marriage, much Time was spent in Feasting.

A. D. 1445. Reg. 23. ings, and Triumphs, Banquets and Jufts, by her Parents, and the King of France; and when these Things were over, the Bride was delivered to the Marquefs and the *English* Nobles, who in great State and Honour conveyed her by eafie Journeys thro' *Normandy* unto *Deiſe*, and fo transported her into *England*, where ſhe landed at *Portſmouth* in the Beginning of *April*, and from thence was carried by Water to *Southampton*, where having reſted a few Days, ſhe was conveyed to the Abbey of *Tychfield*, (f) and was there married to King *Henry* the Sixth, with all Nuptial Ceremonies, *April* the Twenty ſecond. From *Southampton* the King and Queen journeyed toward *London* in the Beginning of *May*, and arrived there on the Eighteenth of the ſaid Month, being received upon her Way by the Duke of *Glouceſter* and many of the Nobility, with all due Honour and Reſpect, and at *Blackheath* by the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, in embroider'd Gowns, ſhewing their Arts and Trades, who convey'd her thro' the City, which was adorned with coſtly Shews and Pageants, to *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was on the Thirtieth Day of the ſame Month crowned Queen of *England* with all the uſual Solemnity and Ceremonies.

The Benefit or Hurt of this Marriage.

After the Noiſe and Clutter of the Marriage was over, and the Queen a little ſettled in her Throne, Men began then to reflect upon the Match. The Lady was undeniably a Woman of great Excellencies; ſhe was very beautiful in Face, and graceful in Perſonage, of a ready and Politick Wit, and of a Courage equal to the braveſt Men, which extorted an Approbation of the Marquefs of *Suffolk's* Choice of a Queen, as to her Perſon, even from his Enemies; but when they conſidered the ill Conſequences of the Marriage, viz. Relations that were likely to be rather a Burden than an Honour to the Nation, *Normandy* laid open and expoſed to the King's Enemies, by ſurrendering *Main* and *Anjou*, the Protection of it; and the Count of *Arminack* mightily offended, and that juſtly too, reſolving to revenge the Diſhonour; moſt men of Reaſon condemned the Choice, and thought *Suffolk* bribed into ſuch an unprofitable Match: But becauſe the ill Effects were not preſently felt, and Men's Minds were mightily intent upon the Peace, which they hoped for by her, and which they thought a ſufficient Advantage by the Marriage, if it were once ſettled; all Things at a Diſtance were not minded, but *Suffolk* applauded, and the Nation thought generally very happy in the Marriage.

Henry Archbiſhop of Canterbury dies, and his Character.

Henry Chicheley, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, died, and was ſucceeded by *John Stafford*, tranſlated from *Bath* and *Wells* (t). He was a worthy Man in his Generation, but too much addicted to the Pope. He founded Two Colleges in *Oxford*, and endowed them well, viz. *All Souls* and *Barnard*. He was of mean Parentage, being a Taylor's Son of *Higham-Ferrers* in *Northamptonſhire*, but was not ſo much exalted by his unexpected Grandure, but that he retained a very humble Mind and Diſpoſition in his greateſt Height and Proſperity, as may appear by this Paſſage of his Life. King *Henry* being inſtigated by ſome of his Courtiers, no Friends to the Clergy, and leſs to the Archbiſhop, ſent the Archbiſhop a Pie made of Taylors Shreds, of ſeveral Sorts and Colours, to reproach his mean Birth, which the Archbiſhop received very thankfully, and having look'd into it, courteouſly entertained the Meſſenger, as if he

had received a very acceptable Gift, and when he diſmiſſed him, bad him tell the King, his Maſter, That if he did exceed his Father, *Henry* the Fifth, as much as he had done his poor Father, he would make the moſt accompliſh'd Monarch that ever was in *Chriſtendom*.

During the Truce with the *French* King, *Richard* Duke of *York*, and divers of the great Officers and Captains came into *England*, and ſpent the greateſt Part of the Summer in viſiting their Wives, Children and Friends, but the Time drawing near for their Return to their Charge in *France*, many Conſultations were had with the King's Council, what Courſe ſhould be taken to ſecure the Conqueſts in that Kingdom at the end of the Truce, and what Proviſions ſhould be made to keep *Normandy*, ſince by the Marriage, *Anjou* and *Main* were now put out of the King's Hands. It was taken for granted, that the King of *France* would ſo recruit his Armies, that if a Peace were not concluded, he would renew the War with greater Vigour than ever, and if the *English* were not in as good a Poſture of Defence, the *French* King would either make no Peace at all, or a very diſadvantageous one for the *English*, wherefore it was agreed on all Hands, after ſeveral Debates, that *Normandy* muſt be well fortified, and the *English* Army in *France* be put into ſo good a Condition, as to bring King *Charles* to a beneficial Peace; or if he ſtood out, to make a powerful War upon him.

And to this End a Parliament was ſummoned, Subſidies granted, and a great Army of Men ordered to be raiſed, and be in a readineſs to be transported into *France* againſt the Time of the Expiration of the Peace, which was to be in *April* following. The Duke of *York*, whoſe Commiſſion for the Regency of *France* for Five Years was now expired, was again appointed the King's Deputy in that Kingdom for Five Years longer, becauſe he had ſo well managed his late Truſt for the Advantage of the Nation, that no fitter Perſon could be found in ſo difficult a Time, and therefore his Commiſſion was granted for Five Years more, with Thanks for his Loyalty, and his former Allowances. But the Duke of *Somerſet* ſtill envying, as he had formerly done, the Duke of *York's* Advancement, ſought all Means to keep him from the Place, and get it for himſelf, which he eaſily effected, making the Marquefs of *Suffolk* his Friend, who perſwaded the King to revoke his Grant to the Duke of *York* for the Regency of *France*, and give it the Duke of *Somerſet*. This diſgraceful Revocation, which look'd, as tho' ſome Crime had been alledg'd againſt him, much diſpleaſed the Duke of *York*, and lodged ſo deep a Reſentment in his Mind againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, that tho' he carried it fair, he watched an Opportunity to revenge it, which he did to the Ruin of both Families, as after times will ſhew. In this Parliament the Marquefs of *Suffolk* on the Second Day of *January*, made a long and elegant Speech in the Houſe of Lords, declaring the Pains and Labour he had been at in his Embaſſage into *France*, as well in concluding a Truce for a Season, as in making up the Match for the King, advertiſing them, that the Truce was to expire in *April*; and like a faithful Subject he did adviſe, that all Preparations ſhould be made for the Preſervation of the King's Countries in *France*, and praying them to take notice of it, and give him a Diſcharge for his Legation. The next Day he went into

(f) She was married at *Southwick*, the Seat of *Richard Norton*, Eſq; one of the Knights of the Shire for *Hampſhire*, in the laſt Parliament.

(t) He was created a Cardinal by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth in the Year 1434. Hol. 1167.

A. D. 1446. the Lower House, and with equal Eloquence, not only shewed his Fidelity in his Legation, but set forth what great Charges he had been at in attending it, and fetching over the Queen, desiring, that this Action might be recorded in the Parliament Rolls, and himself be discharged by both Houses, with the Consideration of his Expence. Behold, what the Eloquence of Favourites can do! Few Men of Prudence in either House, but knew, that the Marquess deserved little Thanks for his Labour, either in making the Peace, or the Match; yet as if all had been well done for the Nation's Interest, the very next Day, the Speaker of the Commons, *William Burghley*, attended with a great Number of that House went up to the Lords, and desired their Concurrence in a Petition to the King to reward the Marquess for his Services; and to shew their Gratitude, they caused the whole Action to be enrolled, and gave him an whole Fifteenth in Consideration of his Expences. And so the Parliament broke up.

The Queen's Kindness to the Marquess of Suffolk and his Friends.

The Queen seeing the Marquess of Suffolk so well rewarded by the Representatives of the Nation for his Services, which were greater Kindness to her than the Kingdom, as she very well knew, looked upon their Action as a Precedent for her self, and therefore soon after the Rising of the Parliament, took him into her particular Favour, and instigated the King, who was forward enough of himself to heap Honours and Preferments upon him, whereupon he made him a Duke, and when it happen'd a little after, that *Henry*, Duke of *Warwick*, Premier Earl of *England*, and King of the Isles of *Wight*, *Garnsey* and *Jarsey*, died, and was buried at *Tewksbury*, he conferred upon him the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, together with that of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Heir to *John*, Duke of *Somerset*, afterwards Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh; and because *John de Foix*, the Son of *Gaston de Foix*, a *Gascoigne*, had married the Duke of *Suffolk's* Niece, she caused the Father to be elected a Knight of the Garter, and the Son to be made Earl of *Longaville*, and gave him for the Maintenance of his Degree divers Lands and Castles, amounting to One thousand Pounds by the Year. With these her special Friends she contrived to be reveng'd of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was look'd upon by this haughty Queen as her Enemy, because in respect to the Nation, he had declared himself against the Match; and as the first Step to it, she caus'd him to be remov'd, not only from any Command about the King's Person, but Council, and took it upon her self, with her Minions and Friends, to rule all, to the great Discontent of the People, who having had long Experience of the Good-will of the Duke of *Gloucester* to the Nation, (for which Reason he had the Name constantly given him of *the Good Duke*) could hardly think the Government safe in other Hands, and therefore cried out against the Queen and Duke of *Suffolk* for displacing him as Enemies to the publick Good; for all Men saw that the King's easie Disposition was sway'd by the Queen's Policy, and *Suffolk's* Flattery, and that therefore the Blame lay upon them, and not the King, who tho' out of his Minority, yet was govern'd chiefly by his Uncle's Council, and while *Suffolk* was his Favourite, *Gloucester* was his Oracle, to whose Advice he yielded in all Matters of publick Concern. This was such a Bar to the Queen's Ambition, who seeing so much of the Woman in her Husband, laboured to put on as much of

the Man her self, and while he spent his Time at his Devotion, to play the King and govern all, that there was no enduring *Gloucester* near the Court, and so he was turn'd out of all upon some slight and frivolous Allegations against him.

While these Things pass'd in *England*, little was done in *France*, because of the Truce continuing, which being expir'd in April, was by the Consent of the Two Kings prolonged to the Year 1449, but it had likely to have soon been broken upon this Occasion. *Anjou* and *Maine*, the Two Counties which were to be delivered up to the Duke of *Anjou* the Queen's Father by the Treaty of Marriage, were readily resigned; but the *English* knowing of how great Importance the City of *Mans* was to them, were very loth to part with it, and thereupon kept it in their Hands longer than was thought convenient, insomuch that *Charles*, the French King, supposing that the *English* did intend not to resign that Town, rais'd an Army, and resolved to take it by Force. King *Henry*, who was more conscientious in performing than Politick in making an Agreement, hearing of the King of *France's* Attempt, immediately ordered, That the Town should be surrendred to him, not only because he would not give the French King a just Ground of Quarrel to break the Truce, but also because it was in Justice due to him, and so the Peace was pieced up again.

The general Discontents, which the Removal of the Duke of *Gloucester* from about the King's Person and the Government had caus'd among the People, became now so evident, that the Queen and her Friends could not but take Notice of it, and therefore they were forced to set all their Wits at work to make the slight Allegations, which they had furnis'd against him at first, appear great Crimes, that so his Deprivation might seem as much deserved, as it was dishonourable. And to this End, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who ever hated him, because his sagacious Eye discovered his Unworthiness of the Favours heaped upon him, was employed to encourage the Duke's Enemies, to set on foot what Accusations they could either in Malice invent, or in Policy contrive against him; the Chief of whom were *Humphrey Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, who being the Son of *Ann Plantagenet*, a Descendant from *Thomas*, Duke of *Gloucester*, Seventh Son of *Edward* the Third, wish'd him out of the Way, that he might be the first Duke of the Royal Blood in *England*; the Cardinal of *Winchester*, who was implacably incens'd against the Duke of *Gloucester*, because he had made his Pride odious, and his Policy successless; and the Archbishop of *York*, who having joined with *Winchester* in his Crimes, was equally the Object of *Gloucester's* Displeasure. These Men, with the Queen and her Friends, having rais'd many forged Accusations against him, summon'd him to answer for himself before the King and his Council, to which he readily submitted and appear'd. Divers Articles were alledged against him, by Persons suborn'd to accuse him; but the main Thing which was insisted on, was this: That being the Chief Governour of the Nation in the King's Minority, he had to the great Dishonour of the King, and Injury of his Subjects, caus'd divers Persons to be put to death, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and when any Persons were adjudg'd to death deservedly for their Crimes, he out of the Cruelty of his Disposition, order'd them to suffer other

A. D. 1446. Deaths than the Law assign'd, thereby shewing, that he was unjust even in the Execution of Justice; and that whereas he ought most strictly to have observ'd the Laws, he was the greatest Breaker of them. The Duke very patiently heard this Calumnies of his Adversaries, and supported by the Conscience of his own Innocency, as well as his great Knowledge of the Laws of *England* (for he was a very studious Man, and so well read in all Laws and Customs of *England* as none better) he gave such clear Answers to all Things objected against him, that he was acquitted by the Council, and the Disgrace of his Crimes which his Enemies intended to lay on him, fell so heavily upon themselves, that as the Duke of *Gloucester* was more honour'd, so they were more hated and abhorr'd of all Men.

Accidents in *England*. *Simon Eyre*, Lord Mayor of *London*, began this Summer to build *Leaden-hall* in *London* to be a Store-house for Corn and Fewel for the Poor of the City; and a beautiful Chappel in the East-end of the same, and over the Gate of it caused to be written, *Dextera Domini exaltavit me*, i. e. *The Right Hand of the Lord hath exalted me*, giving an excellent Example to all Men, how Men ought to employ those Riches which Providence heaps upon Men, viz. in being Benefactors to the Poor. In this Year were two very unusual Combats within Lists appointed, but one only was fought. The first was by the Prior of *Kilmaine* in *Ireland*, who impeach'd the Earl of *Ormond* of High-Treason, and the Place of their Tryal by Battel was appointed in *Smithfield*. But by the Mediation of Dr. *Gilbert Worthington*, Parson of *St. Andrews Holbourn*, and some other of the Clergy, the Quarrel was taken up by the King and so decided without Combat. About the same time one *John David* an Armourer impeach'd his Master *William Catur* of Treason and they fought in *Smithfield*, but *Catur* being by the Company of his Friends and Neighbours almost intoxicated with Wine before he came to fight, he was unhappily slain without any just Suspicion of Guilt; but the Servant liv'd not long after him, for the next Affize he was hang'd for Felony.

Reg. 25. The Duke of *Gloucester's* Adversaries met withal in their late Attempt against him, to bring him into Disgrace by their forg'd Calumnies and Crimes, was so far from discouraging them in the further Prosecution of their malicious Designs, that they were the more enrag'd; and having the Queen on their Side, resolv'd upon his Destruction; but knowing, that he was the People's Darling, and therefore no open Proceedings against him would be endur'd, they contriv'd to work his Ruin by the most unsuspected and private Means. Many Ways were thought on to ensnare him, but upon scanning of all Circumstances they were laid aside. At length the most plausible Invention was to call a Parliament, and there to apprehend him for some Charge of Treason, and so work their Will. This Proposal, hellish enough, was receiv'd with the general Approbation of the Conspirators, and the Queen was left to manage it; who having first given out, that many important Affairs of State would shortly require the Meeting of a Parliament, caused Writs to be issu'd out a little before Christmas to summon a Parliament to meet at *Bury* upon the 23d of February following. And now the Confederates thinking all sure, and that the Duke of *Gloucester* would not suspect their Design in the least, spent their Christmas with more than usual Mirth, longing till the

Day should come when their mischievous Contrivance should be put in Execution.

With the new Year the Lords began to prepare for meeting in Parliament at *Bury*; and that the Duke of *Gloucester* might fear no Evil, all Things at Court were carry'd smoothly to him, but yet Care was taken to have it whisper'd in his Ear, that it was necessary he should be at it, to prevent the Designs of the Queen and her Party. The Good Duke not at all Jealous of ill Practices, but retaining his old Zeal for the Commonwealth, hearken'd to the Caution, and with the rest of the Lords came to the Place at the Time appointed, ready to attend the National Business.

On the first Day of the Session all things were quiet, and the usual Ceremonies at the opening a Parliament all perform'd. On the second Day the Lord *Beaumont*, then High-Constable of *England*, being accompany'd with the Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke of *Somerset*, and many others, arrested the Duke of *Gloucester*, and put him in Custody under a strong Guard. His Servants were all taken from him, and thirty two of them sent to several Prisons at a distance one from another. The Nation was in a great amaze at this sudden Action, and every Man was inquisitive to know what new Matter was found out against the Duke, who had so lately clear'd himself of all that could be alledged against him. His Enemies thought it necessary to lay some Crime to his Charge, and therefore gave it out that *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*, with his Train of Servants had traiterously conspired to kill the King, that he might set the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife at Liberty. A ridiculous Charge, but yet sufficient to quiet the People, whom they only fear'd in the Execution of their Design, for the more improbable his Crime was the easier it would be to free himself, and so the People rested content with the Sense of his Wisdom and Innocency. But his Enemies had contriv'd otherwise that he should never come to his Defence; for the Night after his Commitment, as some say, but others, a few Nights after, he was found dead in his Bed, and his Body shew'd to the Lords and Commons assembl'd in Parliament, and lay exposed to open View of all Comers for some time; in which, because no Signs of a violent Death appear'd, it was reported, That he dy'd of an Apoplexy or Impostume. But because none of his Servants suffer'd after his Death, which they ought to have done had they been guilty of High-Treason, as was alledg'd against them, tho' Five of them were condemn'd and near their Execution were pardon'd by the Duke of *Suffolk's* Means, it was generally thought a sufficient Ground to believe, that he was murder'd by the Queen's Means; and some were so particular as to report, that he was strangled between two Pillows or Feather-beds, as *Thomas Woodstock*, Duke of *Gloucester*, before him had been; others that he had an hot Spit run up his Fundament, as *K. Edward II.* had; others affirm'd, that he dy'd of mere Grief, because he saw he must now fall a Sacrifice to his Enemies Malice without being allow'd to defend himself; all which Conjectures have little Foundation. The most discreet Judge he was murder'd; but being transacted in private, it was not safe to determine by what Means.

A. D. 1447. Thus dy'd the Good Duke of *Gloucester*, lamented deservedly by all the Nation, being a Lover of the Commons, a Friend to the Learned, a continual Defender of the Innocent, and a Terror to the Guilty; and tho' the Queen and her Party

A. D. 1447. Party triumph'd in his Overthrow, yet a little Time shew'd them how impolitic Malice and Hatred is; for by his Death they wrought the Ruin of the King himself, having open'd a Gap for Richard Duke of York, to put in his Claim to the Crown, which he prosecuted so violently, that in few Years he began those Contests and Troubles in the Nation, which made King Henry's Throne very uneasy, and at length ended in his Deposition, which he would not in all probability have attempted, had not the Duke of Gloucester been dead, whose Title was generally better known, and whose Interest in the Nation was such, that York dar'd not have stirr'd against him; but he being thus made away with, the Queen was so hated, that it was easie for the Duke of York to get Assistance enough to further his ambitious Designs, as well to revenge Gloucester's Death, as to ease themselves of the Queen's Usurpation, who had assum'd her Husband's Authority to govern all.

The Pope sends a Golden Rose to K. Henry. Upon St. Andrew's Day this Year was King Henry presented with a Golden Rose by Pope Eugenius, who sent Ludovicus Cordona, a Doctor in Divinity with it to him. Upon the Delivery of the Rose, which was done with great Ceremony in St. Stephen's Chappel at Westminster, in the Presence of the Dukes of York and Exeter, Cardinal Kemp, Arch-bishop of York, and John Stafford, Arch-bishop of Canterbury (u) and Chancellor of England. He declared in an eloquent Oration his Embassage, which was to exhort the King to undertake an Expedition against the Turks, who barbarously wasted and ravaged the European Provinces, not forgetting to extol the Vertues of the consecrated Rose, and to explain the right Application of it, that he might make his Gift the more acceptable. His Message and Gift were favourably accepted, and Promises of Assistance given to the Pope against the Turk, but Home-bred Disturbances so took up the King from this Time, that nothing could be done Abroad.

The Death of Henry Bishop of Winchester. Soon after the Decease of the Duke of Gloucester, God, who is the chief Guardian of Innocence, reveng'd his Murther upon one of his Principal Enemies the Rich Cardinal of Winchester, whose Heart being set so much upon the World and the Glories of it, there could not be a greater Punishment of his Sins, than to call him out of it. He liv'd not above a Month after the Duke of Gloucester, and therefore enjoy'd the Satisfaction of his Death but a short time. On his Death-bed he is said to have shew'd a World of Impatience, and when he was told, that no Medicines could save his Life, he cry'd out in a Passion, *What! Will nothing save my Life? Will Money do nothing? Can't Death be brib'd a few Years? I'd give the whole Kingdom for my Life.* But no Man can compound with Death, he was forced to leave his Pomp and lie down in the Dust. To him succeeded William Patin, who was after surnam'd Wainfleet, from the Place of his Nativity, a Town in Lincolnshire so call'd. He was by Birth a Gentleman, and from Provost of Eaton rais'd to this Bishoprick, wherein he liv'd some Years as eminent for his Piety as

the Cardinal for his Riches. On the 5th of August this Year dy'd also John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and was bury'd at St. Katherine's near London.

With this Six and Twentieth Year of the King began the Rule of the Queen, who having remov'd the Duke of Gloucester out of the World manag'd all Things without controul, and with the Assistance of the Duke of Suffolk, who was her chief Favourite, endeavour'd to make her Command Absolute; wherein tho' she made use of her Husband's Name, yet she could scarcely hide her Usurpation, because in England the Queen Consort hath no Power, but Title only. Her Ambition and Tyranny soon grew intolerable to the Subjects, and begat a general Discontent as well among the Nobility as Commons. This the Duke of York diligently observed, and made use of for his Designs to raise himself to the Throne: For having represented to his Friends the Misery of the Nation, which, under the Name of a King weak and unable to govern, was ruled by an ambitious Queen and her Minions, he first whisper'd it into their Heads, that it was necessary to pitch upon some other Person to be King, since the present King had deposed himself in effect by suffering the Queen and Suffolk to over-rule all. King Henry was really a good Man, but fitter for a Cloyster than a Palace, and therefore the Kingdom was to be put into better Hands than those of Women and Favourites. This he said to prepare their Minds for what he had further in due time to propose to them, but he first let their Discontents work, and when he found them as desirous of Change as he wish'd, then he further put forward his own Title, telling them, 'That if they look'd into the Succession of the Crown which alone gave a legal Title to it, the House of Lancaster enjoy'd it only by Usurpation, contrary to the Laws of the Realm; That Lionel Duke of Clarence being Elder Brother to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, his Posterity must have a better Title to the Crown, than the Lancastrian Line; That his Grandmother Philippa (x) Wife to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, being the only Daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and he himself Son of the Eldest (y) Daughter of the said Edmund (z), who left no Male-issue, it was easie for them to see who had the true Right to the Crown of England; That though he would not vainly vaunt himself fit for so great an Office, yet he might boldly claim the Crown as his Right, and hoped that the Diligence and Valour which he had shewn in France for the Preservation of the English Dominions in that Kingdom, were Demonstrations enough to shew, that he had the true Spirit of an English Man in him, and was zealous for the Good of the Nation in all Things. These Proposals were Argument sufficient to perswade his Friends to a Concurrence, their Wishes having prevented his Designs; and therefore it was resolv'd upon, and firmly agreed among them, that they should promote his Interests with all the Secrecy necessary for

(u) The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury was a Cardinal as well as he of York, and therefore ought certainly as his Primate and Lord Chancellour to have the Precedence. See Holinshead, p. 1167.

(x) Philippa was his great Grandmother, his Mother Anne Mortimer being Daughter of Roger, Son of the Princess Philippa, and Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.

(y) She was not the Eldest Daughter, the Lady Elinor Mortimer was the Eldest Daughter of Roger Mortimer, the Son of Edmund, who marry'd the Princess Philippa.

(z) She was the Daughter of Roger Mortimer, and Grand-daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Roger left Two Sons who both liv'd to be Men, Edmund and Roger, but they dy'd without Issue, as did their Eldest Sister the Lady Elinor, so Anne who marry'd Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Father of this Richard Duke of York, became Heir to the Princess Philippa's Right to the Crown, which Right on the Death of the said Lady Anne, fell to the Duke of York.

A. D. 1447. a Business of that Importance, which was so in-
violably observ'd, that all requisite Provisions
were made before his Adversaries discover'd
any thing of the Design, and his Friends were
ready to set him on the Throne, before his Pur-
pose was known, as by the Sequel of the Histo-
ry will more evidently appear.

A. D. 1448. While these Things were transacted in Eng-
land, little of Moment passed in France, because
the Peace had bound up both Sides from Acti-
on. The Duke of Somerset was Regent, but did
not carefully manage Affairs there. Sir Francis
Suriennes, call'd the Arragonois, who for his good
Services done to the Crown of England was ho-
nour'd with the Dignity of Knight of the Gar-
rer, was Governour of the Lower Normandy.
This Person being Active and Warlike, while
he lay in his Garrisons of St. Jaques and Beve-
ronne, had observ'd in their Commerce with the
Frontier Towns, that they were weak and ill
guarded, and especially the Town of Fougieres in
Brittain, a very rich Place, which was a Tem-
ptation to him to attempt the taking of it, and
accordingly in the Night before the Feast of our
Lady in Lent scal'd the Walls, and took both
the Town and Castle; which tho' of it self 'twas
a Breach of the Peace scarce Pardonable, yet
that which render'd it a greater Crime was,
that he treated the Inhabitants with the greatest
Inhumanity and Cruelty, not only slaying ma-
ny of them, as in a time of War, but pillaging
their Goods, ravishing the Women, robbing the
Churches, and carrying away many of the chief
of them Prisoners. Duke Francis, who was first
comprehended in the Truce reign'd in Brittain
at that Time, and was highly offended at this
Action of the English, and thereupon sent an
Herald, to complain of the Wrong done him, to
the Duke of Somerset, requiring Satisfaction, and
a Restitution of the Place, with all that was
taken away from it. The Duke of Somerset cool-
ly reply'd, *That the Action much displeased him,*
and that such Satisfaction for the Wrong done should
be given, as he himself should require; but the Duke
not being satisfied with this Answer, sent the
Bishop of Rheims (a) to the French King to beg
his Aid and Assistance in a Case where him-
self was equally concern'd, that he might re-
cover the Town by Force of Arms. Charles,
the French King was not so furious as the Duke,
but first sent John Harvart and William Cosmer,
one of the Masters of his Requests to the King
of England, and Peter de Foutein, the Master of
his Horse, to the Duke of Somerset with the for-
mer Message, who received the like Answer
with this Addition, *'That he would send Com-*
'missioners to Louviers upon a Day appointed,
'who should adjust the Difference between
'them, and not only make Restitution, but
'Amends to the Duke of Brittain.' On the
Day prefixed the Commissioners on both Parts
met, and the French-men demanded the Town,
and a large Recompence for the Damages su-
sain'd by the Inhabitants. The English-Men re-
plied, 'That without Offence, nothing in Ju-
'stice ought to be given in Satisfaction, alledg-
'ing, 'That it was the Fact of Sir Francis only,
'without the Consent either of the King of
'England, or the Duke of Somerset, his Lieu-
'tenant or Regent. To this the French an-
swered, 'That if they did not make Amends
'for the Injury done, they would not be tied

to secure any Place, but should endeavour to
revenge themselves, it being against Reason
for the offended Party not to be allowed to re-
sent the Injury received. To which Answer
the English Commissioners not being able to re-
ply, referr'd them to the Duke of Somerset him-
self, who lay then at Sonniers; and King Charles
sent his Ambassador to him.

About this Time, by the Means of Frederick, The
Duke of Austria, and other Christian Princes,
the Schism, which had continued between the
Popes for Sixteen Years, was ended. For
Felix the Fifth, (b) who was set up by the Coun-
cil of Basil, upon their Deposition of Eugenius
the Fourth, being very uneasie under the Op-
position, was soon perswaded to resign to Ni-
cholas the Fifth, Eugenius's Successor; and so an
Union was again settled in the Church to the
great Satisfaction of Christendom. Felix by this
voluntary Act got a great Reputation in the
World for his Humility and Sanctity, and tho'
he gave place to Nicholas in Dignity, yet he out-
shined him in Piety, upon which this Verse was
made on him.

Lux fulsit Mundo, cessit Felix Nicolao.

as if Felix's Humility shined like a Sun in the
World. Felix after his Cession from the Papacy,
was made Legate of France, and Cardinal of
Savoy, and lived so holy a Life, that he was re-
verenced for a Saint after his Death.

While the French Ambassadors were treating
with the Duke of Somerset at Sonniers about the
Restitution of Fougieres, and Satisfaction to be
done the Inhabitants, the French King receiv'd
Information from a Norman, who daily went
into Pont de l'Arch, with his Cart to carry
Victuals and other Things into the English
Garrison there, That that Town was but ill
mann'd, and worse kept, the Garrison being
very negligent and careless. Charles, who was
glad of an Opportunity of requiring the English
Perfidiousness, readily hearkned to it, and sent
Monsieur de Bresse, Sir James de Clermont, and
Captain Floquet, with a select Company of Men
to lie in Ambush near the Gate of St. Andrew
belonging to the Town, having agreed with
the said Waggoner, with whom he sent Two
lusty Soldiers in the Habit of Carpenters, with
Axes on their Shoulders, to surprize the Guards
and kill them, and to break down his Waggon
in the Passage, which was very heavy laden on
Purpose that the Gates could not be shut, or
Draw-bridge pull'd up without a great deal of
Difficulty; when this was done, he was to
give Notice to the Ambushes, that they might
enter the Town. These Things were all acted
as they were plotted, early in the Morning
about the Beginning of October; and the Eng-
lish Garrison, which suspected nothing of this
Nature, were all taken in their Beds, with the
Commander himself, the Lord Faulconbridge,
and were carried away Prisoners by the French.
The Loss of this Town was of great Importance
to the English, being the Passage over the River
Seine out of France into Normandy, and but
Four Leagues distant from Roan, the chief City
in that Province, which seem'd to be all in Dan-
ger by it. The Duke of Somerset was ex-
treamly troubled at it, and when the French
Deputies came to demand the Restitution of

(a) It should be the Bishop of Reims in Brittain; for 'tis not probable that the Archbishop of Rheims, as the Author
Copying from Hollingshead makes it, who is Primate of all France, the first Bishop and Peer of the Realm, would serve
the Duke of Brittain in the Capacity of an Envoy.

(b) This Felix the Fifth, was Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who from a Temporal Prince advanc'd himself to the Spiritual
Empire of Christendom.

A.D. 1448. *Fougeres*, and Satisfaction of the Damages done to the Inhabitants, would hear nothing of it, he said, till *Pont de l' Arch* was restor'd again to the *English*. But the *French* grown confident by this Advantage, told him plainly, 'They would now stand upon better Terms, and would not part with it, unless *Fougeres* with all the Losses, and Interests of it were restor'd to the Duke of *Brittain*; which the *English* not being able to do, not only because the Lives of such as were slain were irreparable, but because the vast Spoil which had been taken out of the Town amounting to 1600000 Crowns, had been extravagantly squandred away by the Soldiers, the Duke was forced to deny it, and so the War was renewed, before the Truce agreed upon was expir'd. For after this Meeting, *Charles*, the *French* King, immediately rais'd an Army to prosecute the War with unusual Vigour.

The War renewed between the English and French.

was every where noised in the *English* Territories, that now the Duke of *Gloucester* was dead the *English* were unable to protect them, and maintain their Conquests in *France*, being filled with so many Discontents and Divisions at Home that they could not mind their Affairs Abroad, which so disposed the People to a Revolt, who were never kept steady in their Loyalty to the *English* but by Force and Fear, that when the *French* King appear'd before the Towns, they without more ado open'd the Gates, and welcom'd their Sovereign to his Right; and tho' in many of the great Towns there were strong *English* Garrisons, as *Roan* (c) in *Normandy*, *Maulisson* in *Guien*, and other Cities, yet all was no help. As soon as the *French* Army came before them, the Inhabitants arm'd themselves and fell upon the *English* within, and the Army without fiercely assaulted them, so that it was altogether impossible to retain any Thing: All that the *English* could do was only to capitulate, and save their Lives. Thus the *French* King in a few Months became a perfect Master of *Normandy*, *Gascoigne* and *Guien*, tho' there wanted not Courage in most of the *English* Garrisons to defend themselves; but being over-power'd or undermin'd with the Treachery of the *French*, they were forced to leave all in the *French* Hands.

A.D. 1449. Reg. 27. The French King re-covers all France.

This Year began a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the Duke of *York*, rather to have him out of the Way than to trust or prefer him, was sent thither with an Army; but he so well manag'd his Place, and dealing mildly and gently with that Savage People appeased their Commotions with so much Satisfaction to them, that he gain'd their Love and Favour so far, that they could never be separated from him nor his Posterity; but as well in the Misfortunes of his Family as their Prosperity firmly adhered to them. Thus did the Wicked Politicks of the Queen and her Party generally turn to her Damage. *Gloucester's* Death was the Destruction of her Husband's Title to the Crown, and this Employment of the Duke of *York*, which was intended for his Ruin, prov'd a mighty Advantage to him in his Designs against his Sovereign.

Duke of York sent to appease the Rebellion in Ireland.

A.D. 1449. The People of *England* being extremely dissatisfied at the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death, and the Queen's Tyranny thro' the Abuse of the good King's Easiness, and the Nobility divided with and against the Duke of *Suffolk*, it was very improbable, if the War in *France* should be renewed that the *English* could make any considerable Opposition; and it had been the greatest Wisdom of the Duke of *Somerset* to have kept the Truce on foot upon any Terms. The *French* King was sensible of these Inconveniences, and therefore held the *English* to such Conditions as he knew in himself almost impossible to be perform'd, that he might renew the War at the *English's* Cost, and his own Advantage. Upon these Grounds he built great Hopes of Success, (tho' the *French* Historians make their King very unwilling to have begun the War anew, and say, that it was nothing but God's Disposition and Will on his Part, and the intolerable Wrongs on the Enemy's Part, that began this last War,) and having drawn his Army together, divided it into Three Parts, and sent them out severally, one under the Command of *Monsieur de Monty*, who after divers Assaults, and a Loss of many of his Men, took the Towns of *Louveins* and *Gorbery*; another part under Captain *Flocquet* who took *Conquet*, and the great Town of *Vernueil* in *Perch* with the Castle and Tower belonging to it; and a third Part under the Captain *Verdenne*, who took *Coignac* and *St. Magrine* near *Bordeaux* in *Gascoigne*, and then return'd to *K. Charles* to unite with him.

In the Beginning of this Year Sir *Lewis de Bueyle* a *French* Knight, challeng'd an *English* Man nam'd *Ralph Challons*, Esquire to encounter him in a Combat, and pitch'd the Time and Place, which was at *Mans* in *Maine*, the *French* King himself was present according to the Custom of that Age, to behold the Courage and Skill of those Combatants. Much Art and Bravery appear'd on both Sides, but the Fortune of the Combat fell to the *English* Man, who ran the *French* Knight thro' the Body with his Spear, of which Wound he soon after dy'd. The Law of Arms in such Cases requir'd, that the Conquerour should attend the Corps of the Person killed, and celebrate his Obsequies, in Testimony of the Christian Compassion which he has for the Deceased. This *Challons* perform'd not only with the usual Decency, but with so much real and hearty Sorrow, that even the *French* King took Notice of it, and gave him some Tokens of his Favour.

Reg. 27. A Combat between an English Man and French Man.

King *Charles* and the Duke of *Bretagne* being follow'd with continual Success carry'd on their Victories every Day further and further. The Duke of *Bretagne* recover'd *Fougeres*, *St. James* several other Places, which had

Duke of Bretagne and French King take Places from the English.

(c) At *Roan* in *Normandy* the *English* Garrison were so hard put to it by the Citizens within, and the *French* without, that they were forced to agree not only to deliver up that City, but several others, or they had been all murder'd. The Hostages for the Performance of this Agreement were the Brave Lord *Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, Son to the Earl of *Ormonde*.

A. D. 1449. King also joyning with the Counts of St. Poll Reg 27. and Eu, still held on his Victories, especially in Normandy, where he took Nagent by Composition. Harfleur stood out the Siege, under the Command of a Captain of undaunted Valour Sir Tho. Curson, who notwithstanding their Batteries and Scaling repulsed them to their great Loss; but at length seeing it impossible to save the Town he came to a Composition with the Enemy to depart with their Lives and Goods. The Submission of this Place was a Terror to the other English Garrisons, so that some of them voluntarily yielded, as Lizeux, which was induced to it by the Bishop's Means, the Tower of Grise, which made a short Resistance, Gourney, Roche-guion, which was commanded by one John Howell, who to enjoy his Wife's Lands, a French Woman, surrender'd the Place on Condition the Garrison might depart in Safety, and himself enjoy his Estate, and be employ'd in the same Station under the French King. Volognes, and many others. Other Towns were betray'd to the French, as Lagni, Gizors, and several others, so that little remain'd under the Jurisdiction of the English but Caen, whither the Duke of Somerset and all the English then in France retir'd.

Twelfth
Parlia-
ment, its
Act.

A Parliament was summon'd and met November the 6th (d.) at Westminster, but nothing of Importance was enacted, only a few Acts pass'd to regulate Abuses in bringing Merchandizes from Holland contrary to an Act made the 27th of this King, in pressing Horses and Carts for private Use in the King's Name, and in levying Destresses of Ships by Custom-House Officers. But the most remarkable Business done this Parliament was by the Bishops, who endeavour'd all they could to have the Act of Premunire repealed. They had made considerable Interests in both Houses to effect their Design, but in vain. The greater part of the Lords and Commons were so zealous for the Continuance of it, that they were constrain'd to endure that Eye-sore, which remains in Force to this Day.

A. D. 1450. The ill Condition of the English Affairs in France, which tho' very well known in England, could not be redress'd by reason of the Divisions and Discontents that were both in Court and Country, began now to be taken a little into Consideration, and that all might not be lost, the King sent over a Supply of 1500 fresh Men under the Command of Sir Thomas Kiriell into Normandy, who landing at Cherbourg joyn'd himself with several English Captains, who held some Towns in those Parts, and made up an Army of 5000 Men, which being a pretty strong Body, they betook themselves to Action, and recover'd Lisieux and Volognes; and because they heard that the French were upon their March to besiege Caen, they thought it convenient to hinder their Design by giving them Battel by the Way, and accordingly posted themselves about Formignie, between Charenton and Baieux to receive them. On April 18. the Earl of Clermont, Admiral of France, and the Seneschal of Poitou with 6000 Foot and 600 Horse arriv'd at Formignie in their Way to Caen, but finding the English there, could neither safely retreat nor go on, and so were forced to abide the Battel, which the English were forward to begin, and the French ready to receive them. This Battel was begun with much Courage on both Sides,

and the English put so hard upon the French, that they were forced to give Ground, and the English got from them two Culverings; but in the End Arthur of Brittain, Earl of Richmond and Constable of France coming in to the Assistance of the French with above 1000 fresh Men vanquish'd the English, slaying above 3000, and taking 800 Prisoners, among whom were several Persons of Note, as Sir Thomas Kiriell himself, Sir Henry Norbery, Sir Thomas Drew, Sir Thomas Kirkly, and several others. Sir Robert Vere and Sir Mat. Gough, that valiant Welsh-Man escaped. The Victory was obtain'd as the French Historians relate, with the loss only of Five or Six of their Side, so that they impute this to a wonderful Work of God to them. And flush'd and encouraged by it they marched on to the Siege of Caen, which having surrounded on all sides they fiercely assaulted. The Duke of Somerset the Regent in France was then in the Town with his Wife and Children, of whom being in fear he summon'd the chief Citizens together and told them, 'That it was impossible to save the City out of the Hands of so great a Power as the King of France had about it, and to endeavour it was only to endanger themselves without hopes of Profit, and therefore advis'd them to agree upon as good Terms as they could, and resign the Place. This was welcome Advice to the Citizens, who were ready through Fear or Treachery to out-run any Admonition in that Kind. But it seems the Duke, though he had a plenary Authority given him over all Places under King Henry's Jurisdiction, was not without Controul here. The City of Caen was given by K. Henry to the Duke of York, when he was Regent of France, and he had made one Sir David Hall, an hot and passionate Man, but very faithful to his Trust, Governour of it. He hearing the Duke's Advice to the Citizens, told him boldly, That he had nothing to do in that Place, which belong'd to the Duke of York, and of which the Charge was committed unto him; That the Danger was not so great as he had represented it to the Citizens to terrifie them, for it wanted neither Men, Money nor Ammunition, and therefore they might defend themselves at least, till they could have the Duke of York's Succour, or Order to surrender it. That as to himself he would defend it against any Power how great soever, and if the Town would resign, he would betake himself to the Castle with such Soldiers as were Faithful and Valiant, and hold it out to the last; That it is true, the Besiegers make a great noise and rattling with their Canon, but that scares Women and Children only, and not Men of War. In the midst of these hot Disputes between Fear and Courage, Treachery and Fidelity, a Stone Shot by the French into the Town fell down between the Dutcheffs of Somerset and her Children. Yet with more noise than hurt, for it did no harm, yet it scared the Dutcheffs so violently, that she immediately went to her Husband and besought him on her Knees to have Mercy and Compassion on his small Infants, and to see them deliver'd out of the Town with Safety. The Duke being moved at the Tears of his Wife, and not knowing how to secure her and his Children but by the surrender of the Town, yielded it up to the French fore against the Will of Sir David Hall upon these Conditions.

Sir David
Hall op-
poses the
Duke of
Somerset.

Caen sur-
render'd
by the
Duke of
Somerset.

(d) The Queen thinking to awe the Members by the Number of her Attendance; when she had them in a Country Town, summon'd this Parliament to meet at Leicester: But the Lords and Commons, who knew they were safe under the Protection of the City of London, refused to meet unless they were appointed to come to Westminster: So the Session was adjourn'd thither.

I. That

A. D. 1450. I. That the Town and Castle of Caen should be surrendered to the French King on the First Day of July, if they were not relieved by that Time.

II. That upon the Surrender of the Town the Duke, Dutcheſs, and their Children, and all others that would leave it, might do ſo, the Soldiers with their Horſes and Harneſs, and the Inhabitants, with their Wives, Children, and Moveables, but at their own Charges.

III. That all Perſons who left the Town, ſhould pay their Debts to the Citizens, and leave behind them all Sorts of Artillery.

IV. That the Duke of Somerſet ſhould pay for his Freedom 56000 Scutes, which is about 9600 Pound, and be bound to ſurrender to the French King all the Towns in Normandy, then in the Hands of the Engliſh, leaving the Lord Talbot an Hoſtage till both were perform'd.

Upon theſe Terms (for no Succour came by the Time agreed on) was the Town put into the Hands of the French; and Sir David Hall in his Heat took Shipping for Ireland, to give an Account of this Action of the Duke of Somerſet's to the Duke of York, and ſo vex'd him, that the Hatred which he owed Somerſet, grew deadly. By the Surrender of this City, Normandy was all in the French King's Power except Four Towns, viz. Liſieux, of which Sir Maith. Gough was Commander; Faloiſ, which belonged to the Earl of Shrewsbury; Damfront, and Cherburg, which all reſign'd upon Conditions within a Month after: The Liberty of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was Priſoner at Dreux, being gain'd by the Surrender of Faloiſ, with the Lives and Goods of the Garrifon, as were thoſe of the reſt. Cherburg was the laſt Town that yielded, the valiant Captain of it, Thomas Gonvall, defending it ſo long as they had Ammunition or Proviſion left to make their Defence; but at laſt he was forc'd to give it up, and with the reſt retreat to Callis, where they found the Duke of Somerſet. Thus was Normandy, Thirty Years after it was conquered by Henry V. loſt clearly out of the Hands of the Engliſh, and became again the Poſſeſſion of the French King. Three Cauſes are given for this Loſs,

Normandy wholly loſt.

1. The Normans Treachery, who tho' naturally Subjects to the King of England, yet being French in Language and Cuſtoms, affected Subjection to the French King moſt.

2. The Duke of Somerſet's Avarice, who kept not full Garrifons as he ought to have done, that he might pocket the Money allow'd for Soldiers.

3. The Diviſions at Home, in which the Great Ones engaged with ſo much Zeal, that they had no Affection to Affairs Abroad.

Discontents among the People of England about the Duke of Suffolk's Actions.

Theſe Loſſes in France being heard in England, and breeding a general Diſcontent in the People, the Fault was generally laid upon the Governor; and loud Exclamations were rais'd againſt the Duke of Suffolk, as the chief Inſtrument of all their Miſeries, alledging, That he it was who had delivered up Maine and Anjou to the French, procur'd the Death of the Duke of

Glouceſter, devour'd the King's Treſure, remov'd all the King's vertuous Council from him and plac'd in their Rooms Perſons either openly Vicious, or elſe ſo addicted to his Interests, that they could not be Friends to the common Good. Laſtly, That he had been the only Occaſion of the Loſs of Normandy. The Parliament was ſtill Sitting, and the Queen, who was not unſenſible of theſe Grudges againſt her Favourite, ſought all Means to hinder any rigorous Proceedings againſt him; and to that End, removed the Parliament to Leiceſter, thinking to eſcape the Deſigns againſt him, which the Londoners chiefly favour'd; but few of the Nobility appearing there, ſhe was forc'd to bring it back to Weſtmiſter, where there was a full Appearance. And the Commons preſented an Indictment to the King and Lords againſt the Duke of Suffolk, containing many Articles of Treason and other Miſdemeanours, the Sum of which is as followeth,

A. D. 1450. Reg 28. Suffolk impeach'd in Parliament in ſeveral Articles.

I. That the ſaid Duke of Suffolk had contriv'd and conſulted with John, Earl of Dunois, commonly call'd, the Baſtard of Orleans, and the other Ambaſſadors of the French King, then being in England, to excite and encourage their Maſter to invade this Realm, and deſtroy the King and his Friends, to the End, that he might raiſe his Son John, whom he had married (e) to Margaret, ſole Heir to John, Duke of Somerſet, the next Heir, as he pretended, to the Crown of England, to be King.

II. That being allur'd by great Rewards and Promiſes from the ſaid Ambaſſadors, he had ſet at Liberty the Duke of Orleans, the King's Enemy, contrary to the expreſs Will of Henry the Fifth.

III. That by his Advice given to the Duke of Orleans, the French King had invaded Normandy, and the other Countries of France belonging to the King, and ſo was now become abſolute Maſter of all France.

IV. That being ſent Ambaſſador into France, to conclude a Truce, he had agreed to ſurrender Anjou and Maine to the King's Enemies, under the plauſible Pretence of a Marriage, (f) without any Comiſſion from the King ſo to do, or Conſent of the Ambaſſadors ſent with him; and at his Return into England, drew the King to approve and comply with all he had done, and ſo forſake his Inheritance of thoſe Countries.

V. That he had betrayed the Weakneſs of the King's Forts and Towns to the Enemy's Captains, when he was in France, by which they were encouraged to aſſault them, and took ſeveral of them.

VI. That he had betrayed the King's Councils to the French Ambaſſadors, when they were in England.

VII. That when Ambaſſadors were ſent into France to conclude a Peace, he had hinder'd it, by advertiſing the French King of the Advantages he had againſt the Engliſh.

VIII. That he had as great Power and Interest with the French King, as at Home, as he boaſted in the Star-Chamber.

(e) The Lady Margaret was not married to the Duke of Suffolk's Son. Her firſt Huſband was Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond; Son of Queen Katherine, and Owen Tudor, by whom ſhe had Henry the Seventh. The Duke was only charg'd with intending to marry his Son to her.

(f) Had the Words Plauſible Pretence of a Marriage been mention'd it would have been a terrible Mortification to the Queen. But they are not in the original Articles, of which the Fourth is,

That he being Ambaſſador from the King of England to Charles, calling himſelf the French King, promiſed to Reyner King of Sicill, and to Charles D'Angiers, his Brother, Enemies to the King, the Release of Anjou, with the Deliverance of the County of Maine, and the City of Maunt or Mans, without the Knowledge of the other Ambaſſadors with him accompanied; which Promiſe, after his Return, he cauſed to be perform'd to the King's Diſſervice and Loſs irrecoverable, and to the Strength of his Enemies, and Eſtablishment of the Dutchy of Normandy. Hol. p. 637.

A. D. IX. That being corrupted by the *French King*, 1450. he had kept back our Armies from going into Reg. 28. *France*, to oppose the Proceedings of the *French*.

X. That in making the League with the *French King*, he had not compriz'd either the Duke of *Bretagne*, or King of *Arragon*, but suffered them to be put in by the *French King*, whereby their Amity was lost; and they became the *French King's* Allies, to the Damage not only of the Nation, but of the Duke of *Bretagne's* Brother, *Giles*, who adhering to the *English* Interests, lost first his Liberty, and then his Life.

The Popular Charge abovemention'd, was also alledged cursorily, but not insisted upon, and so amounted not to an Article against him. The Duke upon these Accusations was arrested, and brought to his Answer, which he deliver'd distinctly in this Manner, viz.

Duke of
Suffolk's
Answer
to them,
and Im-
prison-
ment.

1. As to the Three first Articles he denied, that he had ever thought on, much less acted any such Things as they laid to his Charge.

2. To the Fourth he alledged, that the Truce could not be concluded without surrendring those Places, and it being permitted him to act as he judged convenient, he had agreed to it.

3. To all the rest he pleaded not Guilty, and requir'd the Proofs of them, except the Tenth, which he could no ways excuse.

These Answers were judged very insufficient, and therefore to pacifie the People, he was sent Prisoner to the Tower, and a great Shew made, as tho' he should be punished severely for these his Misdemeanours; but the Queen loved him too well to do him any Harm, and therefore after he had been a Prisoner about a Month, in which Time she thought the popular Heats against him were abated, she released him, and brought him to Court, and had him in as great Favour as ever. This Restoration of the Duke of *Suffolk* was no sooner known, but it begat several Commotions in the Realm, and the People threatned an Insurrection. About *Canterbury* a great Multitude assembled together, and chose one *Thomas Thany*, a Fuller, their Captain, and Nick-named him *Blew-beard*; but before they had attempted any Thing, the King's Council being inform'd of it, sent down a Body of Men to seize their Captain and several of their Ring-Leaders, who being executed, the Rebellion ceas'd, and *Suffolk* was thought to stand as fast as ever. The Parliament which was adjourn'd upon this Occasion, met again, and the King and Queen went thither (g) in great State, being attended with the Duke of *Suffolk* as their Chief Counsellor. The Commons look'd upon the Duke's Presence as a Bravado to them, and being incens'd at it, put up their Petition to the King, that the Persons, who had been instrumental in delivering up the Countries of *Anjou* and *Maine* to the King's Enemies, should be duly punished; and accus'd the Duke of *Suffolk*, Bishop of *Salisbury* and Lord *Say* with others, as guilty of it. The King, who did not suspect that Things would have thus been reviv'd, was very fearful of a bad Effect, if *Suffolk* should be left at Liberty, and therefore to pacifie them, he put all the Duke's Adherents out of their Offices and Places about him, and banish'd the Duke out of the Realm for Five Years, supposing, that his Enemy's Hatred to him would cool in that Time, and then he might recompense his slight Sufferings with double Favours.

Duke of
Suffolk
banish'd.

The Duke seeing the Fury of his Enemies, was A. D. nor backward to leave the Kingdom for a while, 1457. and to That End, having got all Things ready, Reg. 28. took Ship to pass over into *France* in April. In his Way, he was met by a Ship belonging to the Duke of *Exeter*, then Constable of the Tower, call'd the *Nicholas*, which engag'd him, and the Captain having taken the Vessel he was in, after a short Fight, seized upon the Duke, and bringing him into *Dover-Road*, caused him to be beheaded on the Side of a Cock-boat. A very bold and strange Action, that a private Captain of a Ship should dare to put a Peer of the Realm to death, without so much as any Pretence of Order or Quarrel, so far as can be known, yet just upon *Suffolk* himself, who having been instrumental in the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, was himself as unjustly put to death. His Body was cast upon the Sands at *Dover*, and being found by his Chaplain, who, after he was taken out of his own Ship, attended, and followed him to see his Fate, was by him taken up, and conveyed to *Windsor-College*, in *Suffolk*, (b) and there interr'd. His Memory, Duke of had he not been engag'd in the Intrigues of a *Suffolk's* Court-Favourite, which must refuse no Service Character. to advance the Ambition of Princes, or the Design of a Court, had been very honourable to this Day; for he was a Man of good Wit and great Courage, as well able to serve a Prince as any Man, a faithful Counsellor, a Lover of Piety, and a great Benefactor to the Church. He built the Parish-Church of *Eweline*, in *Oxfordshire*, where his Seat was, and at the West-End of it, he founded an Hospital for Two Priests, and Thirteen poor Men.

The Duke of *Suffolk* being dead, who, had Duke of he liv'd, would have been a Stop to the Duke *York's* ambitious Aims, being an able Coun- Ambition to obtain the Crown: sellor, and stout Warrior, tho' thro' Imprudence grown at last odious to the People. The Duke of *York*, who was in *Ireland*, began by his Agents and Emissaries, to drive more furiously and confidently toward the Crown; and to that End, his Friends in all Companies represented the present State of the Kingdom very miserable, viz. 'That the Nation being govern'd by a sloathful King, and an Ambitious Queen, who neither of them understood the true Measures of Government, did daily decay in its Reputation and Interests, of which the Loss of *France* was an invincible Demonstration. That the publick Good ought to be more nearly look'd into, and Men of such Abilities rais'd to the Helm, as might both advance the Honour of the *English*, and be a Terror to their Enemies. That the Duke of *York* was a Person every Ways qualified for the greatest Trust, having given such a Proof of it in composing the Rebellion of *Ireland*, with so great Satisfaction to the People, as well as Safety to the King. That in Reality, that Duke had the best Title to the Crown, the Family of *Lancaster* being no better than Usurpers; and tho' indeed King *Henry* would be tolerable, if he were either like his Father, or his Grandfather, whose Virtue and Courage made their bad Title overlook'd, yet since his easie and gentle Nature renders him incapable of Governing well, it is better for the People to set up a Person, who, if he had no Right, were the fittest Man in the Nation to wield a Sceptre, much more being the true Heir,

(g) The Parliament was on this Occasion adjourn'd to *Leicester*. Ibid. 1632.

(b) Thin in his List of all the Dukes that ever were in *England* down to the Year 1585, says the Duke of *Suffolk* was buried in the *Charter-House* at *Hull*.

A. D. 1450. Reg. 28. *Jack Cade* stirr'd up a Youth of a Princely Stature and Mien, of a very pregnant Wit, and undaunted Boldness, to assume the Name of the Lord *Mortimer* (i), and take up Arms under the specious Pretences of reforming the Abuses of the Government, and Grievances of the Kingdom, which being grateful Themes usually to the People easily draw Abettors enow after them. The *Kentish* Men shewed themselves forwardest to joyn with him, and therefore he sets himself at the Head of them, and in a little time by his Promises to free the Nation from Taxes and Impositions, drew a great Multitude after him, with whom in a Martial Order he marched to *Black-Heath* between *Eltham* and *Greenwich*, and there encamped *June 1*. Here he and his Army continued near a Month pillaging the Country round about, and summoning the Citizens of *London*, who favoured his Design to bring him in Arms, Horses and Money, which he ordered them to levy upon the Foreign Inhabitants of that City, *Genoese*, *Venetians* and *Florentines*, threatening to kill as many as he could come at, if he were not obey'd. It is not known what the City did; but 'tis probable, his Desires were satisfied, because when he came into *London* a little after, he did no harm to any Foreigner.

Citizens favour him.

Cade's Answer to the King's Messengers.

In this Time the King and his Council had sent a Message to the Rebels, to know their Reasons why they assembled after this tumultuous Manner. *Jack Cade* took upon him to give an Answer, and assured them, *That their coming was not intended for any harm to the King or his Friends, but to amend and reform the Grievances, which the Kingdom groaned under, to chastise those of his Counsellors, who oppressed the People, and tho' Flatterers of his Person, were Enemies to his Honour. In fine, Their Aim was to amend whatever was amiss, and make the Poor Commons happy. With this short Answer they sent away the King's Messengers, promising them to exhibit their Complaints and Petitions more at large to the Parliament which was then sitting at Westminster, that they might have their Concurrence with them in so good a Work, and accordingly sent Two Bills to the Houses in a few Days, the Substance of which Papers Follow.*

The Rebels' Bill of Complaints.

The First they call'd, *The Complaint of the Commons of Kent, and the Causes of their assembling on Black-Heath*. In it they represent to the Parliament, 'That it was reported, that *Kent* should be depopulated and made a Forrest to revenge the Duke of *Suffolk's* Death, tho' the People of that County were no ways guilty of it. That the King had given the Revenues of his Crown to his Favourites, and resolved to live on Taxes raised on his Subjects, which impoverish'd his People. That the Lords of the Royal Blood were excluded

from his Government, and mean Persons preferred, who would not administer Justice without Bribes and Gifts. That the Provisions for the King's House were taken of the Subjects, and not paid for, to the undoing of many; That the King's menial Servants falsely impeach'd many of High-Treason to get their Estates; That the King's Servants by unjust Claims of Feoffments have depriv'd divers of the Commons of their Estates and Rights; That certain Traitors, who have lost the King's Territories in *France*, should be punish'd without Mercy; That the Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs of Counties, farming their Offices and Bailiwicks, are forced to extort unjust Fines from the People to pay the Sums; That the Officers of the Court of *Dover* in *Kent* vex and arrest Men in all Parts of the Country upon untrue Actions, and require great Fees of them for their Deliverance; That the Freedom of Elections of Knights of Shires hath been taken from the People by the Great Men, who send Letters to their Tenants and Dependents to choose such Men, as the People approve not of; That Collectors of the King's Taxes being made for Bribes by the Knights of the Shire use many Extortions to raise them; And lastly, That the Sessions being held in the furthest Parts of the County *Eastward*, the People were forced to go five Days Journey to them, to their great Trouble and Damage, which they desir'd might be settled in two Places more conveniently.

The other Paper they stiled, *The Requests of the great Assembly in Kent*, and in that humbly petition'd, 'That the King would assume to himself the Demesnes of the Crown, that he might live conformable to his Royal Dignity; That the Duke of *Suffolk's* Kindred should be punish'd according to the Laws of the Realm, and the Lords of the Royal Blood, viz, the Dukes of *York*, *Exeter*, *Bukingham*, and *Norfolk* taken into Favour, and intrusted in the Government, and then he would be the happiest and richest Prince of Christendom; That all Persons guilty of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death be punish'd, as false Traitors to the King and Realm, and the rather, because by their Means the Duke of *Exeter*, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and the Noble Prince the Duke of *Warwick*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen, and all the King's Countries in *France* have been lost. Lastly, That all Extortions used daily among the Common People, viz, the *Green-Wax*, *King's-Bench*, and *King's-Pourvaysors*, and Statute of *Labourers* be so regulated by the King and his Council, that they may not be such an intolerable Burthen to the Commons of *England*.

These Bills being seen and perused as well by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled (k), as by the King's Council, were not only condemn'd and disapprov'd, but the Authors of them judg'd proud and presumptuous Rebels, not to be gratified with fair Promises, but suppress'd by force of Arms. The King who had been providing a Body of Men to chastise this seditious Crew, being thus encourag'd, order'd certain Lords with their Retinues to go before and skirmish with them, to see whether they would abide a Battel; but the Lord's Men boldly told them, *That they would not fight against the Men of Kent, who had no other Aim in*

The Parliament order the Rebels to be suppressed by Force.

(i) Of Sir *John Mortimer*, Brother to the Earl of *March*, who was beheaded in the former Reign. *Ibid.* 632.

(k) It does not appear that the Complaints of these People were rejected by the Parliament, only that the Council condemn'd 'em as they would have done, had they been more reasonable, considering the Method of presenting them. See *Hol.* pag. 634.

A. D. 1450. *their rising, but to reform the Disorders of the Government*: Whereupon they were forced to give over their Intention. A few Days after the King having gotten an Army of 15000 Men well accountred march'd with divers Lords to *Black-Heath* to fight the Rebels; but they had Intelligence of his Approach, and *Cade*, as if he had been afraid, retir'd the Night before into a Wood near *Sevenoake*, hoping that the King's Forces emboldned by his Retreat would pursue him in Disorder, and so they might rout them by lying in Ambush for them. But the King believing that thro' Fear of his Army the Multitude would dissolve of it self, return'd to London, and by the Queen's Advice, sent only a Party under the Command of Sir *Humphrey Stafford* and his Brother *William* to pursue them, that if any Parties should keep together they might disperse them. Sir *Humphrey* follow'd them to *Sevenoake*, and overtaking them fell upon them with much Fury and Zeal, but being over-power'd by the Rabble, he was slain with his Brother, and many other Gentlemen, and his whole Party discomfited. This Victory tho' scarce worth taking Notice of, yet had Two very ill Effects. For,

Rebels
kill Sir H.
Stafford,
and rout
his Party.

First, It alter'd the Minds of such Persons of the King's Army as were discontented at the Government, inso much that they wish'd, That the Duke of York were here to compleat the Deliverance, which *Mortimer*, whom they now esteem'd well of, had so happily begun, and which all Persons long'd for. The King perceiving these Things to be whisper'd among his own Soldiers, and fearing least the *Londoners* should rise and joyn with them, caused the Lord Say his Treasurer, whom the Rebels cry'd much out against to be imprison'd in the Tower, resolving, if Occasion requir'd, to sacrifice him to the People's Fury. But the worst-Effect of this Victory was,

Secondly, That it not only encourag'd the Rebels in further Attempts, but invited Multitudes to arm themselves to joyn with them for this pretended Reformation.

The Re-
bels en-
camp at
Black-
Heath.

Jack Cade having armed himself with Sir *Humphrey Stafford's* Brigandine, and other Armour, full of gilt Nails marched in great Glory towards London with his Rabble, being in his Way joynd with many seditious and idle Persons out of *Surrey*, *Sussex* and other Places, and again pitched his Tents upon *Black-Heath*, where he strongly encamped himself. The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and *Humphrey Duke of Buckingham* were sent thither to him by the King to commune with him about his Complaints and Petitions, and to perswade him to lay down his Arms, and submit to the King's Mercy. He answered 'em with much Gravity and Reason; but being exalted by his late Victory he resolutely told them, That he would not lay down his Arms, unless the King came in Person, and granted whatever he demanded. These Answers being brought to the King created many Doubts in his Mind what he should do. He had neither Subjects nor Servants he could safely rely on, most approving of the Rebels Cause, if not of their Actions: Whereupon he with his Queen by the Advice of his Council departed to *Kilningworth-Castle*, leaving no other Forces in London, but what was sufficient to guard the Tower under the Command of the Lord *Scales* and Sir *Matthew Gough*, one of the most famous Captains in the French Wars.

Cade and
the Re-
bels
march to
London.

The King's Retreat from London being heard of by *Cade* and his Followers, they immediately broke up their Camp, and marched towards that

City, himself lodging the first Night in *Southwark* at the *White-Hart*, where hearing what a great Party of the Commons of *Essex* were come to his Assistance, and were encamped at *Mile-End* he did not doubt to carry all before him. The Citizens of London seeing the Rebels so near their City, and expecting Admittance, were in doubt what to do: To deny him was very dangerous, and to give him Entrance would not prove less disadvantageous to them: Whereupon the Mayor called a Council to determine and resolve on what was to be done. Divers Opinions were among them, but most through Fear or Faction were for receiving him. *Robert Horn*, a Fish-monger and Alderman vehemently opposed them who were for entertaining him, which when the Rebels heard of, they were so enraged that the Mayor was forced to put him into *Newgate*, and open the Gates to give them Entrance, which happen'd July 2. At his first Entrance into the City (that he might gain the Favour and Love of the Citizens, and engage them more firmly to them) he caused a Proclamation to be made in the King's Name, strictly charging and commanding all his Followers. That no Man should dare to offer any Violence or Wrong to any Man, to rob, or take any thing away from any Persons without paying them for it, or commit any Outrages, or make any Quarrels in the Streets, or abuse or corrupt any Women, but all should behave themselves civilly and orderly upon pain of Death: and then he passed through London-Streets, and going by *London-Stone* struck it with his Sword, saying, Now is *Mortimer Lord of this City*. At Night he return'd again to his Lodgings at *Southwark*. On the 3d of July being Friday, this Captain of the Rebels returned again into the City, and having caused Sir *James Fines*, Lord Say and Treasurer of England, to be brought into the *Guild-Hall* of London, had him arraigned before the Lord Mayor and several of the King's Judges, who by his Order sat there to try him. The Lord Say, as in Law he might, demanded his Priviledge to be try'd by his Peers, but this Plea being dilatory, and he denying to answer to the Accusations brought against him before such incompetent Judges, *Cade* took him by force from the Officers and brought him to the Standard in *Cheapside*, where he caused his Head immediately to be cut off, not giving him so much Time as to make an end of his Confession. His Head he put on the top of a Spear, and had it carry'd before him, his Body he caused to be drawn naked at an Horse's-Tail through the City as far as his Inn in *Southwark*, and there to be quartered. Nor was his Rage against this Nobleman hereby satisfied; but sending to the *Fleet-Prison* he fetch'd from thence Sir *James Cromer*, his Son-in-law, who married his Daughter, then Sheriff of *Kent*, and for some Extortions he had committed in his Office carried him to *Mile-End* to the *Essex* Rebels, and there beheaded him. His Head also he fix'd upon a Pole, and had it carried before him with his Father's into the City, the Bearers making them kiss in every Street to move Laughter from the Bachelors, and in his Return to *Southwark* had 'em set upon *London-Bridge*.

A. D.
1460.
Reg. 28.

Cade ad-
mitted in-
to the Ci-
ty.

The Lord
Say tried
by the
Rebels.

These two Days the Citizens had nobly feasted and courteously entertained *Cade* and his Captains; for Alderman *Malpas* at his own Charge gave them a great Dinner; and one *Chorstis* of *St. Margaret Patin's* Parish did the like; but on the third Day they began ungratefully to requite their kind Hosts, robbing their Houses, with many other of the richest Citizens, of

Cade and
his Cap-
tains re-
treated by
the Citizens.

A. D. 1450. of whose Wealth they could get Information ; and if they found no Treasure, made them pay great Fines for the Safety of their Lives and Goods. Alderman Horn, who had a little before exposed himself to their Rage by his Loyalty to the King, and Zeal for the Safety of the City, was now in Danger of losing his Life ; but his Wife and Friends perceiving that Cade loved Money, went to him, and for 500 Marks purchased his Liberty.

Citizens
keep the
Rebels
out of the
City.

This Action of the Rebels frightened the Citizens, who seeing the ill Effects of admitting the Rebels, began to repent that they accepted not of Alderman Horn's Advice. Neither their Lives nor Goods, Wives nor Daughters were safe from the Rapine and Abuses of a rude Rabble : Wherefore they resolved to keep out of their City this wicked Captain, and his mischievous Company, and to that End they sent to the Tower to the Lord Scales and Sir Matthew Gough to assist them. The Lord Scales readily consented to their Desires, and promised them to play upon the Rebels with the Cannon of the Tower, and appointed Sir Matthew Gough to aid the Mayor and Aldermen all he could in this Attempt, by whose Advice they having gotten together the Train-bands of the City, planted themselves to keep the Bridge against them, and denied the Rebels Entrance. Their Captain hearing that the City opposed their Converse among them, ordered his Men to force their Passage, by which means rose a sharp Fight upon the Bridge, sometimes the Citizens, and sometimes the Rebels having the better of it, but neither were able to drive the other quite from it. The Fight continued many Hours, till at length both Parties being wearied and tired, a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon till the next Day ; but upon this Condition, That neither the Londoners should go into Southwark, nor the Rebels into London.

This Contest tho' not great, cost the Citizens some Lives of great Value, as Alderman Sutton, Robert Haisard, and Sir Matthew Gough, a Man whose Life was worth a Million of theirs that slew him ; but it was really the Conquest of the Rebels by the wise Improvement and Management of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, John Stafford. For this great Statesman being then Chancellor observing, that the Hearts of the Rebels began to faint, having the City of London for their Enemy, and that Jack Cade to strengthen his Party was forced to open the Prisons of the King's-Bench and Marshalsea, and give Liberty to that rascally Crew to support the Cause, in which they were the only fit Persons to engage, sent for the Bishop of Winchester to him in the Tower (the latter at Haliwell for Safety) and having consulted with him, formed a general Pardon for all Offences hitherto committed, and put the Broad-Seal to it, and passing into Southwark caused it to be publicly proclaim'd there. The poor deluded People, who long'd to be dismissed, were so glad to hear it, that without any Respect to their Captain, they left him and departed Home, glad to secure themselves, as fast as they could. Jack Cade being thus deserted by all but a very few, and not daring to stay for such Succours as were promised him by the Favourers of the Duke of York, thought it the wisest Course to provide for his own Safety by Flight ; and having sent the best of his Plunder by Water to Rochester, fled in Disguise into Suffex into the Wood-Country adjoining to Lewis, thinking so to escape, and by gathering a Rebellion again to

compass his Designs, which being known to the King's Council, a Proclamation bearing Date July 10. was put out to encourage all Persons with the Reward of 1000 Mark to apprehend him, and bring him alive or dead to the King or his Council. Alexander Eden a Gentleman of Kent accidentally (1) seeing the said Cade in a Garden at Hotbfield in Suffex, valiantly attempted to take him, and in fight with him slew him, and bringing him up to London in a Cart he receiv'd the Reward promised, and generously won. His Body was quartered, and the four Parts of it sent into several Parts of Kent, his Head being set on London-Bridge.

After this the King himself went into Kent, and sat in Judgment upon several Persons, who either were excepted in the Pardon, or had been again stirring up Rebellion in those Parts, and caused many of them to be executed in almost every great Town as well in Suffex as Kent to be a Terror to all Persons, who shall offend in the like Nature for the future. But yet so merciful was the King, that whereas above 500 Persons were obnoxious to his Justice, he punished only the Authors, or chief Leaders in the Treason.

In the time of these Tumults about London there were also several Seditious Assemblies in other Parts, as in Wiltshire, Hampshire and London which did much Mischief ; and among other Things William Ascath, Bishop of Salisbury after he had said Mass at Edington, was by his own Tenants taken from the Altar in his Albe, and with his Stole about his Neck, and being carried to the top of an Hill adjoining to the Town, was there shamefully murdered on June 29. and stripped to the Skin : His Shirt which was dyed in his Blood they divided among them, and display'd the Parts of it as Ensigns of their Wickedness which they glory'd in. His Chariot had been robbed the Day before of 10000 Marks.

Several
seditious
Assemblies
of
People.

While the Affairs of England were in this Confusion, Charles the French King made use of the Opportunity to get Aquitaine into his Hands, just as he had done Normandy before, and to that End sent the Earls of Ponthiuerres and Perigord to besiege Bergerat in Guien, situate upon the River of Dourdon, of which Captain Gedding was Commander. The French Forces consisted of 2500 Horse and Lances, which was too powerful an Army for a small Garrison to oppose : Wherefore, because the Captain could expect no Relief he made his Composition, that the English should march out on Horse-back, and have Liberty to carry out all their Goods, the Inhabitants enjoying their own as formerly, and so left the Town to the French. But yet the Lord Camois, Sir George Seimour, and Sir John Arundel, with divers other valiant Captains, who had the Government of the Country bestir'd themselves much to preserve it to the English by manning the Towns as well as they could, comforting the Hearts of the Gascoignes with Promises of Rewards, and sending Letters into England for speedy Aid, certifying the King, That unless they could have Relief soon the whole Country would inevitably be lost. But all they could get was fair Promises, no Relief appeared, nor Aid came ; whereupon the French Men pursuing their Victories got the Towns of Fansaie by Assault, in which 35 English were killed, and all the rest made Prisoners of War ; Monserat, St. Foy and Chalors, which all yielded upon Conditions, because they saw it in vain to

French
King gets
Aquitain.

Reg. 29.

(1) Holinshead writes, that he waited for him there. Ibid. 635.

A. D. hazard their Lives and Estates. *Burdeaux* in 1450. deed made a small Resistance, having some Advantage upon *Monsieur de Orval*, Third Son of *Monsieur de la Bresh*, who was marching with 4 or 5000 Men to invade the Isle of *Madock*. The Garrison of *Burdeaux* having Intelligence of it, issued out with an equal Number of English and Townsmen to fight him, hoping, if they could vanquish them, to set a Period to the French Conquests. *D'Orval* was as ready to receive them, as they to attack him, and accordingly they came to a Battel, but the Men of *Burdeaux* were beaten with the Loss of 600, and 1300 taken Prisoners. The French got not this Victory without some Hurt; for they lost 800 Men; but the Glory of Conquest made Recompence for all, tho' the City yet held out.

Upon *St. Leonard's Day*, which is *November the Sixth*, began the Parliament to sit at *Westminster*, wherein little was done, but only One Act made, whereby *Jack Cade* was attainted of High Treason, and all his Lands, Tenements and Goods given to the King, and his Blood made for ever corrupt. In the Beginning of this Session came the Duke of *Somerset* out of *Normandy* into *England*; and tho' he was welcom'd Home by the King and Queen, and her Party, yet thro' the Duke of *York's* Means, and because of the great Losses which had happen'd in *France* under his Regency, he was but roughly entertain'd by the People, who cried out against him as the Cause of the Loss of *Normandy*, and particularly of the City of *Caen*, the Metropolis of it (*m*). The Commons in Parliament assembled could not but take notice of the popular Clamours, and representing to the King his ill Conduct in *France*, and treacherous surrendring several Places to the French, caus'd him to be arrested and imprison'd *December the First*, which so animated the Rabble about *London* against him, that they got together in great Multitudes, and plunder'd his House in the *Black-Friers*, carrying away such rich Household Goods, as were portable, and defacing and spoiling the rest. The King hearing of these Tumults, put out a severe Proclamation, which he caus'd to be publish'd in several Streets of the City, making it Death for any Man to spoil or rob Houses; yet this did not quiet the Rabble, till one of them was beheaded in *Cheapside* for doing contrary to it.

A. D. 1451. The Bastard of *Orleans*, with his Brother *John*, Earl of *Angolessm*, and many other French Captains, being encourag'd with almost the daily Success of their Arms, carry on their Victories with great Zeal, that they might make their Master the compleat King of all his Country. And to this End, they besieged *Montguion*, which held out 8 Days, and then despairing of Relief, yielded; and then went to *Blay*, a Town standing on the Banks of the *Garonne*, which having been lately victuall'd and stor'd with Ammunition, stood out against them; but the French fearing no Force without, were resolv'd that none within should hold it out long; and to that End, besieged it both by Water and Land, and after several Assaults, took it, having slain and taken Prisoners above 200 English. Some few got into the Castle with the Captains, but held it out no longer than they could make a good Capitulation, and then rendred it with themselves into the Hands of the French. The other Towns, as *Burgh*, *Liborne* and *Acques*, delivered up their Keys at the first Summons. Other Captains of the

French Party were as active in other Places; and *Dunois* took *Fronsac*, a Place impregnable. The Earl of *Arminack*, an inveterate Enemy to Eng-land, took the strong Town of *Rion*, and the Earl of *Pontbeur Chatillon* in *Perigort*. *Fronsac* held them out till the Feast of *St. John Baptist*, in hopes to have Relief; but none coming, they surrendred according to Covenant. The honourable Conditions upon which they surrendred, shew that the French were glad to gain it on any Terms. They were these,

I. That the Garrison should march out with their Horses and Arms; and leave their Artillery behind them.

II. That those that would swear Allegiance to King *Charles*, should enjoy their Goods and Estates, in whatever Part of the Kingdom they were, and be pardon'd all former Faults.

III. That all that would serve the King of *France* in his Wars, whether Citizens or Soldiers of the Garrison, should have like Entertainment as his other Soldiers.

IV. That several English Prisoners named, should be set at Liberty without Ransome.

Which being granted, the English left the Town, and went to *Burdeaux*, which was also soon after besieged; but made no Resistance, only demanded Time for the coming of Succour, which not appearing by the Day appointed, the Garrison by Capitulation sail'd into *England*. These strong Cities being resign'd, all the other Towns in *Guienne* surrendred immediately except *Baion*, which the Earl of *Dunois* besieged *August the Sixth*. This was a very strong Town, and withstood the French Force, till a great Breach in the Wall being made by their Artillery, they saw they must be taken, and so came to an Agreement, but hard enough, viz. That the Garrison should depart with their Arms, and the City pay 40000 Crowns. The French Historians relate a Miracle that happen'd the next Day after the Surrender of it, which much settled the French in their Allegiance to *K. Charles*. In a clear Day, and serene Sky, there appeared a white Cloud in the Form of a Crucifix, with an Azure Crown on the Top of it, which afterward in the Sight of a Thousand admiring Spectators, was changed to a Flower-de-Luce, and then within half an Hour after vanish'd. This being generally known; was thus interpreted, That God by this Prodigy of a White Cross, did admonish them to relinquish their Subjection to the English, whose Badge was a Red Cross, and become firm and faithful Subjects to their own King, whose Ensign was a White Cross, and Arms, a Flower-de-Luce. Whether this were true or no, it is not material to examine; 'tis certain, that all these Revolts from the English, proceeded so much from a real Affection to the French King, and were accompanied with such Hatred to the English, that they were never likely to recover any of their Losses again, if they could retain the Little they had left; which was only *Callis*, *Hames* and *Guifnes*. Thus thro' the Factions of the Nobles and Commons in *England*, caus'd by the Queen's ill Management, was the English Interest in *France* quite neglected, and all their Territories lost.

The Duke of *York* yet being in *Ireland*, was nevertheless believ'd to be the Fomenter and Stirrer up of *Jack Cade's* Rebellion, and the other Disorders of the Nation by his Friends and Emissaries; and tho' he was at first thought

(m) *Roan* is the Metropolis or Capital City of *Normandy*.

A. D. 1451. Reg. 29. to have done the King Service by allaying the Sedition in Ireland with so much Mildness and Gentleness, yet now it was interpreted at Court, as nothing but Policy to ingratiate himself with the People, that he might gain their Assistance to compass his Designs in England; and therefore it was fear'd, that when ever he return'd, he would bring an Army with him, and disturb the Peace of the Nation. For these Reasons the King sent out his particular Orders into Wales, Cheshire, Shropshire and other Places, to hinder the Duke from Landing, if he brought any Number of Men along with him; and several Persons were employ'd to set their Friends in Ireland a-work, to take notice of his Motions and Actions which might tend to Rebellion; that if any Thing of that Nature appear'd, the King by timely Intelligence might provide for it. This after it was known to the Duke, he took very ill, and by Letter expostulated concerning it to the King, assuring him, *That he always had been, and ever would be the King's true Subject.* The King denies not the Fact, but owns that he did give such Orders, because of the several seditious Speeches which had been given out concerning him, as well by Seamen as others, which he took to be just Cause of Fears; but since he had declar'd, That he had never intended any such Thing, the King in his Answer concludes his Letter thus. *For the Easing of your Heart in all such Matters, We declare, repute, and admit you, as our true and faithful Subject, and faithful Cousin.*

King Henry's Progress and his Acts at Exeter. Towards the Latter End of this Year of the King's Reign, King Henry took a general Progress over the Nation, and came to the City of Exeter July 16th. being St. Kenelm's Day, where he was honourably receiv'd by the Clergy, who met him Three Miles from the City, and convey'd him to the Cathedral first, and then to the Bishop's House, where he lodg'd. During his Abode, he caus'd a Sessions to be held before the Duke of Somerset, to try several notorious Criminals and Traitors, who had fled to that Sanctuary, and condemn'd several of them to Death. The Bishop and Clergy hearing of it, came with heavy Complaints to the King, that by holding a Sessions there, he had violated the Privilege of the Sanctuary, and that these actions being against Law, were of no effect. The King and his Council told the Bishop, That it was a Scandal to the Church and Religion, that such holy Places should be a Patronage and Defence to such wicked Men, which the Law of God had commanded to be punish'd by the Magistrate's Sword: That the Persons condemn'd, were the most notorious Malefactors found guilty upon a Legal Examination and Tryal, and ought to be punish'd for a Terror to others: That if all Sorts of Crimes might find a Safety in Sanctuaries, contrary to their first Intention, Justice would be laid aside, and none punish'd but such as were not nimble enough to get in to these Places. All these Arguments would not prevail. Holy Church, nor the Sanctuary must not be prophan'd (as they said) with deciding of temporal Matters, and passing Sentences of Condemnation; tho' God orders expressly, *That all wilful Offenders should be taken from the Altar and punish'd.* These Exclamations mov'd the mild King so, that he let fall his lawful Proceedings, and releas'd many notorious Traitors and Criminals, tho' as he judg'd to the Disgrace of the Church; and soon after return'd to London.

The Duke of York, having receiv'd Intelli-

gence in Ireland of the bad Success of his Affairs in England, that Jack Cade was defeated, 1451. and his Company wholly routed, resolv'd to Reg. 30. go himself into England to consult with his Friends, and lay a better Foundation for his Proceedings. About Michaelmas he left Ireland, Duke of York goes into Eng- and came to Shore in England at Beau-maris, an land from Haven of Anglesey, in Northwales, intending to Ireland. have landed there; but by the King's Order and Command, he was kept from it by certain Officers sent by the King thither, viz. Henry Norrice, Deputy-Chamberlain, Tho. Norrice, his Brother, William Buckley, William Graft and Bartholomew Bold, saying, *That he was a Traitor, and an Enemy to the King, and should have neither Landing, Refreshing, nor Lodging for Men or Horses there.* These Words highly offended the Duke, but he had no Remedy but Patience; wherefore Coasting a while, he got a safe landing Place, and posted with all Speed to his Friends and Well-wishers, who waited for his Arrival at London. His chief Assistants and Counsellors were John Mowbrey, Duke of Norfolk and his Friends; Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, in Right contriv'd a Rebel- of his Wife, who was Daughter and Heir to a Rebel- the valiant Hero, Thomas Montague, who was lion. slain in the fatal Siege of Orleans; the Lord Richard Nevill, his Son, who was afterwards Earl of Warwick, by the Marriage of the Lady Ann Beauchamp; Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, who married the Duke of Somerset's Daughter, yet sided against her Father; and Edward Brook, Lord Cobham. All of them Persons of great Authority, numerous Attendants, and daring Valour. These with others of his Friends of less Note, had divers Meetings and Consultations how to raise him to the Throne; and at last came to a Resolution, *That the Duke of York should raise an Army under a Pretence of the Publick Good, viz. to remove the bad Counsellors about the King, and revenge the manifest Injuries and Wrongs done to the Kingdom by the Persons now in Authority, and particularly the Duke of Somerset, who had lost Normandy; and being chief in Favour with the Queen, was suppos'd to manage all.* But that he might have the fairer Pretences to do this, it was advis'd, *That he should first advertise the King himself of it by Letter, that it might be redress'd; and if he obtain'd it not, (as he knew 'twas not any ways likely he should) then his taking Arms would be the more justifiable, and the People would the more certainly and readily take part with him.* The Duke was not slack to follow these Methods, and accordingly in a few Days dispatch'd a Letter to the King, in which he submissively tells him, *That great Murmur and Grudging was universally in the Realm, because Justice was not duly administred against such as trespassed and offended against the Laws; and especially against such as were indicted of High-Treason, or said openly to be guilty of it, whereby great Inconveniences have risen to the Realm. Wherefore he counsels and advises the King, offering himself to be an Assistant in it, forthwith to ordain and provide, that impartial Justice be done to punish the said Offenders, and redress all Disorders in Government; and to that End, to send his Writs out to arrest such Persons as are guilty of it, of what Estate or Degree soever they be, and to commit them to the Tower of London, and other Prisons, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till they shall be deliver'd thence by Course of Law, and particularly the Duke of Somerset.* The King not suspecting the Design, nor observing how he sought an Occasion to quarrel with him, returns him this Answer. *That he had determin'd sometime since with The King's Answer. himself to erect a Council, (of which he had appointed*

A.D. 1451. the Duke of York to be one) and give them a more ample Authority and Power, than ever any had before, to reform all Disorders, and punish all such notorious Crimes as he complain'd of; but being a Matter of great Importance he would advise first with his Chancellor, and other Lords of his Council about it, and with them take such Orders as should be for the Publick Benefit of the Nation, and in the mean time would keep the Duke of Somerset under such Safe-guard, that he should be ready to answer to the Crimes objected against him.

A.D. 1452. This Answer, tho' as full as could be expected from a King to a Subject, did not at all satisfy, but the Duke immediately goes into Wales to levy an Army under Colour of removing bad Counsellours, and preserving the Nation from Ruin, and in a little time gather'd a great Number of People to assist him in his Enterprize. The King had soon Information of the Duke's Actions and Doings in those Parts from his Friends there, and having raised a strong Army, marched into Wales with the Duke of Somerset (now set at Liberty) along with him, intending to suppress the growing Rebellion in its Rise; but the Duke of York had Notice of the King's March towards him, and declined him, hoping to increase his Numbers in his Passage and to get Possession of London, to which he was resolv'd to go directly. The King was not presently sensible of the Duke's March by him, and so he recovered London before the King could overtake him; tho' after he heard that he was march'd that way, he followed him with all convenient Speed. The Duke sent some of his Friends before him to the Citizens to represent his Undertaking to them, and shew them, that he had put his Life in his Hands, and adventured the Loss of all that was dear to him, that he might retrieve the Nation from impending Ruin; and since London was the Capital City, they were chiefly concerned to join with him in so noble an Attempt, which if they would do, he doubted not of such Success as should enable him to requite their Favours with infinite Advantage to them: But the Londoners dared not to venture a second Time, since they had been so Unsuccessful in Jack Cade's Rebellion, and so deny'd to receive him into their City. The Duke, tho' greatly disappointed, disembled his Anger, and crossing over the Bridge

Duke of York encamp'd at Burnt-Heath, and the King on Black-Heath. at Kingstone, pitched his Camp on Burnt-Heath near Dartford, within Ten or Twelve Miles of London, with Trenches and Artillery. The King who followed the Duke the faster because he seem'd to flee, came up to London soon after and encamped his Army on Black-Heath, a few Miles distant from him; but before he would come to a Battle being very sparing of his Subjects Blood on both Sides, he sent the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, and Richard Andrews, Keeper of his Privy-Seal to know of the Duke for what Causes he had taken up Arms to disturb the Peace of the King and his Good Subjects, and to exhort him to submit to the King's Mercy and lay down his Arms. The Message was deliver'd to him by these Persons, and he answer'd, That he had taken up Arms not to do any Damage to the King, either in his Honour or Person, nor any of the King's good Subjects, but to remove from him several ill-disposed Persons of his Council, Enemies of their Country and King, who abused the Nobility, oppressed the Clergy, and impoverished the Commons, of whom the Duke of Somerset was the Chief, and if the King would put him into safe Custody, till he should in Parliament make a Defence to such Things,

as should be objected against him, he would dismiss his Troops, and present himself before the King, and serve him as all good Subjects ought to do. The Bishops and Lords, who were sent from the King, had a Commission to grant any reasonable Terms of Agreement which the Duke should require, and therefore assured him, that the Duke of Somerset should immediately be clapt up in Prison, and so the Duke on the first of March dismissed his Army, and broke up his Camp according to his Promise.

This Peace which might seem to favour of Cowardise, was made by the Duke out of Policy and good Consideration; for the King's Army was much greater than his, and consisted of much better Soldiers, so that he was in danger to have lost all, if he had come to a Battle; Besides, he had a further Reason to dismiss his Army, which he more relied on, and that was, That by dismissing his Men upon Promises of a Reformation, he would give the Nation a Proof, that he purely fought their Good, and not his own Advancement, that he aimed not at the Crown, but publick Welfare.

Some Days after Things were thus compos'd the Duke of York went to the King's Tent at Black-Heath, but contrary to his Expectation finding the Duke of Somerset at Liberty, he burst out into a Passion, and complain'd of the King's Breach of Promise in not imprisoning him, whom he accused of Treason, Bribery, Oppression, and many other Crimes, but Somerset as hotly recri- minated, telling him, that he was the greatest Traitor, affirming, that had contrived with his Friends and Accomplices to depose the King and assume the Crown to himself and Posterity. The King was amaz'd at the Words of both Sides, and put off the Hearing of them to a full Council, which he resolv'd immediately to call; and to that End return'd to London with all speed, and summon'd all his Nobles together at Westminster. By the Way it was much wonder'd at, that the Duke of York was carried as a Prisoner, but Somerset went at large. Before the King and his Council thus met the two Dukes charged each other with great Crimes. York urged all the popular Accusations, as the Loss of Normandy, Bribery, and Oppression of the People with much Zeal, and many Aggravations. Somerset answer'd them all, and added further, That the Duke of York had long ago resolv'd upon the Ruin of the King, and the House of Lancaster, that he might make himself King, and transfer the Crown upon himself and his Family, and to that End had conspired with many others how he might do it with most Certainty and least Danger: That if the Duke of York and his whole Family were not now punish'd with Death for these Crimes, such a Civil War would ensue as would prove the utter Destruction of the King and Kingdom. The Duke of York utterly denied this heavy Charge, and the Council was inclined to accept his Denial, as an Argument of his Innocency, partly because they thought, that if he had really been guilty of any such Crime, he would not have dismissed his Army so easily, and partly because there was a Rumour spread abroad, that the Earl of March the Duke of York's Eldest Son was coming up to London with a great Army of March-men to deliver his Father, which concurring with some Necessities of State to use the King's Army in Gascoigne, which Province having sent the Earl of Kendall and Lord D'Espar to offer their Obedience again, if they could be sure of Defence from the French, the Duke of York was discharged after he had taken an Oath in St. Paul's Church before the King and all his Nobility, to

A. D. 1452. Reg. 30. Duke of York swears Allegiance to K. Henry. See the Oath at length in Holinshed and Stow.

to this Effect. 'That he is, and ever would be the King's humble and faithful Subject, and bear him Faith and Truth all the Days of his Life; That he would at no Time assent to any thing attempted or done against his noble Person, and if he had Knowledge of any such Purposes would discover them to the King's Highness, and do all he could to hinder them; That he would never take any thing upon him against the King's Royal State or Obedience, nor suffer others so to do, but come always at the King's Commandment, unless hindered by Sicknes; That he would not for the future assemble or gather together any People unless at the King's Command, or in his own Defence, but if he were wronged or aggrieved would proceed after a Course of Law for Remedy of them: All this he promised to observe and keep by the Holy Evangelists, which he laid his Hand on, the Cross, which he touched, and the Holy Sacrament, which he was about to receive; and desired that if he ever attempted any Thing by Arms against the King's Majesty, he might be forever accounted a forsworn Man, and deprived of his Estate and Dignity; declaring, that he did all this without any Constraint, and so subscribed and sealed it. The Duke of York being set at Liberty by these Means, went to his Castle of Wigmores in the Marches of Wales and there kept himself as it were in Private, yet not without his Spies upon the Court, and the Duke of Somerset's Actions, who after his Departure was freed from his Rival, and rose higher in the Favour of the King and Queen than ever, ruling and governing all, as he pleased.

The King and Council having wisely composed this Domestick Broil, though indeed it was but like a Sore skinned over for the present, which breaks out more violently, fell close to a Consultation, how to answer the Expectation of the People of Gascoigne, who being oppressed with the King of France's Army, and with Taxes, longed for the old Liberty they enjoyed under the English, and grew weary of the French Yoke. Delays in this Case are dangerous. The Commons are fickle and unconstant. The Gascoignes if not eased might and would change their Minds, and turn to the French again: Whereupon an Army was dispatched into France under the Command of the valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who though a Person always diligent, yet in this Case out-did himself, and with 3000 men arrived in the Isle of Madocke before he was suspected. His Design was to march directly to Bourdeaux, but was stopped in his Way a few Days by the strong Town of Fronsacke, which held out against him, yet after a fierce Assault yielded; and he used the Inhabitants the more severely, because he would terrifie the neighbouring Towns, which without more ado returned to their Obedience. The City of Bourdeaux hearing of Talbot's Arrival sent Messengers by Night to him to take Possession of the City, which he neglected not one Moment to do, and got before the Town, the French having no Suspicion of them. At his Arrival the Citizens opened a Gate to give the English Entrance, which when the French Garrison observed, they endeavoured to have saved themselves at a Postern, but being pursued most of them were taken and imprisoned, but very few or none slain, either of them or the Townsmen. The Lord D'Espar and his Friends were very serviceable to the English in taking the Town. The Lord Talbot fix'd here a while to fortifie the City, and confirm them in their Duty to K. Henry,

that he might more safely leave them to regain the adjoining Country.

A. D. 1452. Reg. 31. King of France raises an Army to oppose the Lord Talbot.

While he was doing this, K. Henry sent over a Recruit of 2200 Men to join with him with Victuals and Ammunition under the Command of the Bastard of Somerset, Sir John Talbot, Son to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Moline, Harington and Caimois, and some others, with which he marched into the Country about Bourdeaux, and obtained many Towns and Villages without striking a stroke, the Inhabitants gladly embracing the Opportunity of submitting to the English under the Pretence of Fear and Force, to which they had such Inclinations through the Severity of their new Lord. The King of France hearing of this Invasion by the English, and with what Success they went on in taking Towns, raised an Army to oppose them, and sending his Son-in-law Count Clermont, and Messieurs de Lorbac and Orvall with 600 Horse, and 1200 Crossbow-men to put some stop to their Progress till he could gather a bigger Force, came in a few Days to them with 22000 Men, of which he kept 15000 in a Body, and sent the rest under the Marshal De Lorbac to besiege Chastillon, a Town which had lately revolted to the English. The Lord Talbot was as zealous to keep what he had gotten as to gain more, and therefore made haste to raise the Siege, having with him 5000 Foot, and 800 Horse. In his Way he took a Tower fortified by the French, and meeting with a Party of 500 which were come out a Foraging, he encountered them, slew and took many of them, the rest flying to the Camp at Chastillon, gave Notice to them of Talbot's Approach. The French hearing it were afraid to hold on their Siege, and withdrew in good Order into their Camp which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with Ordnance. Talbot had information, that the Siege was remov'd, and that the French had so placed themselves, that he could not attack them but at a great Disadvantage, yet knowing that the main Army of the Enemy was near, and that it would be almost impossible to free himself of it without fighting, he went on and assaulted the Camp with so much Fierceness, that he at last gain'd the Entry into it after a long and dubious Contest; but riding himself in the midst of his Soldiers to encourage them in this brave Action, was surrounded by his Enemies, and with an Hand-gun-shot through his Thigh, which killed his Horse, and he fell to the Ground, and so being in their Power was slain. His Son Sir John Talbot, Lord Lisle was close by his Father when this Accident happen'd, who advised him to save himself by Flight, because the Victory was lost, and it would be Fool-hardiness, not Courage to oppose a desperate Fate. He was young and might do his Country Service, if he would reserve himself to a more lucky Juncture, but it would stain all his former Actions so to do. The young Man, though never in a Battle before, yet had so much of his Father's Courage in him, that he would not shrink back, and chose rather to die with his Father than accept that Advice which might make him look not like his Son. With him died also Sir Henry Talbot his Bastard Brother, and Sir Edward Hall with 300 others, Men of Note and Valour. The Lord Moline and 60 more were taken Prisoners, the rest that saved themselves escaped to Bourdeaux, the slain on the English Side were 1000, the French say 2000. The Lord Talbot being thus kill'd in the 80th Year of his Age, and the English Army routed, Chastillon surrender'd it self into the Hands of the French upon Conditions, That the English

A. D. 1453. *Garrison might march out with their Goods, and pass safely to Bourdeaux. The Body of this brave Man lay sometime among the Dead undiscover'd, but being after found out by his Friends, was carried to Whitchurch in Shropshire, and there interr'd. After this Defeat, the French Towns revolted as fast from the English as they before came over to them, so that the French King in a few Weeks recover'd all Gascoigne except Bourdeaux, which being the last that held for the English, the French King besieg'd it in Person with his whole Army, resolving not to leave it till he had taken it. The Citizens valiantly defended themselves as long as they had any Provisions left, but being oppressed by Famine, were forc'd to capitulate. The French King willingly accepted their Proposals, and granted them almost as easie Conditions as they could desire; for his Army was as severely afflicted by the Plague without, as the Besieged were by Famine within; so the City of Bourdeaux was yielded to the French on these Conditions.*

Bordeaux retaken.

I. That the English might have Liberty with all their Substance to depart safely into England or Callis, and the Gascoignes enjoy their Goods and Possessions.

II. That the Lords D'Espar, Duras, and 30 others, should never upon pain of Death be found in any of the French King's Dominions.

And thus was the Duchy of Aquitain wholly lost, after it had been in the English Hands near 300 Years.

Reg 32. In the Beginning of this Year of his Reign, K. Henry dangerously sick. had King Henry a long Sickness at Claringdon, in which he was in great Danger of his Death, and happy had he been if God had taken him away from the Troubles, which were shortly to come upon him; but it pleased the Almighty to lengthen out his Life, and by the Use of Means to restore him to his former Health, which concurring with another great Blessing to the Royal Family, the Birth of a Prince, caus'd great Joy at Court, and thro' the whole Nation, with those who bore a good Will to the Lancastrian Line. For Queen Margaret was deliver'd of a Son at Westminster, October 13. Prince Edward born, and who was shortly after Christened by the Name of the Queen Edward. But the Yorkists, who sought to establish the Duke of York and his Family in the Throne, and were hot in contriving the Ways to it, spake disgracefully and scornfully of this Birth, and gave it out, That the King was insufficient and unable to get a Child, and therefore it was an adulterous Brat; but others thinking this Slander too notorious, because the King was not above Two or Three and Thirty Years Old, and might well enough be suppos'd able to father a Child, unless a natural Impotency could have been prov'd against him, which neither was, nor could be, denied not that the Queen had a Child; but dying soon after its Birth, the Prince was another's Child put in his stead. The King and Queen were much disturb'd at these vile Reports of their Enemies; but the King was not at all displeas'd with the Queen, which shew'd he had no Suspicion of her; and it can't be reasonably suppos'd, that a Person of such eminent Piety, as K. Henry was allow'd to be by his Enemies, would be privy to so ill a Design, as to accept another's Child for his own, so that the Satisfaction which the King took in the Birth of the Prince, and testified in Feasting the Court, and creating divers Noblemen, as his Two Brethren by Mother's side, he made Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, must be allow'd Arguments sufficient

to clear the Queen's Innocency with all impartial Persons, tho' they would not satisfy their Enemies, who were resolv'd to deprive both Father and Son of the Crown.

John Norman, who this Year was made Mayor of London, was sworn at Westminster according to the common Custom, upon the Morrow after the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude's Day; but whereas formerly the Mayor used to ride with great Pomp, attended with the Aldermen, and a numerous Train thro' the City to Westminster, to be sworn This Mayor was rowed in Barges to the great Advantage of the Watermen, who foreseeing the Profit, made a Song upon his Commendation, beginning, *Row the Boat Norman, Row to the Lemman, &c.* From him and his Time hath the Custom been deduc'd which still continues, for the Mayor to go by Water to Westminster to be sworn, and pity it is, it should be ever alter'd, which is so beneficial a Custom to the poor Watermen.

A little before Christmas in this Year died John Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was translated from the See of York to that See in the Room of John Stafford. Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, Son to the Countess of Stafford, and Brother to Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, was remov'd to the See of Canterbury, being made Bishop of that See, by Nicholas V. then Pope of Rome. He behav'd himself so well in this great Station, that King Henry made him his Chancellor, and Pope Paul II. rais'd him to the Dignity of Cardinal, so that he was as great a Man, as ever sat in that Archiepiscopal Seat.

The Wars of France being now at an End, the Civil Dissentions between the Houses of York and Lancaster began in contending for the Crown. Richard, Duke of York, was the Author of this War, and tho' he had sworn to King Henry never to disturb his Peace, nor move any Rebellion against him; yet his ambitious Desire of Rule would not let him rest, till he had the Crown on his Head. His Title indeed was very fair according to the Laws of this Realm, being the great Grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by whom the Three Henries derived their Right to the Crown. But King Henry VI. tho' his Title was not so fair and clear, yet not being the Usurper himself, but succeeding upon the Usurpation of his Father and Grandfather, Two most excellent Princes, and being himself of known Goodness and Piety, had so deep an Hold in the People's Affections, both for his Father's Sake as well as his own, that any barefaced Pretensions to the Crown, especially considering that none of the Line of the Duke of Clarence were ever in Possession of the Throne, would have appear'd both strange and ridiculous. And therefore the Duke of York spent most of this Summer in insinuating Jealousies into the Heads of the People, and by common Bruits and Reports to foment their Discontents. The Two Things which he chiefly buzz'd into their Ears, were,

1. That King Henry, tho' a very pious, good Man, was too meek and mean-Spirited to rule a Kingdom, which not his Enemies only thought of him, but his Friends, who abus'd his Weakness, and usurp'd his Power; the Queen and the Duke of Somerset ruling all at their Pleasure, and leaving him nothing but the Name of King, which certainly was an intolerable Encroachment upon the People, and a Shame to England all over the World, to be govern'd by a Woman and her Minions. That the Condition of the

A. D. 1453. Reg. 32. Mayor of London first went to Westminster by Water to be sworn

The Bourchier made Bishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1454.

The Beginning of the Wars between the Families of York and Lancaster.

York's Insinuations into the Commons and Nobles.

A. D. 1454. Reg. 32. the present Times were such, that they requir'd a King of Valour, Activity and Judgment, who by his Virtues and Wisdom, might settle Affairs both Abroad and at Home.

Reg. 33. 2. That notwithstanding he had once taken up Arms to rescue the Kingdom out of the Hands of the Duke of Somerset, and bring him to an Account for the unfaithful Management of his Trust in his Regency in France, in losing the whole Dukedom of Normandy, and had by Agreement laid down his Arms upon the King's Promise, that Somerset should be kept in safe Custody, and give an Answer to all Accusations brought against him the next Parliament, which was soon to meet for that Purpose, yet nothing was done in it. The Duke enjoy'd not only Liberty, but was in greater Favour and Power than ever, and no Parliament likely to meet, so that the Kingdom was in as bad or worse Condition than before; and the Men who were the Ruin of the Nation, were honour'd and encourag'd. A lamentable Posture of Affairs! And shall the Lovers of their Country stand still and see its Destruction, without putting an helping Hand to deliver it?

By these and such like Speeches he had dispos'd the Nation to a Rebellion, not against the King, (for no Harm was meant him good Man, who did no Ill to any Man, and desir'd the Nation's Welfare in all Things) but against the Queen, Duke of Somerset, and the rest of the Cabal, who usurp'd the King's Authority. The Duke in the mean Time wrought himself into the good Opinion of the Nobility, who most of them hated the Queen's Doings, and envied Somerset's Greatness, and especially made the Two Nevills, Father and Son, the one Earl of Salisbury, and the other Earl of Warwick, his Friends; Salisbury the most eminent for Policy and Council, the Earl of Warwick very popular, and admir'd for his innate Valour and Magnificence, Men able to raise and depose as they pleas'd. Things being thus concerted among these Noblemen, and contriv'd to be put in Execution. The first Attempt they made was upon the Duke of Somerset, whom they caus'd to be arrested in the Queen's Bed-Chamber, and sent him to the Tower of London, where he kept but a sad Christmas, under the Fears of his Enemies Malice, who were preparing a Bill of black Accusations against him to be ready for the Parliament, which was to meet soon. The King was very sick and hardly sensible when these Things were done by the Duke of York, to whom, as some write, the Regency of the Kingdom was committed by the Council, during the King's Weakness, and by Virtue of this Authority it was, that he call'd the Parliament to meet within a few Weeks after Christmas, and there openly before all the Lords and Commons assembled, accus'd the Duke of Somerset of High-Treason, and many other heinous Crimes, as the Loss of Normandy, and the late Mischance which happen'd in Guien. But the Queen, who was as intent for the Deliverance of the Duke of Somerset, as his Enemies were on his Destruction, had so contriv'd Matters, that nothing should be done against him; for the King being something amended, and come well to his Senses, she caus'd him, tho' very weak, to be carried to the Houses, and there to dissolve the Parliament for the present; and so nothing was determin'd in the Matter. This being done, Somerset was immediately set at Liberty, and that he might be out of the Reach of his Enemies Malice, he was made Captain of Callis and Guisnes, the only Parts of France that remain'd in the

York's Friends.

A. D. 1455.

Duke of Somerset imprisoned, and accused in Parliament.

Fourteenth Parliament, its Acts.

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33. King's Hands, which caus'd a fresh Discontent both among the Nobility and Commons, who did not spare to say openly, That he was a very unfit Person to be entrusted with those important Places, who was better at surrendering Towns than keeping of them; and if he was not afraid to yield up all Normandy to the Enemy, he would not scruple to deliver Two Forts only.

The Duke of York being thus enrag'd at his Second Disappointment, grew resolute to revenge himself by Arms, and having obtain'd an Absolution from the Obligation of his former Oath from the Pope, went into Wales, accompanied with his special Friends, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Lord Cobham and others, to gather another Army, and come up to London, which being known to the King and his Party, they prepared what Aids they could for their own Defence, and having gotten together a Body of about 2000 Men, the King himself in Person, with the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Dorset, Devonshire, Wiltshire and Pembroke, left London, (because it was thought the Duke of York had too many Friends there) and march'd May 21. to meet and engage him by the way. They came the first Night to Wadford, and the next Day to St. Albans, where hearing of the Approach of the Duke of York, he encamped and pitched his Standard in a Place call'd Goslow, or Sandisford, in St. Peter's Street. The Duke of York by his Spies knew all the King's Motions, but still kept on his March to St. Albans, and encamped in Keyfield near the same Town, his Army consisting of about 3000. The Duke and King being thus in Sight of one another with their Forces, the King after his peaceable Manner, sends Messengers to the Duke (tho' others say, that the Duke first sent Letters to the King) viz. the Duke of Buckingham and some other Nobles, to know of him what he meant by appearing in such an hostile Manner, to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, contrary to his former Oath and Promises. The Duke of York return'd them Answer, 'That both he himself and all with him were the King's faithful and loyal Subjects, and intended no Harm to his Person; but came to require that wicked and haughty Man the Duke of Somerset, who had lost Normandy, neglected Gascoigne, and brought the Realm into this miserable State; That whereas it was once and lately the Terror, now it is the Scorn and Derision of the World; That they would not be put off with fair Promises as they had formerly been, but would have him that hath deserv'd Death, or die in the Quarrel; yet if it would please the King to resign that bad Man into their Hands, they were ready without Trouble, or farther Breach of the Peace to lay down their Arms, and return into their own Countries. The King hearing this Answer, grew angry, and told the Messengers from the Lords, 'That he would not deliver up the Duke of Somerset, nor any Man in his Army to his Enemies, who had faithfully adhered to him against them, commanding them all to lay aside their Arms, and threatening them to hang them as a Terror to others, if they should dare to appear or fight against him. As soon as the Duke of York receiv'd his Answer, he returned himself to his Men and said, 'Since our Sovereign Lord will not be reform'd by our Intreaties, nor understand the Intention of our Meeting together, but is fully purposed to destroy us, and hath confirm'd his Resolution with a great Oath, let us consider

Duke of York absolv'd from his Oath of Allegiance gathers an Army.

The King meets the Duke of York at St. Albans with an Army.

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33. the Danger we are in, and to avoid this Mis- chief quit our selves like Men, and rather die with our Swords in our Hands, than to be put to an ignominious Death to shame our selves and our Posterity. And God Almighty, who reigns in Heaven keep us in our Right, and make us strong to oppose the Malice of them that seek our Ruin. And so gave Order to sound for the Battel. But while these Things were doing at one End of the Town, the Earl of Warwick arriv'd (n) with his March-Men at the other, and with great Fury fell upon the King's Vanguard, which having routed before the Duke of Somerset could come to relieve it, he brake into the Town about the middle of St. Peter's Street. The Duke of York seeing that fell on also with his Men, and so a furious Battel was commenc'd, which lasted some Hours with so much Slaughter, that it was thought there would not have been a Man left on either Side alive; but the Duke of York being much the stronger Side, and having kept back a certain Number of Men to renew the Battel, when the rest were wearied and tired, he so ordered the Matter at last, that by their Means the Victory became compleatly his; the King's Army was routed with the Loss of 800 of his Men, among whom were Edmund, Duke of Somerset, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Son to the Duke of Buckingham, John, Lord Clifford, and many other Persons of Note. Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham was wounded, and left the Battel when he saw that it would go against the King, as did also James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, and Tho. Thorp, Lord Chief Baron, with many other of the King's Retinue, who gave a bad example to the timorous Soldiers, and lost the Day. The King, tho' none of the best Warriors, remain'd till the last; but seeing himself forsaken, retir'd into a poor Man's House, where he might lurk as he thought unsuspected, till the Enemy withdrew, and he might have Opportunity to provide better for his own Safety; but he could not lie hid long.

The King taken by the Duke of York. The Duke of York had Notice where he was, and immediately went to him, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and being come into his Presence, besought him on their Knees, to forgive them what they had done that Day, and accept them for his Loyal Subjects; for now the Duke of Somerset, the common Enemy of the Nation, and the Cause of this Commotion, was dead, he and all adherents would remain during their Lives his faithful and obedient Subjects, and be ready in all Points to serve him as their Duty obliged them; and the Kingdom being in Peace, he should now reign in the greatest Happiness that ever King did; so that the Destruction of Somerset was his Preservation. The King being little comforted at these good Words, desir'd them to take care there were no more Hurt done, and keep their Soldiers from plundering and killing his People. (For the Northern Men after the Victory, behaved themselves very outrageously to the Townsmen and others, who had fought on the King's Side, killing and robbing as they pleased.) Whereupon the Lords put out a Proclamation in the King's Name, That all manner of Persons should lay aside their Malice one to another, and not commit any Acts of Hostility against any Man: And so all was quieted. The Duke of York and the Lords with him, having the King in their Power, conducted him with great Honour and Reverence to St. Alban's

Shrine, and after to his Lodgings, where he rested that Night. The next Day they remov'd with the King to London, and took up their Abode in the Bishop's Palace, where they kept their Whitsuntide with great Mirth and Solemnity, concluding there to call a Parliament to settle and compose all Things for the Good of the King and his People. This Battel of St. Albans was fought May 23. The Bodies of the Noblemen slain in it were buried in the Chappel of our Lady in the Abby there, and the rest in the Field adjoining. The Duke of Somerset left three Sons, Henry, Edmund and John, who to revenge their Father's Death took always King Henry's Part.

The Parliament met as by Appointment of the King and Lords upon July 9. and settled all Things according to the Lords Minds, but under the Pretence of doing them for the common Good. Some few Acts of Parliament were made for a Colour of the Justice, and Care of the Lords to the common Safety, viz. That Servants of Persons lately deceased, who have embezill'd their Master's Goods before the Executors could enter upon them, shall be attainted of Felony if they are found Guilty: That whereas the Officers of the Exchequer were guilty of great Extortion in exacting Fees on the People, it was hinted what Fees should be taken by them in the several Causes there adjudged and decided: That there should be but Six Common Attorneys in Norfolk, Six in Suffolk, and Two in Norwich, because it was found by Experience, that the Multitude of Attorneys in those Countries stirred up and procured many Suits of Law for small Trespasses, little Offences, and small Debts. These Acts were only to be a Specimen to the People, what a Reformation there would be if the popular Lords had the Rule, which was a curious Prologue to what followed, and was chiefly intended, and which began with these Votes.

1. That the Government as it was managed by the Queen, Duke of Somerset, and their Friends, had been of late a great Injustice and Oppression to the People.

2. That the King, who was of himself a pious and good Prince, had been abused by those that counselled and advised him, to his great Dishonour.

3. That the Duke of Gloucester, whose Memory had been stained with a Charge of Treason and Rebellion since his Death, was a true and faithful Subject both to King and the Realm.

4. That all Alienations and Gifts of the Revenues and Lands of the Crown, whether made by the King himself or his Parliament, from the first Year of his Reign should be revoked, and the said Lands and Revenues resumed and taken into the King's Hands.

5. That no Person or Persons should judge or report, that the Duke of York, Earls of Salisbury and Warwick were guilty of Rebellion or Treason in coming in a Warlike Manner against the King at St. Albans, since the Action was necessary and taken in Hand to free the King from Captivity, and bring Peace and Safety to the Nation, but all the Blame was to be laid upon the Duke of Somerset, Lord Chief Baron Thorp, and William Joseph, Esq; who out of a malicious and evil Design kept a Letter sent by the Lords from the King's Knowledge, which if it had been deliver'd to the King's Majesty would have taken away the Occasion of these Disorders.

(n) Hall says the Earl of Warwick fell upon the King's Men while there was a Treaty of Peace on Foot.

A. D. 1455. By these Votes and Acts they made way for the Resolution, which was the main drift of all, and by which it was appointed, that the Duke of York should be the Protector of the Realm; That the Earl of Salisbury should be Lord Chancellor, and to that End the great Seal was delivered to him, and the Earl of Warwick was made Governour of *Calis*, and the Territories thereunto belonging, and so all Authority both Civil and Military was in a manner put into the Hands of the Lords, and Henry had only left him the Name of a King, nor should have that, 'tis probable, but that his Innocency and Holiness was had in so great Veneration among the common People, that had K. Henry suffered any Evil from the Lords, they would have immediately forsaken them, and turned their Fury upon them. This the Lords were very sensible of, and therefore would venture no further against him, than might fairly justify their Pretences to reform the former ill-Government, and establish the Commonwealth in its ancient flourishing Condition, and to this End they displaced all such Persons from Offices of Trust in the Court, and from the Privy-Council, as the King loved, or Queen favoured, had any Principle of Loyalty, or had been Supporters of the *Lancastrian* Line; They were also careful to administer Justice impartially, and avoid Delays of Suits, and punish Bribery to ingratiate themselves with the People. And tho' they ventured upon one Thing, which never any King durst do, which was to take *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter* out of the Sanctuary at *Westminster* to imprison him in *Pomfrait-Castle*, a Sacrilege much complained of by the Abbot and his Monks, and contrary to an Order made in the last Parliament, yet the plausible Pretence of doing it for the publick Good made the People to swallow it patiently, and dispense with the Injury done to the Church.

Reg. 34. The Queen, who while the King was in his Enemy's Hands, and ruled by their Councils, or rather over-ruled by their Threats and Policy, beheld all these Transactions with great Regret, as soon as he was delivered, sought all means to revoke what they had settled, and place the King on his Throne again with his undoubted Authority and Power. She was sure of the Assistance of several eminent Lords in this her Design, and being a Person of Masculine Spirit was not afraid to undertake any Thing to keep up the Dignity of her Husband's Crown. Henry Beaufort now Duke of *Somerset* by the Death of his Father, was eager to revenge it, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Buckingham*, who at the same time lost his Son and Heir, was no less zealous to pull them down, who had raised themselves upon his Loss. All the Lords of the *Lancastrian* Faction, evidently seeing the Tendency of the Duke of York's Actions to be towards the Crown, thought it for their own Safety to join with the Queen in pulling him down from his Usurpation, and to that End they all met in a Great Council at *Greenwich* by the Queen's Appointment, and after a full Debate upon what had passed came to this Resolution. That the King was no Child, and consequently needed no Tutor, but it being a Reproach to his Majesty to be governed at the Discretion of others, the Duke of York should be put out of the Protectorship, which he had so injuriously assumed, and the Earl of Salisbury deprived of his Chancellorship, which the King being very easily persuaded to do, an express Order under the King's Seal was dispatched to them to resign their Offices. The Duke of York was amaz'd at this sudden turn of Affairs;

but since it was an undoubted Prerogative of the Crown to place or displace the Officers of it as he pleased, he dar'd not oppose it, least he should be plainly guilty of Rebellion, and so with a feigned Patience he yielded to it, tho' to the great Discontent of his own Party; but immediately left the Court, as if being discharged from publick Business, he would retire to attend his Private; having still in his Mind the same Designs of raising himself to the Throne, as well as of revenging this Affront, when Opportunity offered it self, which could not be long to such restless Spirits, as both he himself and many of his Party were of, who if they find not an Occasion to execute their ambitious Contrivances will make one. And this seems to be first attempted within a few Months after in the City of *London*, where the Duke of York had many Friends ready to stir up Tumults for his Advantage, and who watched the least Stirs to inflame them into open Rebellion, which thus first happened.

In May a certain English Merchant, who while he was in *Italy* had been prohibited by the Magistrates to wear a Sword, or any other Weapon, according to the Custom of *England*, met an Italian in *Cheapside* wearing a Dagger, and told him, That the English were not allowed to wear a Sword in *Italy*, he ought not to wear one in *England*. The Italian angry at this Rebuke gave him a rough and uncivil Answer, which so provoked the young fiery Merchant, that he not only took away the Italian's Dagger, but with it broke his Pate. The Italian immediately goes to the Mayor and complains of the Abuse, and the Merchant being summon'd to answer for it, was for want of a good Excuse imprison'd. The seditious Citizens, and especially the Prentices, made this an Occasion of rising, and gather'd together in great Numbers to deliver the Merchant out of *Newgate*, which when they had done, they in great fury went and pillaged the Houses of the Italians in several Parts of the City. The Mayor and Aldermen with the Assistance of many grave Citizens opposed the Rabble, and at length appeased them, putting several of the Chief of them into *Newgate*. The Queen and her Council, who now again ruled all, hearing of these Tumults in the City, and easily guessing at the Reason and Cause of them, sent the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Buckingham* with some other Noblemen to joyn with the Mayor and Aldermen in punishing such as were in hold for it severely, that they might be a Terror to others; but when the Commons of the City heard of it, and that the said Dukes and Mayor were set to try them according to their Commission, they rose again, and threatening the Judges, if they determin'd any thing severe against them, so frightened them, that they left *Guild-Hall* and departed, and so nothing was done that Day. But afterward the Mayor calling together a Common-Council took such effectual Course with the Wardens of the several Companies, that all were still, and the Commissioners had Liberty to sit in *Guild-Hall*, where they condemned several Persons for this Riot, Three of which were hanged at *Tyburn*, and the rest fined.

The Queen, who was as suspicious and watchful as her Enemies were active, was very busie to countermine all their Contrivances and Plots; and because she had some Fears, that the City of *London* was false to the Regal Interests, she caused the King to remove his Court from *Westminster* to *Coventry* in *Warwickshire*, yet under the Pretence of taking the Air, and spending some

Some of the Seditious taken and punished with Death.

Reg. 35. K. Henry removes his Court to Coventry.

A. D. 1456. some time in the pleasant Pastimes of Hawking and Hunting. Here in the Intervals of their Sports she and her Council had many private Meetings to contrive the Ruin of the Duke of York, and his two potent Confederates Warwick and Salisbury, as knowing, that as long as he lived, and had such potent Friends to abet his Claim to the Crown, it was impossible that K. Henry could quietly enjoy his Throne. Divers Ways were propounded, but at length they agreed upon this, which they judged most plausible and likely to take effect, viz. That it should be pretended, that some Matters of great Importance to the State had unexpectedly happened, which required the Council and Advice of the wisest and sagest Peers of the Realm, and that the King and Queen extremely desired that the Duke of York, and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should be present, with other Lords to consult about it, and to that End the King should send to each of them a very kind and obliging Letter under his Privy-Seal to desire their Attendance and Assistance at Coventry upon a certain Day and Hour therein named, with a Charge not to fail in their personal Appearance. The Duke, and Earls believing all these feigned Pretences to be real, and having not the least Suspicion of Danger, set forth at the time appointed to wait upon the King at his Commands, as their Duty obliged them, but in the Way they received a certain Information from some Friends, what Mischief was really intended them, which they would hardly be able to avoid if they ventured themselves into the City. Whereupon the Lords, who were surprized at such base Treachery, thought it best to provide for their own Safety, and sending their Retinue before them into Coventry, as tho' they themselves were coming, they fled every one to their Castles, viz. The Duke of York to Wigmores in the Marches of Wales, Salisbury to Middleham in Richmondshire, and Warwick to Calis, having contrived and agreed at their Parting upon a secret Way of holding Correspondence by Letters, till they could meet again with greater Terror to their Enemies. The Queen was not a little disappointed at this their Retreat, and loss of her Prey, but was forced to sit down contented with the Satisfaction, that tho' she had not obtained her Desire, yet she had so terrified them, that they were parted one from the other for Safety, and so were become less formidable to her.

Two Prodigies appeared in England. In November in the Island of Portland not far from Weymouth in Dorsetshire was seen a Cock with a great Crest upon his Head, great red Gills, and Legs half a yard long, who stood upon the Sea and crowed Three times, turning himself every time a several way, and nodding his Head towards the North, South and West, he was particoloured like a Pheasant, and when he had so done he vanished. A little after there was taken at Erithe within 12 Miles of London Four wonderful Fishes, viz. Two Whales, One Sword-Fish, and a Fish called Mors Morina. These Prodigies were a little amazing to all Men, and such as would venture to prognosticate the Signification of them, gave it out, that they were Fore-runners of Wars and Troubles in England, which after proved true.

A. D. 1457. The Diffentions which had for some time been in England between the King and his Nobles continuing and daily increasing, put the French King in Mind of revenging the Wrongs and Injuries, which France had suffered from the Eng-

lish; and tho' he could not pretend any Right or Title to the Crown, nor hope to form an Invasion with Success, yet he might endamage and plunder the Coasts without any Resistance or great hazzard to his Men. And for this End he caused all suitable Preparations to be made both of Ships and Men against the Spring, which when equipped and fitted out he divided into Two Navies, and sent them to Sea under the Command of William, Lord Pomiers, and Sir Peter Bressy. At the Mouth of the Saine these Two Fleets parted, and went the one Eastward and the other Westward. Sir Peter Bressy, who sailed East, coasted along the Shore of Suffex and Kent, but not daring to land, staid in the Downs till they could get Information about the State of those Counties, and being at length certified, that Sandwich was neither well Peopled nor fortified, because being lately infected with the Plague, the Magistrates and most of the chief People were remov'd out of it, and gone to the neighbouring Villages and Towns; he entred into the Haven, and pillag'd the Town, taking such poor Stuff as was found therein, and then hastned away, because he heard that the Country was rising upon them. The Lord Pomiers, who took his Course Westward, in the mean time committed the like Outrages in Devonshire, in plundering and robbing the Town of Fulney or Fowey, (o) which done, they both retir'd into Bretagne, but hardly with Prey enough to recompense the Charge the French King had been at in setting them out. While the French thus molested the Coasts, the Scots, who ever joyn'd with the French against England, invaded the Borders, and entering Northumberland in a good Body under the Command of their King, James II. burnt and plundered several small Villages and Houses. But the Duke of York hearing of their Attempts, got together a good Army, and hastned with all speed to drive them out of the Country, which when the Scots had Knowledge of, they immediately returned Home with little Profit to themselves, tho' they had done no small Damages to the English. Besides these Troubles which England suffered from her Enemies Abroad, the Disorders caused by the Nobility at Home, wrought no small Prejudices to it; for at the same time in the Northern Parts there happen'd a great Fray between Sir Thomas Piercy, Lord Egremont, and the Earl of Salisbury's Sons, whom the said Lord hated for their Father's Sake, as being of the opposite Faction to himself and Family, and fell upon them and their Retinue in open Field, and slew and wounded many of their Followers, and then fled. The King and Queen, tho' they did not much dislike the Action in themselves, yet least by overlooking the Wrong, they should provoke their Father and his Friends to any new Attempts, they gave out strict Orders for apprehending the said Lord, and having taken him, he was examin'd and tryed before the King's Council, by whom he was found guilty of an high Misdemeanour, and condemn'd to pay a large Fine to the Earl of Salisbury, and because he would nor pay it, nor give him Security for the same, was committed to Newgate, with his Brother Sir Richard Piercy, who was guilty of the same Riot, but whether thro' Negligence of the Keeper, or by the Weakness of the Prison, in a little time after he made his Escape, and let out several other Prisoners with him, to the great Trouble of the Sheriffs of London, who were oblig'd to find them out again.

(o) Fowey is in Cornwall.

A. D. 1457. The Lord Egremont kept himself private for a while, but at length by his Friends obtain'd his Pardon, and Release of his Fine of the King, and so was restor'd to his Liberty. Not long after the like Dessention happen'd between the Young Duke of Somerset and Sir John Nevil, the Earl of Salisbury's Son, who met at Salisbury with large Retinues, and threatned each other with Slaughter and Destruction, but by the Vigilance and Care of the Mayor, who kept strong Watches and Guards upon both Parties, they were hindred so long from joyning, that by the Mediation of Friends their Anger was pacified and no harm followed at that time. Thus was England miserably harassed at Home and Abroad thro' her own Divisions, and she that was so lately formidable to all her Neighbours, was made a Prey to the Meanest of them.

The Troubles of Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester. Soon after the Feast of St. Michael in this Year began the Troubles of that learned and godly Divine Reginald Peacock, then Bishop of Chichester. He had for many Years lived in very great Reputation for his Holiness and Piety, and for the promoting of the Truth of the Gospel had wrote several Books, which he entitl'd, 1. Of the Christian Religion in general. 2. Of Marriage. 3. Of the just expressing of the Holy Scripture in Three Parts. 4. The Donet of Christian Religion. 5. The Follower of the Donet. 6. A Book of Faith. 7. The Book filling the Four Tables. 8. The Book of Worshipping. 9. The Provoker of Christian Men. 10. The Book of Counsel. Besides these Writings which were intended chiefly for the Benefit of the People, he had moved several Questions in the Universities about the Annates, Peter-pence, and the Jurisdiction of the Pope which he exercised here in England, and delivered his Opinion freely concerning them, but no ways in Favour of the Pope. He is also said to have pitied the Ignorance of the People so much, that he spent many Years Labour in translating the Bible into the English Tongue. By all these Things he very much angered the Hierarchy, but nothing was attempted against him so long as his great Patron, and Favourer of his Piety and Learning lived Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, by whose Means he was first made Bishop of St. Asaph, and then of Chichester. But soon after that good Duke was murdered, the Bishop was then exposed to his Enemies, who reading over his Books and picking up his Assertions delivered in his Disputations, brought an heavy Charge of Heresie, and other Crimes against him to Thomas Bourchier, then Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who being a Person zealous for the Papal Grandure and Power was forward and active in the Prosecution of him. This Arch-bishop began his Process against him October 22. sending out a Citation to all Persons who had any thing Heretical and Erroneous to charge the said Bishop of Chichester with, to appear before him within 20 Days after Summons, to speak, propound, alledge and affirm fully and sufficiently in Writing whatsoever they had to say against him, strictly forbidding all Persons as well of the Clergy as Laity in the mean time to inveigh against any Propositions laid down by the said Bishop in his Books so long as the Examination of them was depending in the Arch-bishop's Court. Upon the Day appointed not only the Enemies of the Bishop, but the Bishop of Chichester himself, being as valiant for the Truth as his Enemies were furious against him, appeared before the Arch-bishop, and the Divines and Lawyers belonging to his Court at

Lambeth. The Articles laid to his Charge by A. D. 1457. his Adversaries were these, viz. That he had in his Books, Works and Writings asserted many Heresies and erroneous Doctrines contrary to the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith: As, 1. That it is not necessarily to be believed, that Jesus Christ after his Death descended into Hell. 2. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church. 3. Or in the Communion of Saints. 4. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe the Body of Christ to be materially present in the Sacrament. 5. That the universal Church may err in Matters of Faith. 6. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe, that what every general Council doth ordain, approve or determine should be holden and approved by all Christians. Other Opinions and erroneous Assertions he was charged with, as that he said, That the Office of a Christian Bishop is chiefly to preach the Word of God; That Bishops who bought their Admission to their Sees of the Bishop of Rome; did sin; That no Man is bound to obey or believe the Determinations of the Church of Rome; That the wilful begging Friars were an idle and needless Order; That Spiritual Persons ought not to have any Temporal Possessions; And that personal Tithes were not due by the Law of God. But these last, with many of the like Nature, were imputed to him to blacken his Name, and make his Condemnation seem deserved. The former Six were in all probability the Articles proved upon him out of his Books, Sermons and Disputations, when he was brought before the Arch-bishop in his Consistory, and these he defended very strenuously and boldly in the Presence of the Arch-bishop and many great Lords, but at length partly by Menaces and Threats, and partly by Flattery, and Perswasions, he was prevailed withal by his Brethren the Bishops to recant his Opinions, which he did Decemb. 4. at St. Paul's Cross in the English Tongue, consenting that his Books should be burnt as a Terror to others, and exhorting all Men present to give no Belief to any of the Doctrines delivered in them. But tho' he recanted, yet he was not thought by the Bishops themselves to renounce his Errors heartily, and therefore he was not only deprived of his Bishoprick, but kept in Prison all the remaining part of his Life, where whether he died of Trouble and Grief, or was destroyed by his Enemies is uncertain, but sure it is he lived not long after. (p)

King Henry and his Council observing, that notwithstanding several Provocations had been given the Lords to rebel by the Queen and her Friends, yet they retain'd a great Desire of Peace, as they had testified partly by their living quietly upon their Estates, and partly by sending their Friends to him to mediate for an Agreement, removed to London about Christmas, and soon after his Arrival summoned a great Council, and there freely and openly declared, That since he perceived that the Divisions which of late had happened between himself and some of the chief of his Nobles had been the only Encouragement to the Scots and French to molest and invade his Kingdom the last Summer, and would still more embolden them to do the like, if these Home-Animosities continued, it was his Desire, that a Reconciliation should be made with all convenient Speed, promising upon his Salvation, that no Injuries done to his Person or Friends should be any Impediment to a perfect Amity between them, but at their Desires all Things should be forgotten and forgi-

He is accused of Heresie.

He recants his Opinions.

A. D. 1458. K. Henry returns to London, and offers a Reconciliation with the Lords.

(p) He was confin'd first to his own House, and then he had leave to retire to an Abby, where he had a Pension assign'd him for his Maintenance.

A. D. 1458. ven, and the Duke of York and his Friends taken into especial Favour and Love, that so the Nation might unanimously oppose its Enemies.

The King, who was at all times a Stranger to Diffimulation, was immediately by all the Council judged to speak these Things with his usual Candor, and out of a pure Desire of the Peace of the Nation, and therefore pursuant to his Order certain Persons of Quality, who were judged fittest to mediate between the King and the Duke of York for their Gravity and Moderation, were dispatched to the Lords of the York Faction, to command them to repair to the King's Court without Delay, there to treat and consult with the King about a Pacification of all Parties for the good of the Publick. This Message was accepted by the Lords with great Readiness, and accordingly on the 15th Day of January the Earl of Salisbury with a Retinue of 500 Men arrived in London, and lodged by the King's Appointment at his own House, called *the Harbour*, and on the 26th of the same Month came the Duke of York with a Train of 400 Men, and took up his Residence at *Bainard's-Castle*. Soon after him came the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham and Somerset with a mighty Throng of Attendants, viz. 800 Men, and had their Lodgings ordered them without *Temple-Bar*. Next arrived the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford with a Train of 1,500 Men, and had their Quarters allotted 'em in the Suburbs of the City. The Earl of Warwick, who was Captain of *Callis*, and resided there, required a greater Time to prepare and come over, and therefore came up to London not till February 14. but appeared with the greatest Splendour, having 600 Men to attend him, all in Red Jackets with White ragged Staves embroidered on them behind and before, and made his Abode in the *Black-Friers*. When all the Lords were arrived, the King and Queen followed on March 17. with a very strong Guard and Attendance, and lodged in the Bishop's Palace. And tho' the King and his Council had well provided, that the two Factions might be so separated, viz. the one in the Suburbs, and the other in the City, that there might happen no Quarrels, between them; yet least any unexpected Difference should arise, the Mayor and Magistracy of the City were order'd to keep up a Body of 5000 armed Men to maintain the Peace indifferently between them, who accordingly Day and Night kept a strict Guard, and rode up and down the Suburbs and City with them to prevent all Disorders which might arise. The King and his Nobles on the one part held their Consultations apart at first in the Chapter-house at *Westminster*, and the Duke of York with his Party met at *Black-Friers* to debate upon such Conditions of Peace as they should agree to accept, and when Things were settled among themselves, the Arch-bishop and Bishops, who perswaded both parties to moderate Terms, brought 'em to a Communication together, and at length after many Debates and hot Contests on both Sides, they promised to forget all Wrongs and Injuries done on either Side, and to be Friends to each other, and obedient to the King, but upon these Conditions, which being set down in Writing were signed, sealed and delivered by both Parties March 23. and were to this Effect, viz.

Articles of Agreement between the King and Lords.

I. That the Duke of York and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should settle 40 l. a Year upon the Abby of *St. Albans* for ever, for Suffrages and Obits to be kept, and Alms to be employ'd

for the Souls of *Edmund*, Duke of Somerset, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas, Lord Clifford, with the rest of the King's Friends, who were slain in the Battle of *St. Albans*, which Lords were declared faithful Subjects to the King at their Deaths, as well as the Duke of York, and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury.

II. That the Duke of York should pay Eleanor, Dutches of Somerset, and Duke Henry her Son, the Sum of 5000 Marks to be divided as the King should think convenient among the younger Children of the said Dutches, and the Earl of Warwick 2000 Marks to the Lord Clifford to be distributed among his younger Brethren and Sister by the King.

III. That whereas Sir Thomas Piercy, the Lord Egremont, and Richard Piercy, Sons of the Countess of Northumberland were fined to pay to the Earl of Salisbury, his Wife and Sons, Thomas and John Nevill 14800 Marks for Trespasses found by Richard Bingham and Ralph Pool the King's Judges to be done to the said Earl of Salisbury and his Sons, it was agreed, that the said Sums should be released by them to the said Offenders, yet upon Condition, that the Lord Egremont and his Brethren should enter into a Recognisance in Chancery to keep the Peace with the said Earl of Salisbury, his Wife, Children, Servants and Tenants, and the said Earl should discharge the Tenants of the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Egremont from their Obligations to stand to their Order and Government.

IV. That all Variances, Discords and Debates, all Controversies, Appeals and Actions personal, that are or have been between any of the said Lords and their Servants shall be for ever determined and ended, saving to every one their Title, Action and Right to all Arrerages of Rents, Services, Accounts, Detinues or Debts due by any Contract or Deed, and that Releases should be given to each other accordingly.

V. That if any Action, Suit or Quarrel changed between any of the Servants or Tenants of the said Lords for any Matter or Thing, that none of the said Lords should support, maintain or aid the Persons so suing, but use their utmost Endeavours to bring them to Peace and Quietness.

VI. That if any Party complained of the Breach of this Agreement he should not bring his Action, unless the King's Council see just Cause to allow it.

VII. That if any Variance arose about the Recognisances, Releases or Acquittances between the Council of both Parties, it shall be determined by the two Chief Justices.

VIII. That whereas the Persons bound in Chancery by this Award were obliged to obey it in great Sums, the King should not pardon them without the Consent of the Party aggrieved; and if they were recovered, the King should have one Moiety and the Complainant the other.

This Award and Agreement was sealed with the Great Seal at the King's Palace of *Westminster*, March 24. in the Thirty Sixth Year of the King's Reign; and the next Day being openly proclaim'd and publish'd, was receiv'd with universal Joy, and a solemn Procession celebrated by the King and Court, within the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in London, in Testimony of their Thankfulness to God for this happy Union. In this Procession all Things were contriv'd to declare a perfect Amity between the Factions; for before the King, went the Duke of Somerset, and Earl of Salisbury Hand in

A Procession after the Sealing of it.

A. D. 1458. *Reg. 36.* in Hand; the next the Duke of Exeter, and Earl of Warwick, and so on, the one of the one Faction, and the other of the other, being join'd together. The King came behind them in his Regal Robes, and the Crown on his Head; and after him the Duke of York leading the Queen, who was very familiar with him, as if she had a real Favour for him; but as she was always a great Artist at Diffimulation, so she never more used it than at this Juncture, when it ought to have been quite laid aside, as the following Transactions will evidently shew.

All Things being thus concluded, the Lords parted from the King and Queen with all outward Signs of Friendship; and the Duke of York and Earl of Salisbury went to York, but the Earl of Warwick staid at the Court a while about the Business of Callis, and about *Whitsuntide* passed over to his Charge. While he continued there, he went out with Fourteen of the King's Ships, (for he was also made Admiral of the Narrow Seas) to scour the Coasts, and met with a Fleet of *Spaniards* laden with Merchandize, but well furnish'd for their Defence. The Earl was not able to deal with them, yet being unwilling to part with so rich a Prey, he resolv'd to encounter them, and so began the Fight, which they as resolutely maintain'd against them. The Battel continued almost two Days, but at last determin'd in Favour of the Earl, who took Six of their Ships laden with Wine, Oil, Wax, Iron and other rich Merchandizes, worth 10000 Pounds Sterling; and sunk and put to flight Twenty-six more, having slain a 1000 of their Men in the Fight, and taken many Prisoners, with the Loss of not above an 100 Men. This Victory not only increased the Fame of this great Earl, but by his generous Temper in carrying (q) over into England the Goods he had taken; he caused those Things to be sold for a Shilling which before would have cost Two.

Among this Fleet of the *Spaniards* were Five *Genoa's* Carricks, of which Three were taken; and the other Two which fled Home, bringing the News of the Loss, incensed the *Genoefes* to revenge it upon such English Ships as they could light on, which not long after they did in this Manner. One *Sturmyne*, a *Bristol* Merchant, had been traveling some Years in divers Countries of the *Levant*, and other Eastern Parts, from whence he was returning with rich Merchandizes, and as was said, brought green Pepper and other Spices with him, to have set and sown in England. The *Genoefes* having Intelligence of his Return, laid wait for his Ship, and taking it, spoiled it of all its Goods, and several others with it. The News of this Action being heard of by the King and his Council, an Order was sent out to seize all the Merchant *Genoefes* in London, and commit them to the Fleet, till they could find sufficient Security to answer the Damages done by their Country-Men to the English Merchants; and because they did not or could not do it, they were made to pay 6000 Marks for the Damages done to *Sturmyne* and this Realm, and then dismissed their Imprisonment.

In this Year Historians say, that Printing began to appear in Publick, which had lain hid about Ten Years, after this Manner. One *John Faustus*, a Goldsmith and Citizen of *Mentz*, having casually engraven some Letters upon a Piece of Metal, laid Ink upon them, and finding

they made a fair Impression, fram'd them into Words, and so arriv'd at some Probability of improving it into a more speedy Way of putting out Books, which he communicated to certain Friends of his of the same City, viz. *John Cuthemburge* and *Peter Schafferd*, yet with an Injunction to keep it secret for a Time, that they might improve it. *John Cuthemburge* being a Man of a more publick Spirit, could not endure to keep so useful an Art private long, and therefore this Year began with *Faustus* to exercise it in publick at *Strasburg*, and by imparting the Knowledge of it to the Inquilitive, he was a Means, that it not only was much improv'd by others, but was carried into several Parts of Europe, as *Rome*, by *Conradus Gallus*, a German, and to England by *William Caxton*, a Mercer of London, who introduced it into the Abbey of *Westminster* in 1471, and afterward it spread it self into many other English Monasteries.

The Earl of Warwick about *Michaelmas* re-Reg. 37. turn'd into England, and remain'd about the Court, moving and carrying on divers Affairs, as well in reference to the Publick as belonging to his own Charge. In November it happen'd, that as he sat in Council in the Palace Royal at *Westminster*, one of the King's Servants affronting a Yeoman of the Earl's Attendants, they fell to Blows, and the Earl's Servant having sorely hurt and wounded the King's, he fled to secure himself. The King's Guards and other of his menial Servants, seeing their Fellow-Servant harm'd, and the Offender escaped, reflected upon the Earl his Master, as an Enemy to the Court and King, and since they could not be avenged of his Servant, resolv'd to have amends of his Master, as being an Encourager of him in the Attempt; and watching him when he return'd from the Council-Chamber to his Barge, suddenly set upon him and his Retinue, the Yeomen with Swords, and the Cooks and Black-Guard with Spits and Fire-forks. The Earl's Men made as good a Defence as they could, while their Master, not without great Danger, by the Help of his Friends got into the Barge, and fled into the City of London, but many of them were dangerously wounded and hurt. The Queen shew'd more than ordinary Concern in this Affair, and as tho' she had been engaged to make good the Quarrel, (which some from thence believed she was the Mover of) commanded that the Earl should be apprehended and imprison'd in the Tower, where she determin'd to have put a Period to his Life. This the Earl being advertised of by some of his Friends, feared to stay longer in the City, and therefore departing to Warwick, he took his Journey into *Yorkshire*, where he found the Duke of York and his Father, to whom he declared the Occasion of his coming, and what Danger he had escaped from the Queen and her Servants, (r) which malicious Intention, as he thought, was not to be passed over without just Resentments; and he would leave it to their Judgments to take such Methods to do it as were proper, while he should go over to *Callis* to secure that important Garrison; for it was not to be doubted, but the Queen would endeavour all she could to wrest it out of his Hands, and put it under the Command of some of her Friends, and so he posted away with all speed thither, and was receiv'd by the Garrison with Joy, and all due Respect to his Authority. He was scarcely arriv'd there, and put Things

(q) He carried his Booty to *Callis*, and return'd not to England till new Troubles call'd him thither. *Holl. p. 648.*

(r) This Accident happen'd before he took the Booty. See *Hol. Page 648.*

A. D. 1458. Queen, who imagin'd that the Earl of Warwick had rais'd this Stir to begin a new Quarrel, and set the Crown upon the Duke of York's Head, by the Advice of the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, sent a Messenger with an Order under the Privy-Seal to him, that he should resign the Captain's Office of Callis, because she had given that Charge to the Duke of Somerset, whom the King intended shortly to send over thither. But the Earl of Warwick reply'd, That he was made Captain of Callis by Authority of Parliament, and would not resign his Charge but into their Hands that gave it him, and therefore could not obey the King's Seal, because he was accountable for so doing to him in Parliament; and so he held out the Garrison against her. While these Things were done at Callis, the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury, with their Friends, entred into a deep Consultation about the Assault offer'd to the Earl of Warwick by the King's Servants, and concluded, That this Disorder proceeded purely from the Queen's Malice to them, who encouraged her Servants to slay the Earl of Warwick, that they might be the more easily suppressed and destroyed; and that now since Oaths and Promises were of no Force with the Queen and her Friends, but even the sacred Pretences of Peace and Friendship were made use of to draw them more securely into their Snares, it was high time for them to stand upon their own Guard, and with Sword in Hand to demand Satisfaction for the Injury intended, so that if they would not hearken to Reason, they might be brought to it by Force. And to this End, it was agreed, That the Earl of Salisbury should take such Troops of their Attendants as were in readiness, which amounted to a Body of about 5000, and should go up to London to the King, and put up his Complaints of the Wrong done to his Son the Earl of Warwick contrary to the late Agreement made between himself and his Lords, and demand the Satisfaction in Reason due; which if granted, he would lay down his Arms; but if denied, their future Actions would be justifiable in the Sight of all Men. The Earl of Salisbury according to this Plan began his March from Middleham Castle a little after Candlemas, and took his way thro' Lancashire, to go towards London; which, tho' the furthest Way about, yet he hoped to augment his Troops there. The Duke of York in the meantime was to raise another Army, and as Occasion required to go to meet him, and so joyntly oppose their Enemies, if they stood upon the Defence of the Quarrel. The Queen who kept a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of the Lords, and at the first Beginning of this Contest imagin'd, that the Earl of Warwick had purposely rais'd this Combustion to set the Crown on the Duke of York's Head, thought it now unnecessary to talk of any Parleys, and therefore by the Advice of her two chief, but enraged Counsellors the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham contrived to suppress them by Force, and to this End dispatched Orders in the King's Name to James Touchet Lord Audley, who was a very potent Man in those Countries, thro' which the Earl of Salisbury was to march, to raise an Army with all speed, and by surprize to apprehend him: And that she might engage as many Gentlemen of those Parts to assist him with their Persons and Interests in this Attempt as she could, she sent down to several of them a Badge of her Favour and their Loyalty, a white embroidered Swan, which they should wear in Token of their Love to the King. By these Arts she drew so many to her Party, that the

The Queen endeavours to displace the Earl of Warwick.

A. D. 1459. Earl of Salisbury goes with an Army to the King.

The Queen orders the Lord Audley to raise an Army, and apprehend the Earl of Salisbury.

Lord Audley, who prosecuted his Commission A. D. with due Zeal and Expedition, got together a 1459. Body of 10000 Men out of Cheshire and Shropshire in a very short Time, and ranked them in Order of Battel, ready to receive him. The King and Queen hearing in what Readiness the Lord Audley was to encounter their Enemies, came down towards him to be under his Guard as it were, and the King remain'd at Coleshill in Warwickshire, but the Queen lay at Ecclesale in Staffordshire, expecting a good Event of this Undertaking. The Lord Audley and his Spies had Intelligence of the Earl of Salisbury's Motions, and hearing that he drew near him, ranged his Men upon Blore-Heath, near Draiton in Shropshire where the Earl was to pass, ready to receive him. The Earl of Salisbury not suspecting this Opposition, was surpriz'd at the first Sight but considering, that his Retreat would be disgraceful to him, resolv'd to abide the Battel, tho' much inferior in Strength, and pitched his Camp in the Front of his Enemy; a small River, but pretty deep, being between them, and so remain'd the following Night. In the Morning, which was St. Tecla's Day, the Earl of Salisbury caused his Men to shoot a great Flight of Arrows upon the Lord Audley's Camp, and then ordered them to make a Retreat, as tho' they intended to fly; which when the Lord Audley saw, he commanded his Men to pass over the River, and pursue them, giving charge to them to take the Earl of Salisbury if possible, alive or dead, as the Queen had order'd him; which they accordingly obeyed: but in the Hurry and Confusion, before Half the Army was gotten over, the Earl of Salisbury and his Men return'd in good Order upon the Lord Audley's Army, and fell upon them with great Fury, which tho' they courageously opposed, yet thro' Disorder and Surprize, they were after a sharp Battel routed, and the Lord Audley and all his chief Captains slain, with above 2400 common Soldiers. In this Fight were the Two Sons of the Earl of Salisbury, Sir John Nevill and Sir Thomas Nevill dangerously wounded, and going into a neighbouring Town for Cure, were set upon by some of the Queen's Friends, and taken Prisoners, with Sir Thomas Harrington, who accompanied them, and all of them carried to Chester Castle; which Misfortune was a sad Allay to the Victory in the Earl of Salisbury's Mind, because he knew that the Queen would immediately put them to death, unless they were delivered; which happen'd as soon almost as desir'd; for the Townsmen, who themselves were well affected to the Duke of York, having received a Message from the March-Men of Wales, That unless they were forthwith released, they would come and pull down the Castle; were glad of the Pretence to set them at Liberty, and so sent them away to their Father, who welcom'd them with all Joy.

A Battel between the Lord Audley and the Earl of Salisbury

The Earl of Salisbury's Son taken Prisoner, but released.

The Duke of York having receiv'd the News of this Victory resolves no longer to conceal his Intention; and since the King and Queen sought his Ruin, as a Competitor with them for the Crown, he determin'd either to get it, or perish in the Attempt; and upon that Account hastens to meet the Earl of Salisbury, that they might join their Forces together, and take all necessary Courses to augment their Army so as to fear no Opposition, which they after Consultation did, by sending into all Parts of Wales, Shropshire, and other Counties in the Marches of it. They wrote also to Callis to the Earl of Warwick, to bring over to their Assistance some Troops of his most experienc'd Soldiers, which he

The Duke of York resolves to get the Crown, and gathers an Army.

A. D. 1459. he did, under the Command of *Andrew Trollop*, and *John Blunt*, Two Captains of great Experience and approved Policy in the late Wars in *Normandy* and *Guien*; which all being united into one Body, assembled in *October*, and encamped at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*. The King had Intelligence of the Lords Proceedings, and that he might put a Stop to their further Designs, sent out Commissions into all Parts of the Nation, where he had any Friends, to raise an Army with all speed to suppress them; which he had no great Difficulty to do, because many out of Love and Duty to the King, but more out of Fear of the Queen, flock'd to his Standard, so that he had gathered a mighty Army in a short Space. With it the King in Person, accompanied with the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Exeter*, and *Somerset*, and others of the Nobility, who were Favourers of the *Lancastrian* Line, marched forwards towards the Lords, and came to *Worcester*, where staying a while to refresh their Army, it was after some Consultation agreed, That a Messenger of some Account should be sent to the Earls and Duke, to offer them a free and general Pardon of all their Offences, if they would lay down their Arms, and become obedient Subjects. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Richard Beauchamp*, was the Person thought fittest to be employed in this Affair; and accordingly was sent to them with a Message of Pardon, which he delivered to them with the Gravity and Seriousness of a Prelate. The Lords gave no Answer till they had consulted among themselves, and then by the Earl of *Warwick* reply'd, That they dare not trust to the King's Pardon, because they had several Pardons before, and those confirm'd by Parliament, and yet found them of no Security to them, but rather a Snare to draw them into Danger of their Lives, as the late Assault upon the Earl of *Warwick* manifestly shew'd, by which he had perished, had not God wonderfully preserv'd him. Yet if any Way could be devised for their Safety, to which they might trust without fail, they were ready to submit to his Grace, and sue for his Favour. This Answer being brought to the King by the Bishop, did not at all please him, and thereupon he commanded his Standard to advance towards them; but before he and his Army arriv'd at their Camp, he received a Letter from the Lords, declaring, That as they had heretofore given Demonstrations, that they only sought the Prosperity of his Majesty and the Nation, with the Security of their own Persons and Estates, so, if they knew their own Hearts, they intended nothing else by being now in Arms, and therefore they kept themselves in the furthest Parts of the Nation, not with any ill Design, but to abide his Majesty's coming, that they might in all humble and submissive Manner beg his Grace and Favour, and have all Grievances redress'd, and tho' they were unjustly and untruly defamed as Traitors and Rebels, and their Lordships and Tenants robb'd and spoil'd, against his Peace and Laws, yet they were so tender of the Effusion of Christian Blood, that they would not stand up in their own Defence till Necessity compell'd them; and therefore besought him to accept them as his true and faithful Subjects, and hear their Complaints and Answers to the Calumnies of their Adversaries, that the Nation may be restored to its Quiet, and they to their Estates. This Letter bears Date *October 10.* and is subscribed. *R. York*, *R. Warwick*, *R. Salisbury*.

The King raises an Army to go against him, but offers Pardon.

The Lords Answer.

A Letter from the Lords.

The King having read this Letter, was not much better satisfied, but gave a Second Order for his Army to march towards them, till coming within half a Mile of the Enemy, they pitched their Camp, and the King immediately

put out his Proclamation. That whosoever would lay down their Arms, and come over to him and beg Mercy, should be pardoned for this Attempt. Which Act of Grace being heard in the Duke of *York*'s Camp, begat a great Discontent and Murmuring, the Generality of the People fearing a bad Issue of their Rebellion, and desiring now to provide for their own Safety. *Trollop* and *Blunt* with their *Calisian* Troops, were amaz'd to see themselves engag'd against their King, whom they always had served, and in whose Pay they still were; for the Earl of *Warwick*, who sent them over, had not declared to them the Reason of their coming; wherefore as soon as they saw where they were, they fled the next Night to the King's Army, and advertised him of the Duke of *York*'s Design, to set upon his Camp suddenly, that he might at once destroy the King and his People; and by their Example drew many others to do the like, which much lessened the Lords Forces. This sudden Desertion of the Captains, in whom they put much Confidence, and of many of their People, was a Discouragement to the Lords to attempt any Thing further. They saw their Counsels betrayed, their best Soldiers gone, and the Remainder not willing to fight, and thought it in vain to run the certain Danger of Life, and so they resolv'd to provide for their own Safety, and depart. The Duke of *York* with his Younger Son *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*, fled privately into *Wales*, and from thence sail'd into *Ireland*, where he was received with an universal Joy. The *Irish* offering him to live and die with him, as if he had been their Natural Prince. The Earl of *March*, the Duke of *York*'s Eldest Son and Heir Apparent, accompanied with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Sir *John Wenlock*, went into *Devonshire*, where by the Help of *John Dinham*, Esq; afterwards Treasurer of England in *Henry* the Seventh's Days, they bought a Ship at *Exmouth* for an 110 Marks, and sail'd into *Gernsey*, and so to *Callis*, where being let in at a Postern by Sir *William Nevill*, Lord *Falconbridge*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Uncle, who kept the Town and Castle, they were joyfully received by their Friends. The News of their Flight being carried to the King's Camp, he sent out some Troops of Horsemen to pursue them, but all was in vain, they were got out of their Reach and out of Danger. As for the private Soldiers, who by the Retreat of their Leaders, were left to the King's Mercy, they were all pardoned and sent Home, except some few, who being remarkable for their Forwardness in this Rebellion, were some of them fined, and others hang'd and quarter'd. The Town of *Ludlow*, which belonged to the Duke of *York*, and had sided with him in this Rising, was plunder'd and robb'd to the very Walls. In the Castle the King took the Dutches of *York* with her Two Youngest Sons, whom he sent to be kept under Confinement by the Dutches of *Buckingham* her Sister. And the Duke of *York* and his Sons, with the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* were proclaim'd Traitors to the King, Enemies to their Country, and Rebels to the Crown: And then having made the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford*, Wardens and Keepers of the Northern Parts of England, as his trusty and most faithful Friends, and *Henry*, the new Duke of *Somerset*, Captain of *Callis*, he began his Journey towards *London*.

When *K. Henry* was come to *Conventry* in his way Home, he call'd his Parliament to meet there *Novemb. 20.* and being met they attained of High-Treason, *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and his

A. D. 1459. Reg. 38. A Pardon proclaimed, which made the Rebels lay down their Arms.

The Lords dismiss their Army and fly.

Some of the Rebels executed.

A. D. 1459. his Eldest Son Edward, Earl of March, Richard, Earl of Warwick, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir John Wenlocke, Sir Thomas and John Nevill, the Earl of Salisbury's Sons, and many others, their Goods were confiscated, their Lands seized, and their Heirs disinherited to the Ninth Generation. As soon as the Parliament was risen, the Duke of Somerset was sent over with a choice Company of valiant and hardy Soldiers to take possession of his Government at *Calis*, but when he came to enter the Haven, the Artillery shot so hotly upon him both from the Town and the *Rice-bank*, that he was forced to retire out of Danger, and land at *Witsundbay*, from whence he sent his Commands to the Captains of the Town to receive him, shewing them his Commission for the Lieutenantancy of it, but not being regarded, he betook himself to the Castle of *Guifnes*, and resolv'd by Force to bring the Town into Obedience to him, for which end he maintain'd daily Skirmishes with the Garrison of *Calis*, tho' more to his Loss than Gain. In the meantime the Mariners, who carry'd him over, bearing a greater Affection to the Earl of Warwick than him, convey'd their Ships into the Haven of *Calis*, and in them certain Persons, who were the Earl of Warwick's Enemies, as *Jamin Findill*, *John Fellow*, and some others, who being presented to the Earl of Warwick he caused them forthwith to be beheaded.

A. D. 1460. The News of the ill Success of the Duke of Somerset being related to the King and Queen, they sent over Richard, Lord Rivers, and Sir Anthony Woodville his valiant Son with 400 Men to aid the Duke of Somerset at *Guifnes* against the Garrison of *Calis*, who went down to *Sandwich* in order to pass over, but lay there some time to expect a Wind. The Earl of Warwick who kept the *Narrow-Seas* with a good Navy having Intelligence of the Design watched his Opportunity, and sent Sir John Dinham with a small Number of Men to surprize them, who entering the Town took the Lord Rivers and his Son in their Beds, and having plundered the Town return'd carrying all the King's Ships, which were laid there to transport them, along with them, except a Vessel nam'd *Grace de Dieu*, which could not be stirr'd, because it was very leaky, all which he presented to the Earl of March, of whom he had due Praise and Encouragement. With these Ships which were well Victualled and Manned, the Earl of Warwick immediately sail'd to the Duke of York in Ireland to commune and consult with him about their Return into England, and divers other Matters of Importance. The Wind and Weather were so favourable to the Earl's Voyage, that he pass'd and repass'd from *Calis* to *Dublin* in less than 30 Days. The Duke of Exeter, who was then Lord High-Admiral of England, hearing of the Earl of Warwick's Voyage into Ireland, lay in the Way of his Return with a competent Number of Ships well mann'd to have seiz'd him as he pass'd by them, which the Earl of Warwick being aware of, prepared to give him Battle: But the Duke of Exeter when he came to put in Execution his Design found such a great Inclination to the Earl of Warwick in his Captains, Mariners, and many of his Soldiers, that he durst not meddle with him, and so let him pass unattacked. Soon after the Earl's Return to *Calis*, because all Attempts against him had proved Unsuccessful hitherto, the Queen entertain'd a groundless Proposal to destroy him made to her by Sir Baldwin Fulford, a Man of more Daringness than Prudence, who undertook

upon pain of losing his Head to kill the Earl of Warwick; but after he had spent the King 1000 Marks he return'd again without having done any Thing.

The Earl of Warwick being return'd out of Ireland, and bringing his Mother to *Calis*, gave some Suspicion to the King and Queen, that there were some fresh Resolutions of invading England entertain'd by them of his Party, and that they might make their Endeavours in vain, two Methods were made use of as most effectual. 1. To suppress all such Persons as were known to favour the Duke of York and his Party in England: And 2. To guard the Coasts well with a sufficient Navy, that they might not dare to land any Forces, which could not be done without Hazzard. In order to the former of these the Earl of Wiltshire, Treasurer of England, the Lord Scales, and the Lord Hungerford were sent with the King's Commission to *Newbury*, a Town belonging to the Duke of York, to inquire out such as favour'd the said Duke, some of whom being found Guilty were hang'd and quarter'd, and the whole Town was plunder'd and spoil'd. From thence the Earl went to *Southampton*, and other Places, where he used the like Severity. The Fame of these Actions and Dealings, tho' just, much terrified such Towns as knew themselves obnoxious to the same Punishment; and because Kent had given greater Proofs of their Affection to the Lords Side several times this Reign, than any other County had, not only in *Jack Cade's* Rebellion, but in betraying *Sandwich*, they expected nothing but Ruin, unless they could come under the Protection of the said Lords: To that End they sent a Message to them at *Calis* to invite them over to their Defence, promising them their utmost Assistance. The Lords tho' in some Forwardness for their intended Design, yet would not venture till they had better Knowledge of their Sincerity, and therefore sent over the Lord Falconbridge to try their Resolutions, and concert with them about their further Proceedings. Sir Simon Manford, who for some time before was laid with a Navy of Ships well mann'd and victuall'd to defend the Sea Coasts against all such Attempts, was ready to oppose his landing, whereupon arose an hot Dispute between 'em, but the Victory at length fell to the Lord Falconbridge, who took Sir Simon himself with many other Prisoners, and sent them over to *Calis* to the Earl of March, where he with Twelve of the chief of his Captains were beheaded upon the *Rice-bank*. The Lord Falconbridge having thus removed all Impediments of his Landing was receiv'd into *Sandwich* with an hearty Welcome, and the Gentry of that Country and the adjoyning Shires immediately resorted to him, shewing him their Causes of Fears from the Queen and her Friends, and earnestly requesting the speedy Return of the Lords to free themselves and the whole Kingdom from apparent Destruction, promising them their utmost Help and Concurrence. The Lord Falconbridge could not distrust their hearty Protestations, which had all the Signs of Veracity in them, and therefore dispatch'd away a Messenger to the Lords at *Calis*, to assure them, that he found a general good Inclination in all People in those Parts to them, and a Readiness to do them all the Service they could both in Body and Goods, and it was his Advice, that they should lose no Time, but passing over the Sea should land in England, while the People were so hotly affected to them. The Earls were sensible of the Fitness of this Opportunity to

The King suspects an Invasion of England, and endeavours to hinder it.

Kent invites the Lords to invade England.

The Lord Falconbridge at Sandwich invites the Lords to come into England.

A. D. 1460. to effect their Design, and sending the Messen-
 Reg. 38. ger back to the Lord Falconbridge with a Decla-
 ration to be sent to the Arch-bishop of Canter-
 bury, and dispersed up and down the Maritime
 Countries to prepare the People for their Re-
 ception, and draw over all they could to their
 Aid, they made all the necessary Preparations
 for their Passage into England.

The Lord's Declaration.
 The Sum of their Declaration was to this
 Effect, That the Duke of York, Earls of March,
 Warwick and Salisbury had divers Times offered
 and sued to come into the King's Presence to have
 declared for their Duty to God, His Highness, and
 Prosperity of the Realm these following Matters,
 viz,

I. The great Extortion, Murther, Robberies
 and Oppressions done to the Church and Mini-
 sters of it, against the Laws both of God and
 Man.

II. The Poverty and Misery of His Highness
 himself, who being cheated and defrauded of
 the Revenues of the Crown, which might and
 would support his Royal State, by the Destroy-
 ers of the Commonwealth, was forced to op-
 press and spoil his Subjects.

III. That the Laws were partially and unjust-
 ly executed and made to support their Injustice
 and Oppression, by such as should most love and
 tender them.

IV. That the Commons were marvellously
 taxed, and their Goods taken from 'em without
 Payment, because he permitted the Destroyers
 of the Land to live upon his own Revenues,
 suffering all the King's Possessions in France to
 be lost.

V. That the People begin to have new Impo-
 sitions laid upon them, viz. every Town to find
 Men for the King's Guards after the Example
 of the French our Adversaries, which if conti-
 nued to our Heirs, will be such a Charge and
 Bondage, as none of our Ancestors were sub-
 ject to.

VI. That divers Lords had caused the King
 to write Letters to his Enemies in Ireland and
 France to conquer the said Kingdom and take
 Collis, which Letters were shew'd to the Duke
 of York by the Irishmen with Detestation of their
 Villany.

VII. That since the barbarous and shameful
 Murther of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester at Bu-
 ry, it hath been studied and conspired to have
 destroy'd and murther'd the Duke of York and
 his Issue of the Royal Blood, as also the Earls
 of Warwick and Salisbury, for no other Cause
 but for the true Heart they have ever born and
 do bear to the King's Profit and Wealth of the
 Realm.

VIII. That the Earls of Shrewsbury and Wilt-
 shire, and the Lord Beaumont, the mortal Ene-
 mies of the said Duke and Lords, having the
 guiding of our Sovereign Lord, would not suf-
 fer the King to receive and accept them as he
 would have done, into his Presence, dreading
 the Charge, which would have been brought
 against them for destroying the Nation.

IX. That the said Earls of Wiltshire and
 Shrewsbury, and Lord Beaumont, not satisfied with
 the Kings Revenues and Goods, had stirr'd up
 and excited His Highness to hold his Parliament
 at Coventry, where an Act was made by their
 Provocation and Labour to destroy the said Duke
 of York, Earls of March, Rutland, Salisbury and
 Warwick, and their Issue and their Estates and
 Tenants were given up to their Hands, who
 robbed them and hang'd many of them without
 the King's Consent or Approbation.

These Mischiefs they declared, they could not but
 behold with Grief, and therefore now purposed again
 to offer themselves to the Presence of their said So-
 reign Lord to declare them to him in the most reverent
 Manner, that he may have Pity and Compassion on
 his miserable Subjects, and not suffer these Mischiefs
 still to reign. To the effecting of which they requi-
 red all People to whom their Declaration should
 come, in God's Behalf and their own, to assist them
 doing their Duty to their Sovereign, his Person and
 Dignity, to whom they have been and ever would
 be true as any of his Subjects alive, to which they
 called God, the Virgin Mary and all the Saints in
 Heaven to witness.

What Effect this Declaration had appeared in
 a short time: For the Earls of March, Warwick
 and Salisbury, who in a few Weeks after arri-
 ved at Sandwich with 1500 Men only, were no
 sooner arriv'd, but the Lord Cobham met them
 with 4000 Men, and when they had refreshed
 themselves a few days, they march'd thro' Kent
 to London, and were in their Way joyn'd by se-
 veral Gentlemen and their Friends, who came
 in so thick, that before they got to the City
 they were increased into a Body of near 40000
 fighting Men, many Gentlemen and Yeomen of
 the South-parts joyning with them near London,
 which they enter'd July 2. and were joyfully
 receiv'd by the Mayor and the whole City, whi-
 cher also came the next Day Thomas Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Lin-
 con, Salisbury, Ely and Exeter, with many other
 Priors and religious Persons to congratulate
 their Arrival, by whose Means they hoped for
 a Reformation of all Abuses in Church and State,
 tho' not such as follow'd.

The King, who at the Time of the Lords
 landing was at Coventry, was not unactive as far
 as in him lay, to stop the Progress of this Re-
 bellion, for which End he appointed the Lord
 Scales to assemble what Troops he could, and
 get Possession of London, as the most important
 Place of the Kingdom, and which if secured,
 would alone baffle their Attempts. That Lord
 with the Earl of Kendall, Lord Lovell and others
 was zealous to obey the King's Command, and
 with all Expedition marching towards that City,
 arriv'd there before the Lords, and demanded
 Admission in the King's Name, assuring the
 Mayor and chief Citizens, that their coming
 thither was only to defend and keep the Ci-
 ty from the Spoil of those Traitors, who, as the
 King was credibly inform'd were hastning thi-
 ther. The Mayor, who secretly favour'd the
 Lords Undertakings, answer'd, That he needed
 no Help either to defend or govern the City com-
 mitted to his Charge, nor would permit any armed Men
 to come within his Jurisdiction. This Reply much
 incensed the Lord Scales, who evidently saw the
 Disloyalty of the Citizens by it; and that he
 might annoy them, as much as was possible, he
 entred into the Tower and threatn'd them, that
 he would with his great Ordnance beat down
 their City, if they receiv'd the Rebels; which
 Menaces he endeavour'd after to make good.

The Queen in this Time (for the King hated
 Wars, and would not mind his own De-
 fence) gathered a good Army about Coventry,
 (which Place was then call'd, The Queen's secret
 Harbour) and making the Duke of Somerset
 (who was in June come from Guisnes into Eng-
 land) the Duke of Buckingham, and divers o-
 ther Lords, the Captains and Commanders of
 it, march'd with it, having the King himself
 with them, to Northampton, where when the
 Queen saw that she had Power enough to en-
 counter

A. D. 1460. counter their Enemies, she took upon her to encourage them to vindicate the Rights of their King, whose peaceable Disposition, and pious Temper bespoke their Fidelity the more to defend it, by how much it was of it self the more unable or unwilling to act in its own Defence, and by her good Words raised in them a Resolution to keep him on his Throne, or die for his Right.

While the Queen was thus preparing for her own and the King's Defence, the Lords at London were in great Consultation how to proceed in their Business, and having, to keep up the same shew of Loyalty, to which by their Declaration they had pretended, taken an Oath in a full Convocation of the Clergy at St. Paul's that they had, and ever would bear faithful and true Allegiance to King Henry, and had no other Intentions, than to redress the Grievances of the Nation, and remove the Destroyers of their Country from about the King's Person; it was agreed, That the Earls of March and Warwick, William, Lord Falconbridge, and Henry, Lord Bourchier, call'd also Earl of Eu, should march with an Army of 25000 Men towards the King and Queen, leaving behind them, to keep the Londoners in their promised Obedience, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Cobham, and Sir John Wenlocke, who by their Vigilancy kept not only the City in Order, but defended it against the Lord Scales, who annoy'd it with his great Ordnance, and did much harm to the Citizens; but these Lords by mounting Guns on the other side of the Thames over against the Tower, and preventing all Supplies of Victuals to be sent, put him to equal Streights and Losses. When the King and Queen heard that the Earls of March and Warwick drew near them, it was advised, that the King's Army should pass over the River Tyne, and encamp themselves strongly in the open Fields, and wait their coming, which was accordingly done. On July 9. the Earls with their Army encamp'd between Toucester and Northampton, and resolv'd the next Day for the Fight; but at the Mediation of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops which were present, it was thought convenient, that the Bishop of Salisbury should be sent to the King to beseech him to admit the Earl of Warwick into his Presence to declare his Innocency, and offer such an Accord, as that all Things might be settled without Blood-shed. This Request was deny'd by the Duke of Buckingham, and though repeated again and again, yet had no better Answer, the King's Party, it seems, trusting so much to their Strength and Ordnance, and being encourag'd by the Bishop of Hereford to fight, would not hearken to any Proposals of Peace.

The Lord Scales in the Tower annoys the City.

The Lords sue for Peace, but being rejected come to a Battle.

The Earl of March, who being in the heat of his Youth, and very courageous, consider'd not so much the ill Effects of a Battle as the Laurels he longed for, seeing all Proposals of Peace rejected resolv'd to set upon the King's Army without Delay, and in the Night remov'd his Camp towards Northampton, marching in order of Battle; The Earl of Warwick led the Van-Guard, the Earl of March the Body, and the Lord Falconbridge the Reer. About Two a Clock in the Afternoon, July the 9th, the two Armies met, and the Earls of March, and Warwick having given a strict Charge to their Soldiers, that they should none of them lay Hands on the King, nor the Common People, but the Nobles and Gentlemen only, the Battle began and lasted for Five Hours, (or as

others, Two Hours) with great Fierceness on both Sides; but at length by the Treachery of the Lord Grey, who went over to the Enemy with a good Party and assisted them, the King's Side was vanquish'd with the Loss of 10000, partly drown'd and partly slain, among which were these Men of Note, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the valiant Son of as valiant a Father, Thomas Lord Egremont, John, Viscount Beaumont, and Sir William Lacy. The Duke of Somerset escap'd narrowly, and with the Queen and Prince Edward fled into the Bishoprick of Durham. Many were taken Prisoners. The King himself, who remain'd in his Tent during the Battle, being left alone, fell into his Enemies Hands, but the Earls of March and Warwick assuring him, That they sought the Welfare of his Person, and Happiness of the Realm, in destroying their malicious Enemies, he was much comforted; and being led into Northampton with Procession, he tarry'd three Days there, and on July 16. arriv'd at London, where he was lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace.

This Victory reduced the Lord Scales to a low Condition, so that despairing of Help he resign'd the Tower upon Terms, which yet he supposing hardly secure enough, to preserve himself, he endeavour'd to have fled to the Queen in Disguise; but being discover'd by some of the Earl of Warwick's Watermen they slew him, and stripping him of his Cloaths, left his Body naked on the Shore, and wallowing in his own Blood many Days. After this great Inquiry was made for the Favourers of the Lancastrians, and many of them fin'd, and some executed for Treason. Judge Thorp, second Baron of the Exchequer, was taken in a Monk's Habit with his Crown shaven, and imprison'd a while in the Tower, and after executed by the Mob at Highgate.

Queen Margaret hearing, that the King was taken, and that most of her Fast Friends were dead, was in great Perplexities what to do; and fearing she might also with her Son be betray'd to her Enemies, she fled into Wales to the Castle of Harlegh, having only Eight Persons with her, and so got into Scotland, but in Lancashire, was robb'd of all her Goods to the Value of Ten Thousand Marks.

The Victorious Lords having the King now in their Power, and ruling all Things almost at their Pleasure, proceeded vigorously in the Execution of their Designs; and first call a Parliament to meet at Westminster, October the 8th following, but in the King's Name, and then send into Ireland to the Duke of York to acquaint him with their Success, and invite him to come with all convenient Speed into England, which when he heard he was greatly pleased, perswading himself, that now no Obstacle remain'd between himself and the Crown. Ambition needs no Spurs, Preparations are made with all Speed for the Duke to pass into England. At Dublin he and his Retinue took Ship, and in a few Days landed at the Redbank near the City of Chester, and from thence by long Journeys came to London upon Friday, October the 10th, which City he entred with Trumpets sounding, and a naked Sword born before him, accompany'd with a great Train of armed Men.

The Parliament was met Two Days before, and the Duke having passed through the City went directly into the Upper-House or Chamber of the Peers, and placed himself in the King's liament.

A. D. 1460. Reg. 38. The Lords conquer.

The Lord Scales resigns the Tower.

Reg. 39. the Seventh Parliament, its Acts.

Duke of York returns, and goes to the Parliament.

A. D. 1460. King's Seat, (f) laying his Hands upon the Cloth of State, as if he had taken Possession of the Crown and Kingdom. When he had stood so a while he turned himself to the Lords, and looked upon them stedfastly, as tho' he would read in their Countenances their Thoughts and Resentments of that Action. After he had stood a while in that Posture, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier, whom King Henry, who was then in the Queen's Lodgings, had sent to him, came into the House, and having paid him the usual Reverence, asked him *Whether he would not go and see the King.* The Duke at this Question was observed to change his Colour, and then answer'd him in a Passion, *That he knew none in this Kingdom, to whom he owed that Duty or Honour; but on the contrary, all Men owed it to him, and therefore King Henry ought to come to him.*

Duke of York calls himself King, and possesses himself of the King's Lodgings, and claims the Throne in Parliament.

The Archbishop having received this Reply, went back to the King to let him know it; which the Duke of York perceiving, he rose up, and following him into the Palace, got Possession of the King's Lodgings, breaking open several Doors and Locks, that he might enter them. He stayed there but a little while, and then returned to the House again, leaving his Servants and chief Attendants to keep them for him. Being again settled in the Regal Throne, he boldly made his Demand of the Crown, and the Regal Authority of England, in Words to this Effect. (t) 'That he approached that Throne, as the Place to him in Justice belonging, which, he said; nor as requiring their Favour, but friendly Indifferency, and true Administration of Justice, for the High and Mighty Prince, Richard II. Son of Edward the Black-Prince, Eldest Son of King Edward III. was the true and undoubted Heir of these Realms, and was in Possession of the Regal Dignity, with all the Rights and Privileges thereunto belonging, till Henry Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, Son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Fourth Son to the said King Edward III. and Younger Brother to my Noble Ancestor, Lionell, Duke of Clarence, Third Son of the said King Edward III. by Force and Violence, contrary to his Duty of Allegiance done and sworn, raised War against the said King Richard, imprisoned him, and usurped and intruded upon his Royal Power, and assumed the Name and Authority of King, and after compassed his Death and Destruction, upon whose Decease, having no Heirs lawfully begotten, the Right and Title of the Crown, and Superiority of this Realm, lawfully reverted and return'd to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Son and Heir to the Lady Philip, only Child of the abovesaid Lionell, Duke of Clarence, to which Roger's (u) Eldest Daughter Ann, being my dearest and Well-beloved Mother, I be-

ing the True and Lawful Heir, have an undoubted Right to the Crown. And if the Title be mine, why am I kept from it? If my Claim be good, why have I not Justice? For Men of Knowledge must own, that usurp'd Possession, tho' strengthened with a lineal Descent, can nothing prevail, if continual Claim be lawfully made, and openly publish'd by the Right Heirs, as it hath been by Edmund, Earl of March, my Uncle, Richard, Duke of York, (x) my Father, and my self; but thro' sinister Counsel and unjust Detention, I can neither obtain nor recover it, so that I am compell'd to make use of Force to regain my Right, and settle the Peace of the Realm, which thro' a Succession of Usurpers has been miserably ruined, and undone, especially in this last Reign; and therefore I have, and now do take Possession of the Royal Throne, trusting thro' the Assistance of you, the Peers of this Realm, to beautifie and maintain the same to the Glory of God, Honour of my Blood, and publick Welfare of all my People (y). This Speech struck all the Auditors with a kind of Consternation, and the Lords themselves sat mute, neither whispering nor moving, as if in some Discontent at what he had said, or at least in a doubt what to do; for King Henry's Piety and Holiness, Succession in the Third Degree, and Thirty eight Years Possession of the Crown, had so far confirm'd most of them in the Opinion of his Right, that they were loth to be instrumental in deposing him, whose very Innocency and Goodness entitl'd him to a better Crown than ever he had worn. The Duke of York, whose Eageriness to be King, taught him to expect a ready Compliance with his Desires, was much disappointed, when he saw no Man almost seconding his Wishes; wherefore being neither well contented, nor willing to seem much displeased, he advis'd them to consider thoroughly of what he had said to them, and do to him, what in Justice and Wisdom they judg'd Right; and so departed to his Lodgings at Whitehall. (z) While the Duke was thus declaring and shewing his Title to the Crown in the House of Lords, it happen'd, that in the House of Commons a Crown, which hung up in the Middle of the Roof to adorn a Branch set up for Lights, fell down suddenly, without any imaginable Cause, and also another Crown upon the Top of Dover-Castle, which were both looked upon at this Juncture as ominous Accidents, which did betoken that the Crown should some way or other have a Fall, and that there would be sudden Alterations in the Government. The Crown hanging now in doubt as it were, between King Henry and the Duke of York, and Consultations being held every Day by the Lords about their Titles, on whose Head it should be settled; The Duke of York taking upon him a

Advise the Lords to consider of his Right to the Crown.

(f) He did not sit down on the Throne, he only took hold of the Cloth of State.
(t) His sitting on the Throne, and making this Speech, is very much to be doubted; For John Wetherhamsted, Abbot of St. Albans, who was present in the House of Peers, makes no Mention of any such Speech in the History that he wrote of this Reign, and particularly this Revolution. Hol. 655.
(u) As a Proof of the Forgery of this Speech, we shall instance one Mistake, which could not come from the Mouth of the Duke of York, he says, *Which Roger's Eldest Daughter Ann*— She was not the Eldest Daughter, the Lady Elinor Mortimer, as we have said elsewhere was Elder, tho' she left no Issue, and so the Right of Inheritance devolv'd to Ann. But this may be an Error of the Author; and indeed in the original Speech 'tis only said, *Unto which Roger's Daughter call'd Ann*, &c. See Hol. pag. 656. The Nonsense of the Oration is as remarkable as the Subject of it. He tells them in the first Paragraph, *This Noble Realm, and our Natural Country shall never be Unbuckled from her daily Heaver, except I as the Principal Physician, and you as the Trusty Apothecaries consult together in making of the Potion, and try out the Clean and Pure Stuff from the Corrupt and Putrified Drugs.*
(x) His Father was not Duke of York. His Uncle Edward had the Title, and his Father only that of Earl of Cambridge, which Earl was beheaded for Treason at Southampton in the Third Year of Henry V.
(y) He did not make use of the Term *My People*, and it had been arrogant in him. His Words were, *To the Publick Wealth, as well of you all here present, as of all the poor Commons of this Kingdom and Realm.*
(z) Whitehall was not then built. He went to his Lodgings in the King's Palace at Westminster, near the Abby.

A. D. 1460. kind of Majesty, kept in the King's Lodgings, and tho' near King Henry, would not for all the Requests and Prayers that could be used, vouchsafe to visit him, till some Conclusion were made in the Matter, saying, *That he was subject to no Man, but God only, under whom, none was Supreme in this Realm, but he.* He sent also a Message to James II. King of Scots, to quit the English Dominions. King (a) James at the Duke's Request had entred the Kingdom of England with a powerful Army, and besieged Roxborough, upon the Promise, that he would restore to him the Towns which the English had taken away from him. (For that King was very unwilling to meddle in the Dispute, and would not be induced to it but by this Advantage.) The Duke bad his Messengers tell the Scotch King, that the Siege was so displeasing to him and all his People, he could hardly keep them from taking up Arms to relieve it, thanking him for his Assistance, and telling him, that he had now no more need of him. The King of Scots answered, *He was glad at his good Success, and asked the Messengers, Whether they had a Commission to deliver up the Towns to him according to the Duke's Promise?* They answer'd, No. Whereupon the King reply'd, *Neither will I quit the Siege, which for all these Threats, whether his, or People's, I hope to put a speedy End to.* And play'd upon the Town with his Cannon more furiously than ever, with a Resolution to gain it before any Succour could come; but ere he could effect it, he was slain by the Breaking of a Cannon, no Man else save the Earl of Angus being hurt by it. Yet this Accident did not put an End to the Siege, for the Scots continued their Assaults rather the sharper, and the Besieged being reduced to a low Condition by their great Losses, yielded themselves to the new King James III. their Lives and Goods being saved. About the same Time died Charles, King of France, in a strange Manner; for he being sick, some of his Courtiers inform'd him of a Design to poison him; whereupon he forbore any Food for Seven Days, and after not being able to eat, died.

While these Things were doing, many hot Disputes had passed between the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, about the Settlement of the Crown; some thought it very unreasonable to call King Henry's Title in Question, who had been so long in Possession of the Sovereignty, and so much the rather, because the Duke of York himself had in swearing Allegiance to King Henry so often, and declaring him his lawful Sovereign, tied up himself from Claiming the Crown, if he had any Right to it. But on the other Side, the Duke of York's Friends (which were not a few) argued that the Duke's Title was so clear, and so well known to them all, that it would be the greatest Injustice in the World to deny him his Right, and tho' King Henry, it is true, had been long in the Possession of the Throne, yet his Usurpation being so evident, he ought to be as willing to recede from what he was wrongfully possessed of, as they were in Justice bound to declare him deprived. 'Tis true, they said, the Duke of York had often sworn Allegiance to King Henry, and taken him for his lawful Sovereign, yet he never renounced his Right, and 'tis plain, his Oaths and Promises were out of Fear or Force, not willingly. These Arguments were thought strong on both Sides, and

therefore the middle Way was pitched upon by the Lords, and upon All Saints-Day, an Agreement was made between these two Princes, King Henry, and Richard, Duke of York, under these Articles.

I. That notwithstanding the clear and undisputable Title of Richard, Duke of York, to the Crown of England, as Heir to Lionell, Duke of Clarence, the said Duke tenderly desiring the Wealth and Prosperity of this Land, and to lay aside all that may be a Trouble to the same; and considering the long Possession of the said King Henry, who hath all his Time been named, taken, and reputed for King of England, and Lord of Ireland, is contented, and agreed, that the said King Henry, shall be taken and reputed King of England, and Lord of Ireland, during his Natural Life, and the said Duke shall honour him as his Sovereign Lord.

II. That the said Richard, Duke of York, with his Two Sons, Edward, Earl of March, and Edmund, Earl of Rutland, shall promise and bind themselves by solemn Oaths, neither to do, procure, or suffer and Thing to the Prejudice of the Natural Life of King Henry VI. or to the diminishing of his Royal Dignity, but shall withstand to their utmost Power any Person that shall attempt it, as God shall help them.

III. That Richard, Duke of York, shall from thenceforth be called and reputed the Very and Rightful Heir to the English Crowns, and after the Decease of the said King Henry, the said Duke and his Heirs shall immediately succeed to them.

IV. That the said Richard, Duke of York, shall have by the Authority of this present Parliament, Castles, Mannors Lands and Tenements, with their Appurtenances, to the yearly Value of 10000 Marks over and above all Charges and Reprises, of which 5000 Marks shall be for his own Estate, 3000 for the Earl of March, and 2000 for the Earl of Rutland, yet with such Intents and Considerations, as shall be declared by the Lords of the King's Council.

V. That if any Person imagine, or compass the Death of the said Duke, and thereof be convicted, they shall be adjudged guilty of High Treason.

VI. That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, shall take an Oath, to accept, take, worship and repute the said Richard, Duke of York, and his Heirs, as abovesaid, and the said Duke shall protect them in keeping this Agreement.

VII. That this Accord and Agreement shall be notified and publish'd by the King's Letters Patents, and his Consent and Agreement be openly declared to all and every one of them; and if the said King Henry shall break, or go against any Point of this Accord, then the said Crown and Royal Dignity, shall immediately devolve and come to the Duke of York, if he be alive, or to the next Heir of his Linage.

VIII. That all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, made in the Time of Henry IV. or V. to entail the Crown on their Heirs, shall be annul'd and repeal'd.

IX. That the Duke of York shall be Protector of the Realm for the future, and be called Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester.

(a) He was so far from entering the English Dominions at the Request of the Duke of York, that he came to revenge the Death of the Duke of Somerset, his Mother's Brother, whom the Duke of York had been the Means of killing at the Battle of St. Albans.

A. D. 1460. This Agreement drawn up in the Form aboveſaid, was engroſſed, ſealed, and ſworn unto by both Parties on *All Saints-Day*, and then it was enacted by the Parliament, that it be made unalterable on all Hands. King Henry was obſerved to be very much pleaſed with this Agreement, not doubtleſs, becauſe he was willing his Son ſhould be excluded from the Crown. But becauſe he feared more ſevere Dealings with himſelf, and hoped Time would better provide for his Son, and therefore appointed a ſolemn Proceſſion the ſame Day to give Thanks to God for this peaceable Settlement of Affairs. In it the King rode to the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, attended with the Duke of *York*, Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and many other Lords, with his Crown upon his Head, and heard Even-Song, and then return'd to the Biſhop's Palace, where he continued ſome Time. The next Day *Richard*, Duke of *York*, was by Sound of Trumpet ſolemnly proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Nation, during the King's Life. After theſe Things the Parliament made an Act, ' That the Parliament (*b*) at *Coventry*, Nov. 20. An. 38. Hen. VI. ſhall be repealed, and all the Acts, Statutes and Ordinances made by the Authority of the ſaid Parliament, diſannull'd, becauſe that Parliament was unlawfully ſummon'd and holden, and the Knights and Burgeſſes not duly choſen, but privately appointed by thoſe Men, who ſought the Deſtruction of the Nobility and Commonwealth: And, that a Woman at Fourteen Years of Age at the Death of her Anceſtor or Parent, ſhall without any Difficulty or Queſtion, have Livery and Seisin of the Lands deſcended to her: And then the Parliament was diſſolv'd, being the laſt that ever King Henry call'd, or ended.

Duke of York rules as Protector, and cauſes the King to ſend for the Queen. And now the Duke of *York*'s Power began, as Guardian of the King's Perſon, he took care of all Things, but chiefly of himſelf, how he might keep what he had obtained; for he very well knew that the Queen, who was a Woman of a maſculine Spirit, and the Lords of her Council, who were his utter Enemies, would make all the Oppoſition they could to this Settlement, and either by Force or Fraud undo all; whereupon he cauſed King Henry to ſend for her, and her Son Prince *Edward*. But the Queen, (who by that Time the Meſſengers arrived, was got at the Head of a good Army of 18000 Men, which ſhe put under the Command of the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Northumberland*, Lords of *Clifford* and *Roſſe*, who encouraged her with great Hopes of Victory, to engage her Adverſaries, and reſtore her Husband to his Dignity, and her Son to his Succeſſion) reſuſed to go along with them. Which when the Protector had Knowledge of, he aſſigned his truſty Friends the Earl of *Warwick* and Duke of *Norfolk* to be the Keepers of the King; and he himſelf, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, with a ſmall Body of Men departed from *London*, December. 2. to go into the North to repreſs the Queen, and her northern Adherents, ordering the Earl of *March* to follow him with all the Forces he could gather. Upon *Chriſtmas-Eve*, the Duke arrived at his Caſtle of *Sandal*, near *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, and there muſter'd up all his Tenants and Friends to the Number of 5000. With theſe he intended to oppoſe the Queen's Army, who, by his Scouts,

he underſtood were marching towards him, A. D. 1460. which the Queen, and Lords of her Party haſt- ned, that they might fall upon him before the Earl of *March* could join with him. When they drew near, the Duke found the Queen's Forces much to exceed his, and therefore it was the Advice of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *David Hall*, That he ſhould keep himſelf within the Walls till the Earl of *March* ſhould arrive, becauſe the Queen had no Artillery with her, and ſo could do them no Harm in that Time.

The Queen and her Army came before the Caſtle, and having laid two Ambuſhes under the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and Earl of *Wiltſhire* at the beſt Advantage, the Queen and Duke of *Somerſet*, who commanded the Body of the Army, preſented themſelves in Sight of *Sandal*, and going up to the very Walls, braved the Duke to come out and fight them. The Duke being hot and furious at this Bravado, and counting it a Shame to be ſhut up in a Caſtle by a Woman, which he had never been in ſo many Years of the *French Wars*, reſolved to venture out in the open Field, and give her Battle. All his Friends were much againſt it, but not being able to diſſwade him from it, by all the Arguments they could uſe, they all marched out of the Caſtle upon the laſt Day of *December*, and going down the Hill in very good Order, came into the open Field before the Face of their Enemies, who immediately joined Fight with them. Soon after the Battle was begun, the Ambuſhes roſe, and encompassed the Duke and his Men on every Side, ſo that within Half an Hour he himſelf was ſlain, with many of the Perſons of Note that were with him, valiantly fighting, and his whole Army utterly defeated, 2800 of them being killed. The Earl of *Salisbury* was wounded and taken, with ſeveral Gentlemen, and others. *Robert Aſpell*, the Duke's Chaplain, and Tutor to the Earl of *Rutland*, who ſtood at ſome Diſtance to ſee the Event of the Battle, with his Pupil, who was then about Twelve Years of Age, perceiving that it was likely to prove unſucceſſful and fatal to his Lord, fled with the Young Earl to ſecure him, but was overtaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who in the Heat of his Fury, ſtabb'd the young Prince to the Heart, tho' the poor Child with Tears begg'd Mercy of him upon his Knees (*c*). The Chaplain pleaded much for the Child's Life, and promiſed the Lord, That if he would ſpare him, he ſhould be his Servant for ever. But *Clifford* ſwore fearfully, That as his Father had ſlain his, ſo he would be the Deſtruction of him and all his Race; and then ſlaying him, departed in Triumph to find the dead Body of his Father, whoſe Head he cut off, and having made a Crown of Paper, and ſet it on it in Deriſion, preſented it to the Queen, whoſe Tent was at Hand, and ſhe not long after, ſent it with other Lords to be ſet upon Poles over the Gate of the City of *York*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who was committed to the Care of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and by him impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Pomfract*, with a Promiſe to ſave his Life for a large Sum of Money, was a little after by the Common People, who hated him, pull'd out of the Caſtle, and beheaded, and ſo his Head, with others, was ſent to *York*.

King Henry, by the Inſtigations of his Governors, the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*, ſent Commiſſions into the Parts about *Coventry*, to raiſe what Forces they could to ſup-

(b) Holinſhead, p. 659. ſays, This Parliament declared that of *Coventry* a devilish Council.
(c) He could not ſpeak for Fear, but he held up his Hands for Mercy. Hol. 659.

A. D. 1460. press the Northern Rebels, but like a Torrent they came down upon them towards London, plundering and robbing, so that they were irresistible by any Strength that could be suddenly got together, and passed on without controul.

A. D. 1461. The Queen having obtain'd this Victory over the Duke of York, was sensible, that tho' the Advantage might do her much good, because the Commons generally follow the conquering Side, yet it had done her Enemies Side but very little Harm, because it was but a small Party, and those pick'd up in the Country about Wakefield, which she had conquer'd. She knew Warwick's Courage and Interests were great in London, where he had a strong Army to oppose her, and the Earl of March was gone into Wales, where his Father had many Tenants and Dependents to gather an Army, so that she had no small Difficulties to grapple with, before she could accomplish her Designs, and settle her Husband and Son in their Rights. She expected no small Opposition on both Sides, and therefore after a serious Consultation with the Lords and other grave Men that follow'd her Interests, it was resolv'd, That she herself, the Prince and Duke of Somerset should march towards London with the greatest part of her Army, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, who raised a great Number of Irish and Welsh to the Queen's Assistance, should observe the Earl of March, and gather fresh Forces out of her Friends to encounter him. The Earl of March in the mean time having heard of his Father's Death at Gloucester, where he then lay, was strangely amaz'd and discourag'd at the Accident; but being comforted by his Friends, who told him 'twas his Father's Rashness, not his Enemies Power, that had been the Cause of this Misfortune, he remov'd to Shrewsbury, and there declaring his Father's Death, the Queen's Cruelty, and the Ruin of the Kingdom to all the Inhabitants of that City, and the adjoining Countries, he got an Army out of the Marches of Wales, and the Places near, to the Number of 23000, who out of Love to Mortimer's Race offered themselves readily to go against the Queen and his Father's Murderers. With these he departs from Shrewsbury to follow the Queen's Army, which was marching towards London, and revenge his Father's Death; but at his first setting out, hearing that Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Ormond with a great Army of Welsh and Irish were pursuing him, he turn'd back to fight them, and on a large Plain near Mortimer's Cross on the East-side of Hereford, met them. On Candlemas-day in the Morning, when the Sun at its rising appear'd to the Earl of March like Three Suns, and suddenly running into One gave him (as he guessed) an Omen of Victory, the two Armies entered the Battle, and after a sharp Conflict, the Earl of March put the Queen's Forces to Flight, with the Slaughter of 3800. The two Earls of Pembroke and Ormond fled, and many Gentlemen of Note were taken, and to propitiate York's Ghost were beheaded at Hereford.

The Queen, who was marching towards London with her Northern Rabble, who after they had passed the River Trent, plunder'd the Villages and Towns, as if they were entered an Enemy's Country, heard of the Discomfiture of her Friends; but being elevated with the Thoughts of her former Victory, and knowing that the Mayor and many of the chief Men of London were for her, she went on confidently

in hopes of soon recovering that Loss. But when she approach'd St. Albans, she receiv'd the News that the Earl of Warwick and Lords, who had the Government of the King, were coming against her with a numerous Army, raised by the King's Authority, and having the King himself at the Head of them, (for the Commons of the City of London fearing they should fall into the Hands of the Northern Men, flock'd to the Lords to defend the City against the Queen). The Northern Lords and others that were with the Queen, advised her to pass thro' St. Albans and meet their Enemies on the other side of the Town; but the Earl of Warwick having ranged his Archers in the middle of the Town, they were forced to retreat, and find another Way; which having done, the two Armies join'd upon Barnard-beath on the North-side of St. Albans. The Battle was fierce, and the Victory remain'd dubious a certain time; but at length through the Treachery of Lovell, who kept back the main Body of the King's Army from assisting their Brethren, till they being over-power'd were forced to fly, the Queen's Side gain'd the Victory, and with the Slaughter of 2300 Men obtain'd the King into their Power, with the Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kiriell: Who upon the King's Promise of Safety to them stay'd with his Majesty, but to their Cost: For, when the Queen heard that the Commons had beheaded Judge Thorp at High-gate, she cut off both their Heads.

After this Battle, which was fought upon February the 15th, the King and Queen with Prince Edward, now about Eight Years Old, and the Northern Lords went to the Abby-Church and gave Thanks to God for this Victory, and then the King made the Prince Knight, with Thirty others who had signalized their Courage in fighting for her, which done the King and Queen were conducted to their Lodgings in the Abby. But the Town of St. Albans was not at quiet. The Northern Men ranack'd and plunder'd the Houses without Mercy: Whereupon the Abbot and chief Inhabitants made an humble Petition to the King and Queen to restrain their Soldiers Rudeness and Theft, which was granted, and a Proclamation accordingly put out; but they reply'd, That it was their Bargain to have all the Spoil of every Place beyond the Trent, and so they continued their pillaging and Robberies.

While the Queen lay at St. Albans her Army being in want for Provision, she gave an Order to the Mayor of London to send her a sufficient Quantity of Lenten-fare for her Soldiers, which he readily obey'd; and having filled several Carts was conveying it to her, but the Commons of the City in a great Company met them about Gripple-gate, and stopp'd them, saying, They would not feed them that would cut their Throats, and rob them of all they had. The Mayor with many mild Exhortations advised them to let them pass, being for the Relief of the King and his Friends, but he could not persuade them to it, and he saw it was in vain to use any Force with them: Whereupon the Mayor fearing the Queen's Displeasure, sent the Recorder of the City to the King's Council at Barnet, and the Dutches of Bedford and Lady Scales with some Bishops to the Queen to excuse the Matter, and pacifie her Displeasure, promising the Queen to admit her into London, when Things were a little better appeas'd among the Commons. The Queen was pleas'd with the Proposals, and pass'd by the Disappointment of Relief for her Army, sending 400 Men

Earl of March gathers an Army of 23000 Men, and engages the Forces of the Earls of Pembroke and Ormond and conquers.

The Northern Men plunder without controul.

The Mayor sends Provision to the Queen.

A. D. 1461. 400 Men to prepare for her entring into the City, which if she could secure to her self, she hop'd to win all again.

But while these Things were acting, News came to the Queen, that the Earl of March, who had vanquish'd the Earls of Ormond and Pembroke was joyn'd with the Earl of Warwick, and the Forces escap'd from St. Albans, and that they both were coming towards London, making a mighty Army. The Queen fearing their Forces thought not fit to oppose them, and so withdrew from St. Albans into the North, (because she had few or no Friends in Kent or Essex). The Earl of March having certain Intelligence of the Queen's Departure, thought it not convenient to pursue her, but took his Way directly towards London, and was there receiv'd with universal Joy by all the Commons, and many other Citizens, February the 28th.

His coming to London being known, the Gentry of the South and East-parts flock'd to him, bringing great Numbers to his Assistance. In this Concourse of People it was thought convenient to settle Matters fully, and place the Earl of March on the Throne, if possible: And to that End, March the 2d, the Earl of Warwick drawing up his Army into St. John's Field in the midst of Throngs of People, which he cast into a Ring round him, read the Agreement made the last Parliament between King Henry and the Duke of York, which having told them was notoriously broken by King Henry, and so his Crown forfeited, he demanded of them, whether they would have King Henry to reign still or no? They all cry'd out, No, no. Then he again ask'd them, Whether they would have the Duke of York's Eldest Son to reign over them, according to that Settlement? They unanimously cry'd out, Yea, yea. The Affection of the People being thus known, a general Council of the Nobles, Bishops, Gentlemen and chief Citizens was summon'd at Baynard's Castle, and there the Earl of March declared again his Title to the Crown, and recited the Articles made the last Parliament, by which he was to have Possession of it, if King Henry broke the said Articles, as undeniably he had. The whole Council after a long Debate at length concluded, That because King Henry had done contrary to the Agreement in the last Parliament made and concluded, and was insufficient of himself to govern the Realm, he was therefore to be deprived of all Regal Authority and Power, as being incapable of it, and a Detriment to the Commonwealth of England; and that Edward, Earl of March, Son and Heir to Richard, Duke of York, having the unquestionable Title to the Crown of England, was by them all unanimouf-

ly nam'd, elected and admitted for the King and Governour of this Realm. The Earl of March modestly declared his Insufficiency for so great a Charge, being as yet young (d) and unexperienced: but being encourag'd by the Arch-bishop and other Lords he accepted their Petition, and took upon him the Name and Title of King of England. The next Day he went in Procession to St. Paul's, and there offer'd his Thanks to God for this his Exaltation to a Thorne by singing *Te Deum*, which done he was with great State conducted to Westminster, and there in the Great Hall set in the King's Seat with St. Edward's Scepter in his Hand; where being throng'd with Multitudes of People to be Spectators of the Ceremony, it was again ask'd them, whether they would have the Earl of March for their King, and serve, love, honour and obey him as their only Sovereign and Lord; they all joyfully answer'd, Yea, yea. Then he took the Homage of the Noblemen there present, and after was conducted by them to the Abby, where having sat in the Quire till *Te Deum* was sung, he went to St. Edward's Shrine and offer'd according to the usual Custom. Things being thus finish'd, he return'd by Water to St. Paul's, and took up his Lodgings in the Bishop's Palace, and the next Day was proclaimed King of England by the Name of Edward IV. in the Streets of London and adjoining Towns.

Thus ended the Reign of Henry VI. many Years before his Death (for he lived twelve Years longer) after he had reign'd thirty eight Years, six Months, and three Days, a Prince very Pious and Religious, but always attended with ill Fortune; for whatever Side he was of, the Victory ever went against him, as the former History shews. He had no Genius for Government nor Parts fit for the Management of State Affairs; but being a great lover of Charity and good Works, he might have been as good a King as England ever had, if he had been guided by a wise and good Council; but he was ruled by the Queen and her Favourites, who were envy'd by a proud Nobility, and was the Cause of great Miseries to the Nation. His Queen indeed may seem to have excell'd her Sex as much as the King sunk below the Dignity of his own, but her ambitious assuming the Regal Power beyond her Sphere, made it thought no Rebellion to take it out of her Hands, and put it where it would be better order'd and was more due. His Fall was much pitied, because as to his Person undeserv'd; but the common Good so much requir'd a Change, that it was judg'd better, That One suffer an Injury, rather than the whole Nation should perish.

(d) In his twentieth Year.

THE
Remarkable OCCURRENCES
IN THE
Reign of HENRY the Sixth.

The Author of King HENRY VI's Life having taken Notice of the Remarkable Occurrences of all Kinds which happen'd in his Reign, we shall only add the Names of those Great Captains and Men of Learning, who distinguish'd themselves most in this Space of Time.

THE first and most Eminent for Feats of Arms was *John Lord Talbot*, created Earl of Shrewsbury, the Terror of France and the Glory of England; The Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Poynings*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Earl of *Arundell*, *Richard*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Father of the Famous *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Sir Matthew Gough* a Welsh Man, who after he had signaliz'd himself in the French Wars for almost 20 Years together, was kill'd at last by the Rabble in *Cade's* Rebellion, *Sir Thomas Rampston*, *Sir Thomas Kiriell*, *Sir John Grey*, *Sir John Aubmond*, *Sir Francis Surienes* a Spaniard, who spent his Days in the English Service, and for his Valour was made Knight of the Garter, *Sir Thomas Curson*, Captain *Gonville*, and Captain *Andrew Trollop*, were all brave Soldiers and wise Commanders. Many others were noted for their Courage and Conduct in the Wars of France. But these are the Names that shine most in the History of those Times. The most eminent for Learning were,

John Hainton, a Monk of *Lincoln*.
Robert Coleman, a Franciscan Frier of *Norwich* and Chancellor of *Oxford*.
Will. White, a Priest in *Kent*. He was a *Wickliviſt*. He marry'd a Wife, and continu'd Preaching till he was prosecuted for Heresie and burnt.
Alex. Carpenter, he wrote against the Bishops for persecuting the poor and godly Christians.
Richard Kendall, a Garmmarian.
Thomas Ismaelit, a Monk of *Sion*.
Walter Hilton, a Monk of *Sheen*.
Rob. Hounslow, a Monk of that Town in *Middlesex*.
John Tilney, a Monk of *Yarmouth*, an excellent Divine.
Dr. John Low, Bishop of *Rocheſter*.
Dr. Thomas Ringſted, a Civilian and Divine.
Dr. John Felton of *Magdalen College*, *Oxon*.
Nich. Botlesham, D.D. in the University of *Paris*.
John Holbrook of *Surrey*, a Mathematician.
Peter Pain, a *Wickliviſt*. He fled to *Bohemia*, and liv'd there in great Reputation for his Wisdom and Learning.
Nicholas Upton, a Civilian. He wrote a Treatise of Heraldry.
Will. Beckly, Professor of Divinity in *Cambridge*.
John Torpe, a Monk of *Norwich*.
Dr. John Capgrave, an *Augustine* Frier of *Kent*, the most learned Man of his Order in England.
Humphrey, Duke of *Gloucester*, a Patron of Learning, and learn'd himself particularly in Astronomy. He wrote a Treatise, call'd *Tabula Directionum*.
Roger Onley, he was accused of Sorcery in *Elinor Cobham's* Plot, for which he was hang'd, tho' he was supposed Innocent. He was Author of a Book, call'd *Contra vulgi Superſtitiones*, and another, *De ſua Innocentia*.
Nicholas Cantlew, a Welsh Man of an ancient Family, and a Monk of *Bristol*.
Hen. Wickengham of *Norwich*, a noted Preacher.
John Lidgate, a Monk of *Bury*, the best Poet of his Time.
Dr. Nicholas Hoſtreſham, a Phyſician.
John Blackney, Prior of *Ingham*.
Thomas Beckington, Bp. of *Bath*, wrote against the *Salick* Law, which was defended by the French Writers, and occasion'd a War with the Pen, as well as of the Sword.
John Baringham, a Frier of *Ipswich*.

Dr. David Bois, a Welsh Man.
John Brome, an *Augustine* Frier.
Michael Trigury, a Cornish Man Rector of the University erected at *Caen* by *K. Henry*.
John Amundishaw, a Monk of *St. Albans*.
Oswald Anglicus, a Monk of the Order of the Charterhouse.
John Keningale, a Monk of *Norwich*.
Peter of *St. Faith's*, the same.
Dr. Reginald Pocock, Bishop of *Chicheſter*, a great Favourer of *Wickliff's* Principles, for which he was depriv'd.
John of *Bury*, a Monk of *Clare*.
Rob. Fleming, he wrote a Gr. and Lat. Dictionary.
Dr. Tho. Gascoigne, sometime Chancellor of *Oxon*.
William Staplehart, a Monk of *London*.
Robert Finningham, a Monk of *Norwich*.
John Chandler, Chancellor of *Wells*.
Sir William Botoner, of *Bristol*, an Antiquary.
Dr. John Stow, a Monk of *Norwich*.
Thomas Lanley, a Monk of *Halm*.
Cardinal Beaufort, Great Uncle to the King.
William Coppinger, A. M. of *Oxford*.
Tho. Lacy, an Astronomer and Mathematician.
John Talaugem, a Monk of *Worceſter*.
William Sutton, an Astrologer.
Robert Batſack wrote a Treatise of Chivalry and War, intituled, *De Re Militari*.
William Grey, Bishop of *Ely*.
Cardinal Kemp, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.
Adam Molins, Lord Privy-Seal, was a Man of great Learning, he lost his Head in his Master's Quarrel.
Dr. Thomas Chillenden, L. L. D.
These that follow were Historians.
Sir John Bourchier, Lord *Barnes*, transl. *Froissard*.
Roger Wall, a Herald, wrote the Reign of *Henry the Fifth*.
John Pole, he wrote the Life of *Sr. Walburgh*.
Thomas Walsingham, a Monk of *St. Albans*.
Thomas Radburn, a Monk of *St. Swithins*.
John Whethamstead, Abbot of *St. Albans*.
Nicholas Mountacute.
Nicholas Bungey.
Tho. Dando wrote the Life of *Alfred K.* of Eng.
Nich. Cantelupus, the Cambridge Historiographer.
Rob. Bale Recorder of *Lond.* wrote a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Magistrates, Offices, Orders, Changes, &c. of the City.



THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD IV.

A. D.
1461.
Richard,
Duke of
York slain
at Wake-
field Fight
by Queen
Margaret's
Forces.

RICHARD, Duke of *York*, overthrown by his own Rashness, and the happy Conduct of Queen *Margaret*, at the Battle of *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, left the Justice of his Title with a more prosperous Fortune to his Son *Edward*, Earl of *March*, and then Duke of *York*. His Head during Life, busied, with Expectations of Sovereignty, was mock'd with a Paper Crown after his Death, and being fix'd on a Pole was set on the Walls of *York*. For the Queen, to make his Pretensions to the Kingdom the common Scorn, forgot that Compassion she ow'd Human Nature in Calamity; and in a phantastick Cruelty expos'd it thus to the barbarous Mirth of the Beholders. With him died his young Son *Edmond*, Earl of *Rutland*, then but 12 Years Old, coming too soon with his Tutor to the School of War; and learning at first the sharpest Lesson from the Lord *Clifford*, who most inhumanly stab'd him prostrate at his Feet, intreating but for Life.

The un-
lucky
Fate of
the
Richards.

In the very Haven, after a long and tempestuous Voyage, thus perish'd the Duke of *York*; as if it had been in the Fate of all the *Richards* who were either in Fact or Title Kings of *England*, to end by violent Deaths. *Richard* the First and Second preceding him: His Son *Richard* the Tyrant, and *Richard*, Duke of *York* his Nephew, following him in the like Disaster, though several Ways, and upon different Quarrels.

Edward,
Duke of
York per-
sists in his
Father's
Claim,
and ga-
thers an
Army to
revenge
his Death.

This great Overthrow was suddenly rumor'd thro' the whole Kingdom, and stretched up to the Highest, to advance the Reputation of the Queen's Felicity. And soon it arriv'd at *Gloucester*, where *Edward* now Duke of *York* lay with some small Forces, expecting Directions from his Father: By whose Death perceiving himself in so foul Weather to sit alone at the Helm, he began more warily to steer his Course: And considering how dangerous Delay is to increase the Approaches of Misfortune, remov'd to *Shrewsbury*. By the way his Army swel'd up to 23000. fighting Men; which might appear strange if we weigh the necessary Unexperience of his Youth, being then but 18 Years of Age, and the slender Retinue that usually waits on Infelicity. But now he was the Head of the great Body of that Faction, which his Father at the Expence of so long Trouble, had purchased to his Side; and whom the Queen's implacable Nature had made resolute, and only to hope for Safety by running into the common Danger. Moreover all the Men of Power who inhabited between *Gloucester* and *Shrewsbury*, had Dependency on him as Heir to *Mor-*

timer; or held in chief of his mighty Confederate the Earl of *Warwick*.

With this sudden and unexpected Addition of Forces, he entertain'd a Confidence to be able to revenge his Fathers Death, and obtain that Greatness which as yet had been in vain attempted. He therefore look'd about, where he might on the best Advantage make Experience of his Fortune: Fortune appearing easie to be courted by him as if enamour'd with his Youth; having been seldom observ'd but froward to Age, in any Design that depends chiefly upon Courage.

And Occasion was immediately offer'd: Certain Discovery being made of a great Power rais'd by the adverse Party, with purpose to surprize him in the Amazement of the late Misfortune. The Army consisted of *Welsh* and *Irish* according to the several Nations of the two Commanders, *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *James* Earl of *Ormond*: *Pembroke* half Brother to *Henry VI.* as Son to Queen *Catherine*, Dowager to *Henry V.* by *Owen Tudor*: And *Ormond* a most faithful Servant to the House of *Lancaster*, by whose Gift in *England* he enjoy'd the Earldom of *Wiltshire*.

Jasper,
Earl of
Pembroke,
and *James*,
Earl of
Ormond
fight *Ed-
ward*,
Duke of
York at
*Mortimer's
Cross*.

Against these two the Duke of *York* led back his Forces, and in a large Plain near *Mortimer's Cross*, near *Ludlow* in *Shropshire* on *Candlemas-Day* in the Morning, gave them Battle. Before the Fight, the Sun (as by many Authors it is asserted) appear'd to the Earl in the Resemblance of Three Suns, and suddenly united into One: The Truth of which I will not dispute, but certainly the Pretension of such Apparitions strangely prevails with the superstitious Multitude, and therefore it had been both the Practice and Advantage of the most expert Commanders to set them on Foot: Yet how this *Omen* could be expounded happy to his Design, I understand not, unless we seek the Interpretation from the Event; for that indeed gave him the Victory, and brought the Glory of the two adverse Generals over to his Side, so that the three Suns which with equal Brightness appear'd in the Morning, before Evening shin'd alone in him. For the Two Earls and their whole Army were put to Flight, with the Slaughter of 3800 on the Place: Many *Welsh* and some *English* of Name were taken Prisoners, and afterward at *Hereford* beheaded, among whom an extraordinary Fortune hath made *Owen Tudor*, the Father of the Earl of *Pembroke*, most the Discourse of Posterity. For the good luck of an amiable Person, wrought him into the Affection, and soon after advanced him to the Marriage of *Catherine*, Daughter of *France*, and Widow

A. Prodigy of
three Suns
appearing
at once.
Duke of
York con-
quers
them,

A. D. 1461. to the most glorious Prince our Nation ever gain'd Honour by, *Henry V.* Yet all that this so envied Splendor in a Wife got him, was, to render his Life obnoxious to Imprisonment and Faction, and his Death more eminent on a Scaffold.

Duke of York marches to London. This Victory rais'd *Edward's* Imaginations high so that now he resolv'd to spend his Fortune no longer in small Enterprises: And lest the Spirit of his Army should begin to languish, having no Enemy near to find him Employment, he resolv'd to search for one about London, whither he had Intelligence the Queen with her triumphant Forces directed her March, not without Hopes of obtaining Admission, because the Mayor and others were her Friends: Moreover, it concerned the Policy of his Affairs, to retain the Possession of the capital City of the Kingdom, whose Commons continued firm to his Service, and in which the Lords of his Party had the Custody of King *Henry's* Person, left to their Faith, when the Duke of York went his last fatal Expedition.

The Queen engages the Earl of Warwick, and vanquishing him on Shrewsbury Tuesday, Feb 17. takes her Husband. But in the Way at *Chipping-Norton*, he met the Earl of *Warwick*, who, with the Lords King *Henry's* Keepers, whom they brought with them, had lately fought and lost the Field to the Queen at *St. Albans*. In which, beside the Honour of the Day, and Slaughter of Two thousand of her Enemies, she recover'd the Person of her Husband. *Warwick*, tho' he brought with him only a Relation of his late Overthrow, yet it was with such a Courage as disdain'd Misfortune, and cover'd nothing more than by the Tryal of a new Day to perswade, or else to force back Victory to his Side.

Q. Margaret's Army spoil and ravage all the Country South of Trent. And oftentimes a small Loss to an Army, like opening a Vein to a Body, doth rather correct than any way impair the Health; whereas too much Prosperity, like the worst Surfeit, suddenly becomes uncureable. And so the Two late obtain'd Conquests wrought in the Enemy only Insolency and Disorder. For the Queen, wanton with Success, vainly imagin'd a Security from future Competition, and either wanted Power to restrain her Soldiers, or licens'd them to a free Spoil; by which unruly Violence she untied the Affection of the Commons, who by their Quiet and Profit, measure the Vertues of Princes. And indeed they had Title to their often Complaints against the northern Troops, who, as soon as they had past *Trent*, as if there they had parted with all Obedience to Discipline, made use of all Kinds of Licence, that might serve their Avarice or Pleasure. And having by the Way left no Towns, and in them no Place how sacred soever unspoiled; after the Flight of *Warwick*, they design'd for London, hoping to find it abundantly stor'd for Prey, and utterly unable for Defence.

City of London deny Queen Margaret Reception. But the Citizens perceiving Hostility in their Approach, shut their Gates, and arm'd for Resistance; and with such Valour and good Order behav'd themselves, that the rude Assailants were with Loss repulst, and the Queen perswaded to retire Northward, knowing the Disorder of her Men had begot her in the Place where she then lay encamped, nothing but ill Aspects and worse Wishes: She therefore dislodged from *St. Albans*, and every Day as she march'd towards the North, new Relations came of the Greatness and Resolution of the Earl of *March's* Power, who, with the Earl of *Warwick* was on his Journey to London.

And doubtless the Report of his Approach confirm'd the City in her Courage to resist the late Assault; which otherwise would without

question have comply'd with the Fortune of the more powerful. For presently after the Departure of the Queen, the Earl of *March* on the Twenty eighth of *February*, made his triumphant Entry, and was receiv'd with such Acclamations, as an over-joy'd People could express, who only hoped for Safety by the Fortune of his Side. To encrease the Glory of this Entry concurr'd, besides his Title to the Crown, his late Victory at *Montimer's Cross*, the Memory of a most glorious Father, and great Authority of his Confederate *Warwick*, the Beauty of *March's* Person, than which Beauty an Inducement to make Kings. that Age beheld not any more excellent. Neither is the outward Form a small Circumstance to induce the Multitude to Reverence; since as Deformity in a Prince, hath oftentimes occasion'd Contempt even to Deprivation: So on the contrary, hath an amiable Shape strengthened very weak Pretensions, and in *Antonius Helicabalus* was sufficient Title to an Empire, even in a military Election.

But the Earl of *Warwick*, (whose Mind was still in labour, and felt continually most violent Throws, till it had brought forth a settled Sovereignty to the House of *York*) contented not himself with this general Applause, knowing how the least Change of Fortune would create new Affections. He therefore resolv'd so to fasten the City to his Designs, that any Alteration in *Edward's* Fortune should be Ruin to them; and thereupon caused on the Second of *March* a general Muster of all his Forces to be made in *St. John's Fields*; where, when he found an universal Confluence of all Men, answerable to his Expectation; he cast his Army into a Ring, and with a loud Voice, made to be read the Agreement which the last Parliament had made between *Henry VI.* and *Richard*, Duke of *York*. By which *Henry* (out of Compassion to a long Possession) was permitted to enjoy the Crown during his natural Life; the Remained to *Richard* and his Heirs, in whom it was then apparently proved that the Title to the Kingdom did remain. In which Agreement was likewise manifested, That *Henry* should make immediate Forfeiture, whensoever either he, or any of his Party should attempt to disannull this Act. This being read, and commented on with the best Efficacy of Language, to express the foul Breach on King *Henry's* Side, in the Destruction of *Richard* Duke of *York*: The Question was propos'd to them, whether they would longer continue in their Obedience to *Henry's* Usurpation, who so impiously had violated his Faith? To which with an universal loud Consent of Voices, they cry'd out, *No, No*. Then were they demanded, *Whether they would admit Edward, whose Title to the Crown was so apparent, and whose Wrong had been so great in a perfidious violent Entry, and a long injurious Possession of the Kingdom by the Family of Lancaster?* To which with Acclamations of Assent was answered, *Yea, Yea*.

Thus by the Soldiers and the People, was *Edward's* Title approv'd, and he admitted King *March 3. 1461.* And happily did this Ceremony than appear needful, in regard the same Reg. 1. Voices had vow'd Obedience to another. Otherwife, whosoever shall alledge, that the Suffrage of the multitude is necessary to confirm a Prince, destroys the Right of Succession, and in that the Monarchy, which so long and triumphantly hath ruled this Nation. And to understand the Uncertainty and Injustice of all popular Election, History instructs us, That no Tyrant yet in *England*, by what indirect Practice soever exploded he

A. D. 1461. City of London receive the Duke of York joyfully.

Beauty an Inducement to make Kings.

Earl of Warwick draws the Citizens to elect Edward, Duke of York, King.

A. D. 1461. Mar. 3. Reg. 1.

Edward, Duke of York, elected King.

Popular Elections of Kings exploded he

A. D. 1461. Reg. I. he attain'd, or Cruelty maintain'd the Government, but entred in by a seeming Approbation of the Commonwealth, and settled his State by Confirmation of the People. For I know not by what universal Distemper of Humours it happens, that generally when the Head of this Kingdom hath been sick, the whole Body was diseased; so far, that Usurpation hath been legitimated, and Tyranny applauded: Which Misfortune must have necessarily been occasion'd thro' the Power of the prevailing Faction; and Fear which possess all honest Minds: Who tho' they neither wanted Knowledge to see the Injury, nor Desire to redress it, yet private Interest made them too cowardly to undertake the Remedy.

Edward's Title to the Crown of England. But in Edward's first Entrance on the Kingdom the popular Suffrage (which in the Inauguration of Christian Princes is of ancient Custom esteem'd a convenient Ceremony) met with a just Title. For he by his Grand-mother, Ann, Daughter and Heir of Roger Mortimer, Son and Heir to Philippa, only Child of Lionell, Duke of Clarence, third Son to Edward III. King of England; of necessity must have (where Women are admitted to inherit) better claim to the Crown than Henry VI. though in the fourth Descent from Edward III. by John of Gaunt, being but his fourth Son. For however Casuists may dispute, or civil Lawyers argue; that the being remov'd one Degree further, can no way prejudice Succession; whereby the younger Brother may come to be prefer'd before the Elder Brother's Son, if by chance the Elder die during his Father's Life; yet 'tis an Injustice so against Reason and Custom, that whosoever yet attempted it, was reputed to violate the Laws of Nature.

Edward accepts the Kingdom. From St. John's Fields, the Principal of the Army, and Common-Council of the City, brought News of this Election to Edward, Earl of March, remaining at Baynard's Castle: Who soon as he understood the Intention of their Address (with such Modesty as some Clergy-Man may have us'd at his Consecration, who by simoniacal Practice hath obtain'd a Bishoprick) refused that a while, which most ambitiously he covered. But soon the Animation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Bishops of London and Exeter, and divers others of Eminence prevail'd, and he at their Request took on him the Royalty.

King Edward declares his Title to the Crown, but requires the Peoples Approbation which he had again. That Night he rested, the next Morning with as much Ceremony and State, as the Shortness and Unquietness of the Time could license, in solemn Procession he went to St. Paul's Church; whence after Te Deum sung, and Oblation made, he rode to Westminster, there seated in the most perspicuous place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of St. Edward the Confessor in his Hand, himself made Declaration of his double Title to the Crown. First, by descent, as Heir to the third Son of Edward III. the Line of whose eldest Son Edward the Black Prince extinguished in the Deposition and Parricide of Richard II. procured by Henry of Bullingbrooke, first King of the House of Lancaster, Edward the Third's second Son William dying without Issue. Secondly, By Authority of Parliament, which upon Examination of the Duke of York's Title, conferred the Possession of the Kingdom immediately on him or his Heirs, when Henry VI. should make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Resignation, or Breach of that Accord sworn there so solemnly by them. And that this Accord was broken, the Slaughter of the Duke oppress'd with unequal Numbers on K. Henry's Party at the Battle of

Wakefield, did sadly manifest. Nevertheless he A. D. 1461. Reg. I. protested himself ready to forgo the Justice of his Claim, rather than to enter upon it without the free Vote. At which unanimously the Assembly cry'd K. Edward, K. Edward, joyful that their Voices might confirm him King, who had daign'd them so humble a Complement, as to profess that he would not receive the Title without their Suffrage. The Formality of this second Election thus past, he went in Procession to the Abby; whence after much Solemnity and Homage of all the Nobility there present, he return'd by Water to the Bishop of London's Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King throughout the City by the Name of Edward the Fourth.

The first Fortnight of his Reign was dy'd, I will not say stain'd, with the Blood of Walter Walker a Grocer, who keeping Shop at the Sign of the Crown in Cheapside, said he would make his Son Heir to the Crown; a bold Jest broke in an evil Time, yet do I not side with them in Opinion, who tax the King of Severity in this Execution, unless I could clear this Man from being particularly factious for the House of Lancaster, or know that these Words were utter'd in innocent Mirth, without any Scorn to King Edward's Title. And however perhaps the extraordinary Punishment of such saucy Language, was not then unnecessary to beget Authority, and make Men cautious to dispute the Descent of Princes, when the Question was so nice, and Arguments not improbable on either Side.

But here in her very first Courtesie, Fortune rais'd K. Edward higher than the Endeavours of a long Ambition had done his Father. For now was he consecrated King in the Imperial City of this Realm, adorn'd with every Circumstance of Sovereignty; and all his Enterprizes hitherto so flatter'd with Success, that he could promise nothing but Prosperity to his Hopes. Yet was the Ground whereon he built uncertain, and his State brought into Comparison with his Competitor, frail and obnoxious to Ruin.

For Henry had equal Dignity with the Advantage of a long Reign, an uninterrupted Descent in Majesty for 60 Years, a Sovereignty acknowledged Abroad by all Christian Princes, and obey'd at Home by all English Men without Dispute, a Title according to the Law Salick indubitable, and which had been confirm'd at the first Entry of his Grand-father Henry IV. into the Kingdom, not only by Resignation of Richard II. by general Acknowledgment of all the Nobility, and by Authority of Parliament, but even by Approbation, nay particular Negotiation of Edmund, Duke of York; Edward, Duke of Aumerl; Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Grand-Father, Great-Uncle, and Great-Grandfather to the late anointed K. Edward IV. Only a feeble Judgment, and a long evil Fortune rendred Henry VI. inferior, which to counterpoise Q. Margaret and the Lords of her Side were daring and vigilant, omitting no Stratagem or Endeavour that might add to the Honour or Safety of their Designs.

Whereupon she continu'd still in the North, and obliging that People every Day more to her Service, labour'd to prepare such an Army as might upon the worst of Fortune be able enough for Defence: And soon she found how much her own and the Authority of the great Lords of her Side prevail'd, having rais'd 60000 fighting Men, and they all resolv'd with Expence of their Blood to buy back that Majesty, which the House of Lancaster by evil Fate had lost. An Army if arm'd and order'd well, able

A. D. 1461. Reg. I.

K. Edward proclaim'd, and one Walker excus'd for saucy Language.

K. Henry's Title to the Crown.

Q. Margaret and the Lords of her Party raise an Army to dethrone King Edward. Q. Margaret's Army consists of 60000.

A. D. 1461. to oppose the mightiest Enemy, or undertake the boldest Enterprize. On sight of which the Queen entertain'd a Confidence easily to scatter the Forces of the New Mushroom King, who in a Night seem'd to have sprung up to Majesty; especially when she understood how with unequal Power he march'd Northward, a Clime not unlikely to prove as disastrous to him as to his Father.

King Edward's Resolution to maintain his Right King Edward on the other Side as soon as the Voice of the People had saluted him Prince, resolv'd with hazzard of his new-gain'd Sovereignty to extirpate his great Opposer: For while the Side of *Lancaster* was supported with the Assistance of so large a Portion of the Kingdom, which as yet adhered to *Henry*, he could be King but at the courtesie of his Faction; and the Body of the Land must of Necessity grow monstrous, being charg'd with two Heads, each of which look'd divers Ways: He therefore while his Men had yet the Memory of their late good Fortune fresh in their Courage, march'd towards the Queen, and chose rather, as worthier his Spirit, to provoke than expect an Enemy.

King Edward's Arrival at Pomfret Castle. Of his Arrival at *Pomfret* Castle when it was understood; and that part of his Army led by the Lord *Fitzwalter*, had possess'd it self of *Ferribrig*, a passage over the River *Aire* of great Importance: All they of *Lancaster* began carefully to look to their Affairs. King *Henry*, the Queen, and Prince (who were by their several Weaknesses unfit for Action) retired to *York*, there to attend the event of Businesses. The Army being committed to the Charge of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*.

K. Henry's Army, commanded by the Duke of Somerset &c. Among these it was resolv'd that *Ferribrig*, in regard of the Consequence of the Place, was at any hazzard to be recover'd, and the Enterprize left to the Undertaking of *Clifford*; who early the next Morning, least Delay might betray his Design to the Enemy, with a competent Number march'd thither, and that with such Diligence and Secrecy, that before there was the least Suspicion of an Assault, the uncircumspect Guard was entred upon and defeated.

Lord Clifford gains Ferribrig of Edward's Men. With the Tumult the Lord *Fitzwalter*, and the Bastard of *Salisbury* were awaken'd, and suspecting a Mutiny among their own Soldiers, rose hastily from their Beds, and coming down encounter'd a merciless Enemy, who deny'd all Quarter, and on the Place slew them.

Earl of Warwick's Fears. The Loss of this so comodious Passage, and Slaughter of such eminent Persons came first to the Ear of the Earl of *Warwick*, who somewhat too much transported with the evil Fate of their first Attempt, posted in all haste to *K. Edward*, in whose Presence he kill'd his Horse, and said, Sir, God have mercy on their Souls, who for love of you in the Beginning of your Enterprize have lost their Lives; yet let him flie who will flie, by this Cross (kissing the Hilt of his Sword) I will stand by him who will stand by me, fall back, fall edge.

Great Men have their Frailties. Words certainly, tho' mingled with a high Resolution strangely distemper'd, and representing so much of Danger as might have troubled the Courage of the Army. And howsoever partial History in mentioning the Actions of Great Men, will not allow them to participate with the Vulgar in the Weaknesses incident to human Nature, yet every greatest Spirit hath his Allay of Imbecillity. The most knowing Scholar hath found a Period, beyond which his curious Search could not move; the wisest Politician hath discover'd where he err'd, and blush'd at the Mistake; and the boldest Soldier at some time

or other hath found the Coward trembling in him. We may by our Endeavours raise Nature somewhat above her Frailty, but never triumph over her till Death.

And certainly *Warwick* was too much amaz'd at this Accident; but soon he settled himself, and by his stout Comportment animated the fainting Army: But King *Edward*, whose Youth was beautified with Valour and Wisdom, even to Wonder, soberly entertain'd this sad Report, and to oppose against any Fear which might shake the Soldiers; caused immediate Proclamation to be made, That it was lawful for any Man whom the present Loss, or Fear of future Danger discouraged, safely to depart; That whosoever should perform the Duty of a Soldier and fight manfully, should have a certain and a most large Reward: On the contrary to any Man who should continue in the Army, and hereafter fly away, the severest Punishment and Liberty for any one to kill such a Coward, with promise of double Pay.

No Man accepted the Offer of so contemptible a Safety; and indeed the Body of his Army consisted of Southern Men, whose Flight had perhaps been as unsafe as the present Danger: Moreover the Example of the Valiant perswaded the rest, who blush'd to appear single in their Fears; whereby not being known they grew afterward to have equal Title, with the most daring to a glorious Victory.

The King seeing the Spirit of His Army so bold, and so devoted to his Service, thought the Loss of Time might endanger the Loss of his Design; and thereupon resolv'd with the first Convenience to bring his Fortune to the Tryal of a Battle. The Lord *Falconbridge* and Sir *Walter Blunt*, in regard the Duke of *Norfolk* was then disabled by Sickness, had the leading of the Vanguard, who finding the Passage of *Ferribrig* impossible on the sudden to obtain, three Miles above, at *Castleford* past the River: and soon after about *Dindingdale* discover'd the Lord *Clifford*, whom they suddenly overtook and encompass'd; in vain labouring to retire to the main Battle. But he perceiving no way to escape from his Enemies but thro' Death, defended himself bravely with his small Forces even to the Envy of them who overcame, till shot with an Arrow thro' the Throat, he perish'd. The Lord *John Nevill*, Son to the Earl of *Westmerland*, with almost all those unfortunate Troops fell there with their Leader the Lord *Clifford*; who in too mild a manner paid them the great Debt he ow'd to Justice for the Murder of the Young Earl of *Rutland*.

K. Henry and K. Edward's Army come to a Battle at Towton. Next Day being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning both Armies came in Sight: A fatal Meeting, which like the Union of the Soul with the Body, never parts but by Death. The Field was between *Caxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this Battle afterwards took Name. On full Survey of King *Henry's* Host so dreadful in advantage of Number, Proclamation was made in King *Edward's* Camp, that no Quarter should be given nor Prisoner taken. A necessary Cruelty not to be avoided but with danger of his own Ruin: In regard otherwise the common Soldier might in hope of Spoil, or of the Ransom of an Enemy, be wanting to his Duty.

It was about the Hour of Nine, when the Armies drew near; 60000 for *Lancaster*, for *York* scarce 40000; only the Presence and Courage of King *Edward* made an Equality. The Lord *Falconbridge*, to whom the Van was committed, and who was most able for the Place, when

A. D. 1461. when the Fight was ready to begin, charg'd his Archers, soon as they had shot, to fall Three Strides back, and make a Stand, whereby they might avoid the Arrows of the Enemy: Which Stratagem happen'd as was expected; for the northern Men with a sudden Fury answer'd the Onset, and having emptied their Quivers, hasten'd to hand Blows. But the Arrows, which they had discharged at Adventure by reason of the Fogg, having never reach'd them against whom they were shot, turn'd now to their Annoiance and Trouble, so far, that the Splinters of them sticking in the Ground, pierc'd and gall'd their Feet, and forc'd them to a confus'd Stop. In this Trouble the Southern Men shot another Flight, and the Wind conspiring with their Cunning, blew a Tempest of Hail and Snow into their Faces; by which the Vanguard of King Henry, led by the Earl of Northumberland and Andrew Trollop, gave back.

Yet did not the main Battle tremble with this Motion; but, as if the Enemy had gain'd no Advantage, continued with the first Constancy. Ten Hours Victory hung in Suspence; equal Courage appeared on both Sides, equal Hopes of Good, equal Despairs for Fear of bad Success, which occasion'd so much Cruelty in the Fight. But at length (the Field stain'd with Blood, and the Earth groaning with the Burden of so many Heaps of dead and dying Bodies) the Northern Men began to hope for Safety only in flight. Neither did they yield to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemy, until their Courages were dismay'd with sight of so many eminent Persons slain before their Eyes. For the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, the Lords Beaumont, D'acres, Gray, and Wells, and Andrew Trollop, who was famous in the French Wars, with divers others of the greatest Reputation, for Nobility and Courage, had already fallen, and in their Slaughter taught the Survivors what to expect. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, seeing all Things desperate, the greater Part of the Army slain, the rest broken and flying, posted to York, to carry the fatal News of this Overthrow to the unfortunate King, whose Vertue yet had a Patience greater than his Ruin.

In no Battle was ever power'd forth so much English Blood; for in this, and the Two precedent Days were slain 36776 Persons, all of one Nation, many near in Alliance, some in Blood, fatally divided by Faction; yet all animated with the same Zeal to maintain their Princes's Right, which being so difficult to resolve, doubtless made the Quarrel on either Side, how ruinous soever to their Families, not unsafe to their Consciences. And it is worthy Observation, that in this so long and cruel Conflict between the Two Houses, never any Stranger of Name was present at our Battles; as if we had disdain'd to conquer or perish by other Weapons than our own.

King Henry perceiving how desperate his Hopes were in England, with the poor Remains of his Party, secured himself by flight into Scotland. And with such haste, that before King Edward got to York (where he hoped to have surpris'd him dismay'd with the late Discomfiture) nothing was there left but the City humbly devoted to the Dispose of the Conqueror. But on the Walls yet remain'd the Heads of Richard, Duke of York, and his Friends, an ignominious Spectacle, unluckily there standing to incense him to Cruelty. For on sight of so barbarous an Injury, he gave present Command, that Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devon-

shire, should be beheaded with Three others taken in the former Battle; that these new Heads might relieve them, who had stood Centinel so long; and that his Father and Friends might not want that busie Part of the Body to be inclosed with them in the Grave. An Action too much favouring of the ancient Heathen; the Souls of Christians no way requiring their Murthers to be reveng'd, or their Injuries appeased with such an Offering.

After this dire Oblation, he sent Part of his Forces to clear the Coasts toward Scotland, from the Dreggs of War; where to terrifie that People prone to Innovation in King Henry's Quarrel, some Examples of Severity were made. In the Intrim, he, with as glorious Triumph and large Joy as a Victory could beget, which brought no less to him than absolute Sovereignty, march'd toward London. By the Inhabitants whereof, who were deeply interested in his Fortune, he was with all the Solemnity of a secure Gladness entertain'd June 29. To the Triumph of his Entrance, soon succeeded that of his Coronation, perform'd on the 29th of June, with usual Ceremonies, but most unusual Congratulations.

Immediately, that no Circumstance of Sovereignty might be wanting, a Parliament was summon'd; by which his Title might be reconfirm'd, his Partakers rewarded, his Enemies punish'd. And tho' private Respects were his chief Business, desiring to disannul all Acts made heretofore in Prejudice to the House of York and its Adherents; yet the outward Pretension was the Safety and Quiet of the Realm. For he publicly profess'd his only Care to be, that such wholesome Laws might be enacted, as might redress Disorders crept into the State, by free Licence given to Rapine in the former Troubles. By which Appearance of Solitude for quiering the Kingdom, he gain'd Authority among the Wise, and created a Belief in all, that his Government in Peace would be as fortunate as his Success in War. Having by his Wisdom and Providence thus gotten the good Opinion of the Generality, he bestowed his Graces on particular Persons, whom Blood join'd with Merit rendred dear to him. His Brothers, George and Richard, he created Dukes, the Elder of Clarence, the Younger of Gloucester. John, Lord Nevill, the Earl of Warwick's Brother, he made Viscount Mountacute, Henry Bourchier, Brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl of Essex, and William, Lord Falconbridge, Earl of Kent. He rais'd divers others to the Title of Barons, and honour'd many with Knighthood. The Conclusion of this great Assembly was Punishment; for John, Earl of Oxford, Aubrey Vere his Son, Sir John Teddenham, Knight, William Tirrel and Walter Mountgomery, Esquires, were without any Tryal convicted of Treason, and beheaded on Tower Hill. A rough Proceeding, which savoured something too much of the Conqueror, and made John, Earl of Oxford, his implacable Enemy, Heir to the late Earl.

Business thus happily settled at Home, to check the Audaciousness of our transmarin Neighbours, (who had thrown Injuries on our Nation weaken'd by Discord) the Earls of Essex and Kent, with the Lord Audley, were sent with rooba Soldiers to foor the Narrow Seas; who first landing in Brittain, took the Town of Conquet; and afterward invading the Isle of Ree, pillag'd that little Country, and with Victory return'd. By which Enterprize, tho' of no signal Consequence to his Affairs, yet King Ed-

K. Henry's Army worsted, and many of Note slain.

The Number of the Slain.

K. Henry's Flight into Scotland.

A. D. 1461. Reg. 1. King Edward's Severity to the Captives.

K. Edward returns to London, and is joyfully receiv'd.

K. Edward crowned, and his Title confirm'd by Parliament.

King Edward rewards his chief Adherents with Honours.

A. D. 1462. Reg. 2. King Edward's Achievements by Sea.

A. D. 1462. *ward* made the *French* to understand how unsafe it was to provoke the *English* govern'd by an active Prince, who might perhaps hereafter in Person appear abroad, for the Recovery of those Provinces, which nothing but our Dissention could have lost. As likewise to terrifie all foreign States from adhering to *K. Henry*, who both in Courage and Fortune was so far inferior.

And now was the Prosperity of *Edward* in so full Splendor, and so dark a Cloud hung over the House of *Lancaster*, that *Henry Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, and *Sir Ralph Percy*, forsook the Ruins of that Family they had so long endeavour'd to support. To King *Edward* the Submission of Two so eminent Persons appear'd as welcome as a Victory; and they by his Favour were presently restor'd to full Possession both of their Honours and (a) Estates; and the same Grace promised to any, whom their Example should perswade to return to their Allegiance.

Yet did not the indefatigable Queen lose any Thing of her Spirit or Endeavours, by her late so sad Discomfiture, and Revolt now of her chief Adherents, which were able perhaps to break her Fortune, not her. And having upon full reckoning perceiv'd, that she must account of no Power at Home, she made her Addresses to all Princes abroad, whom Alliance, Reason of State, or Compassion of so great a Disaster, might move to her Assistance. But, as it is in the Fate of all Women, who usurp on their Husbands, she had been unhappy in the Management of his Prosperity, and now was much more incapable to oppose against his so great and constant Infelicity. Great Undertakings being seldom successful in that Sex, whose Government over Man, as in Nature it is monstrous, so for the most part in it self hath it been disorderly and ruinous. But certainly, how erroneous soever it was heretofore, she was now defective only in the Event, which is not ruled by ours, but by a higher Mind.

For with the King of *Scotland* (with whom as in the nearest Place of Safety, she left her Husband) to confirm a secure Friendship, she contracted a near Alliance, by promising the young Prince her Son in Marriage to the Lady *Margaret*, his Sister. And that this Marriage might not seem a Gift but a Bargain, she bought the Lady by the Delivery of *Berwick* into the *Scots* Hands, the strongest Fort the *English* had in the North. But the Unfortunate are ever Losers in their Traffick, and forc'd to purchase what otherwise they would with Difficulty be perswaded to receive.

With *Lewis XI.* the *French* King, she prevail'd little, though near to him in Consanguinity; for the Discontent of his Nobility, held him in continual Suspicion. Otherwise she had Title to promise her self large Supplies from so potent and politick a Prince, whose Interest it must in Reason have been, by fomenting Discord at home, to hinder us from any Attempt abroad. After much Solicitation, she obtain'd that he declar'd himself for King *Henry*, by prohibiting all Favourers of the House of *York* Access into the *French* Dominions, and opening them to all those of the Party of *Lancaster*. A negative kind of Help, which rather shew'd there yet was Sanctuary left for *Henry's* unhappy Friends, than any considerable Aid to be expected.

Philip Duke of *Burgundy*, tho' a mighty Prince, and near allied to *Lancaster*, (whose Wive's Mother was *Philippa*, Daughter to *John of Gaunt*). yet by Age, and a passionate Love to Quiet, was become altogether unactive. Neither had *Charles*, Earl of *Charolois*, his Son, though of a daring Spirit, and an Affecter of Business, Leisure to look over into our Island, being engag'd in domestick Troubles, and suspicious of the Designs of the *French* King.

With *Charolois*, the Duke of *Brittain* held a strong Confederacy; and both of them Intelligence with the discontented Lords of *France*. The War which was afterward so known by the Name of the *Weal Publick* being at that Time among them privately in Contrivance; so that all these neighbouring Princes, to whom the Affairs of *England* might seem considerable, were wholly taken up with Attention to their own.

The Emperor *Frederick III.* was more remote, and so cautious from entring into the Quarrels of other Men, that by any Arr, and even with Loss he would decline his own. Moreover, he justly stood in continual Fear of the growing Fortune of the *Turk*; who, having lately subverted the Eastern, threatned now Ruin to the Western Empire: And questionless had not the great God of Armies miraculously given a Stop to his Victories, *Christendom* had now been only several Provinces enslav'd to his Tyranny. For Pride and Emulation had then turn'd our Arms upon our selves, and left our Bodies naked to the Scourge of the common Enemy.

Spain was far off, divided between a Christian and *Mahometan* Government, each labouring the Extirpation of the other, so that they had Liberty to be Actors in no Tragedy but their own. And indeed no Conflict is so fierce and irreconcilable, as when Religion animates to War, and makes it Piety to be cruel.

To her Father *Renate* therefore, who enjoy'd the specious Title of King of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Jerusalem*, but Possession of none of them, the afflicted Queen was forc'd to make a sad Retreat. A poor contemptible Lord, living now to see his Son-in-Law, once the greatest Monarch of the Christian World, a Prince as merely titular as himself. As if it had been the Fate of these Two, that the one could say, he might have been, the other that once he was a King.

Leaving therefore foreign States intente to their own Designs, with her Son, whom to move Compassion she had carried up and down, the Queen return'd to *Scotland*; by her long but unsuccessful Labour, having gathered together 500 *French*; a Number so small and so unworthy the Name of an Army, that it was but a competent Retinue for so great a Princess. With these nevertheless she sail'd to (b) *Tinmouth*, from whence she was repulsed by the Inhabitants as soon as she landed, and forc'd again to put to Sea. But there (for where may the Unfortunate meet with Friendship?) she found the Winds her Enemies, whose unruly Force drave her at length disorderly to *Berwick*; and the *French* under the Command of *Monsieur Varrennes* into the Hand of the Bastard *Ogle*, whom the King had sent to watch their Enemies; and he slew above an 100 of them, and took almost all the rest Prisoners, the Captain and some few only escaping.

(a) Mr. *Thin* in his History of the Dukes of *England*, says, that the Duke of *Somerset* had only a Pension of 2000 Marks a Year granted him, which was never paid; and he places his submitting to King *Edward* on the Second of December, in the Year 1463.

(b) She took *Alnwick*, and garrison'd it.

A. D. 1463. *Reg. 3.* Here some thin Regiments of Scots resorted to her, in company of whom she enter'd *Northumberland*; and having won *Banbury-Castle*, passed into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, her Husband marching in the Front, that the Name and Presence of *K. Henry* might invite the People to their ancient Service, and add Authority to the Design. But soon she found her Error; for Hope, not Compassion perswades to Danger: And the Commonalty far still, when by rising they understood themselves only likely to share in the King's Misfortune: For having upon a just Account discover'd how War is only necessary to the most desperate, and that in the End it leaves them to nothing but Beggary and Punishment, they were reconcil'd to the Love of Peace, and every Man betook himself to Industry. And for the Nobility, the King had won them either by the Reputation of his Fortune, or Terror of his Courage; so that no Man of Eminency resolv'd to change Subjection: Only *Henry*, Duke of *Somerset*, and *Sir Ralph Percy*, who not long before had forsaken *K. Henry* in his Tempest; now upon a false Hope of fairer Weather fled back again. For it is a ridiculous Cunning in Historians to ascribe the Actions of great Men perpetually to Policy, since Irresolution prevails equally in them as with the Vulgar. And why might not Despair beget Submission in these two to *K. Edward*, and a vain Appearance of a Return of Fortune to *K. Henry's* Side, perswade them to this last Revolt?

Upon this so weak Access of Power, *Queen Margaret* perceiving so unsound Friendship in her Husband's native Country, destroy'd it as if an Enemy's. And wanting Force to reach the Prosperity of her Competitor, fell cruelly upon the common People, who had hitherto been only subjects to his Fortune, bearing inwardly a most passionate Love to the Family of *Lancaster*. But this outrageous Carriage of the Army, chang'd absolutely their Affections to the Queen, who was questionless by Necessity compell'd to Things unlawful, whereby to prevent the Disbanding of her Forces, which were only paid and kept together by a licentious Spoil.

To oppose this Attempt, which only betrayed the Weakness of the Enemies, *King Edward* sent down *John Nevill*, Lord *Mountacute*, himself staying behind to raise an Army, besitting the Greatness of his Name and present Quarrel. Giving likewise Order that his Navy should guard the Seas, to hinder any Succours to the Queen from foreign Confederates: But this was an unnecessary Caution; no State Abroad being so desperate as to embark it self in the broken Seas of her Fortune.

Mountacute at Land had a braver Occasion to shew his Courage; who having in the Bishoprick of *Durham* gather'd some convenient Forces, and receiv'd others from *King Edward*, then at *York*, march'd directly against *K. Henry*. By the Way the Lords *Hungerford*, and *Ross*, and *Sir Ralph Percy* presented themselves to hinder his farther Course; but perceiving the good Order and Courage of his Army, all fled but the valiant *Percy*. Who disdain'd to secure his Life with Loss of his Honour, or to shew the least Weakness beneath his Name or

Spirit, fought it out with his Regiment, till over-press'd with Number, he and his were all cut to pieces. The valiant Knight contenting himself, that he had saved the Bird in his Breast, as he said; that is, died in his Loyalty.

Encouraged with this Success *Mountacute* attempts, without Expectation of any farther Succour or Direction, to finish the present War, and immediately marches to a Plain call'd *Levell*, near the River *Dowell* in (c) *Hexham*-*Near* *shire*, where *King Henry's* Army lay encamp'd. The Camp he suddenly assaults in the Night, and had taken it without any Loss, had not the Enemy beyond Expectation gather'd themselves into some Order, and valiantly opposed. But no Courage could withstand the Fortune and Spirit of *Mountacute*, for the Queen's Camp at length was lost, and in it taken the Duke of *Somerset*, the Lords *Hungerford*, *Ross*, *Moulins*, and *Sir Thomas Hussey*, with *Sir Thomas Wentworth* and *Sir John Findern*: *Somerset* on the Place lost his Head, the rest sent to *Newcastle* to suffer there the same Punishment, with twenty Gentlemen more, but *King Henry* and the Queen escaped (d) into *Lancashire* at the first on-set, whose Tragedy drew not yet near the last Act.

King Edward whose Fortune fought for him, even in his Absence, encounter'd the News of this Victory in his march towards *Durham*; so that finding the Presence of his Person and Army needless he return'd towards *Tork*: Giving command to *Warwick* to take in all the Forts and Castles, which yet in the North held out, as (e) *Alnwick*, *Banbury* and *Dustambury*. On the Way he was certified of the Apprehension of *King Henry's* Person, who was surprized as he endeavour'd by shifting from Place to Place to have recover'd *Scotland* (f). With the Joy of which Report *King Edward* return'd to *London*, whither as yet he never came but glorious by the Accession of some new Triumph.

Thomas, the Son of *Sir Edward Talbot* of *Lancashire*, apprehended *King Henry* as he sat at Dinner at *Waddington-Hall*, in *Cleatherwood* in *Lancashire*, and forgetting all Respect due to so great a Prince, like a common Malefactor with his Legs tied under the Horse's Belley, (g) guard'd him up towards *London*. By the Way the Earl of *Warwick* met him, who adding Indignities to his Affliction, with the general Reproaches of the People, (the Acclamations they give to the Unfortunate) arrested him, and taking off his Gilt Spurs, led him Prisoner to the Tower. The only Companions of his present Calamity were *Dr. Manning*, Dean of *Windfor*, *Dr. Bedle*, and *Mr. Allerton* a young Gentleman, all of so divine a Calling, as shew'd no Misfortune could separate him from his Piety, nor them from their Duty.

The miserable Queen seeing the Desolation of her Greatness, her Husband imprison'd, all her great Friends fled or slaughter'd, made again her Retreat into *France*; and with her Son *Prince Edward*, (whose Preservation flatter'd her with some hopes, that one day he might rebuild the now ruin'd House of *Lancaster*) fled to her Father's Court. A most wretched Sanctuary to her Fears, where she had only leisure

(c) Once a County by it self, under the Jurisdiction of the Arch-bishop of *Tork*, but now annex'd by Act of Parliament to *Northumberland*, the Arch-bishop retaining his Ecclesiastical Power over it.

(d) The Queen fled to *Scotland*. Hol.

(e) These Castles says *Thin* in his History of Dukes, were yielded to *King Edward* by the Duke of *Somerset*, for which Cause he was again taken into the King's Favour.

(f) *Holinshed* writes, he got into *Scotland*, and did not return into *England* till the next Year.

(g) Tied to their Stirrups.

A. D. by long Patience to prepare her Mind for future
1464. Misery.

Reg. 4. But this her Dejection raised *Edward* up to an unsuspected Sovereignty, so that now he began to set strong the disjointed Body of his Kingdom. And knowing Liberality the only Ligament that ties Affection to a Prince, he resolv'd by attainting his Enemies to enable himself to reward the Services of his Friends. And tho' he pretended the Gate of Mercy ever to stand open to the Submission of the *Lancastrians*, yet few or none accepted the Favour, either distrustful of his Reality, or feeding their Hopes with Imagination, that the Tide of Fortune would not always flow with so impetuous a Torrent.

But King *Edward* angry, that a Faction so contemptible in their Ruin, should disdain his Clemency, proceeded to punishment (*b*). The Earldom of *Pembroke*, an Honour heretofore enjoy'd by *Jasper Tudor*, half-Brother to *Henry VI.* (who, with *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland* was then fled with King *Henry*,) he bestowed on Sir *William Herbert*, a Knight of *Wales*, both for Descent and Power most eminent, and to whose Aid a great Part of the present Felicity was owing. To the Lord *Mountacute*, whose Person and Service he equally lov'd, he gave the opulent Possessions belonging to the Family of the *Piercies*, together with the Honour of Earl of *Northumberland*.

But the most open Hand cannot satisfy the Expectation of great Deservers, who set so high a Price upon their Merits, that they leave their Princes no Power of Reward. The greatest Benefit being received in the Degree of a Debt, not a Gift. And certainly *Mountacute* and his Brother *Warwick*, had by too much Merit even disoblig'd the King; what Honour soever they were in future to have, being so little able to cancel the Obligation, that it could scarce defray the Interest. And in that Way was this Title and Inheritance accepted, which gave the King occasion to distaste whom otherwise he would have with Passion embraced. Whereupon reflecting on the Danger of adding Power to them, who wanted only Will to do Mischief, and knowing how easily Innovation might be resolv'd on, when nothing but the Conscience was to be perswaded; he began seriously to wish the Mightiness of that Family he owed the Crown to in some Degree lessened. Yet that he might no way appear unthankful to so great Deserts, he thought fit to weaken their Strength, and yet to add to the Splendor of their Title. Whereupon he willingly admitted the Friends of *Piercy* to interceed for Restitution both of his Honour and Revenue, and soon granted it; rewarding *Mountacute* with the more specious Stile of Marquess. But this State-trick was by the Brothers easily understood, and accepted with the same Brow they would have entertain'd an Injury.

This the King dissembled; and to build his Estimation high in the Air of popular Applause, endeavour'd by all the Arts of humble Greatness to raise himself into the Opinion of the Multitude. His Presence was easie to any Man's Love or Curiosity, his Aspect clear and smiling, his Language free and familiar. And to the Ladies, who have also their Share in the Motion of States, he applied a general Courtship,

which used by a Prince of so amiable a Personage, made them, who are usually the Idols of others, to be Idolators of him. Among his Nobility he was so courteous and free in Gesture, and liberal in Affability, that he appeared King, not in his Assumption of State, but in their Application of Duty. This he did to win outward Applause; while to settle an inward Sense of his Wisdom, he look'd into Abuses of Officers, and reform'd them. Neither was there any Oppression or Mistake in Government, but what he relieved or corrected. And that it might appear how zealously he sought due Administration of Justice in greater Causes, he in Person sat Three Days together on his Bench at *Westminster-Hall*, to see a foul Rape on a Widow punish'd; which, tho' it little advanc'd the uncorrupted Execution of the Laws, yet it serv'd happily for Example, and created what he then most courted, a good Opinion of him in the Minds of all Men.

Thus he grew upon his People at home, while abroad the neighbouring States began to decline the Danger of his future Enmity, who ever measure the Power of Princes by that Sway and Affection they have among their Subjects. *Charles*, Earl of *Charolois* (a Widdower, but without Heir-male) Heir to a large and opulent Territory (the Seventeen Provinces with the Dutchy and County of *Burgundy*, and the greatest Part of *Picardy*, being subject to Duke *Philip* his Father) first made his Address; who, bearing an implacable hatred to *Lewis XI.* King of *France*, desired to gain so Potent a Neighbour to his Party; and that he might secure his Friendship against all Faultering, he, by his Ambassadors entreated a Marriage with the Lady *Margaret*, the King's Sister: A Motion heard in *England* with much Acceptance, and which, if every Circumstance were well weighed, brought both Honour and Security. But it was thought by some intimate with the Earl in his most secret Counsels, that really he never intended this Marriage, having from his Mother, Niece to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, deriv'd an irreconcilable Malice against the House of *York*. And that this Negotiation aim'd only to temporize with *England*, in case the Duke of *Brittain* and the French King's Brother should desert him and make their Peace with *Lewis*, against whom these Three were then in Confederacy; but this I believe an Overcunning in Conjecture, since Marriage among Princes, as it seldom confirms a sound Friendship, so doth it never extirpate an ancient Hatred; the Proof of our and all Times shewing how false a Love is created by Alliance. But the Thoughts of Princes are so unknown to Posterity, that they are beyond the Scrutiny of the present Time. I will not therefore dispute what the Earl's inward Designs were; but certainly, both according to Reason of State and the Event (which is the best Light Historians can discern by) as it was pretended, so was it intended.

(i) The Marriage of his Sister being thus far advanc'd, the King began to advise with his Council concerning his own. A strong Alliance abroad was soon resolv'd most necessary both for the Dignity and Safety of his Crown; and among all the Princesses which that Time gloried in, and of whom several were proposed to his Choice, viz. *Margaret*, Daughter of the King of *Scots*, and *Isabel*, Sister of *Henry IV.*

(b) This was done in the last Year while King *Edward* was at *York*. See *Hol.*

(i) This Marriage was not proposed till the 6th Year of his reign nor effected till the 8th.

A. D. 1464. King of Castile; the Lady (k) Bona was thought worthiest his Bed, in respect of the Excellence of her Beauty, Greatness of Birth (as being Daughter to Lewis, Duke of Savoy) and the mighty Marriage of her other Sister Charlotte, with Lewis XI. King of France, with whom she then was. This last Consideration being a main Inducement, as by which all Fear might be taken away of a Tempest from that Coast, whence Queen Margaret seem'd to prepare a Storm.

The Earl of Warwick Agent for the King's Marriage To this Negotiation the Earl of Warwick was deputed as the fittest Person, both for his great Faith to the King, and Authority in the Kingdom: Who, no sooner arriv'd at the French Court, where the young Lady then resided in Company of her Sister, but he was with all Triumph entertain'd, and his Motion heard with Joy and Acceptation.

The Con-summation of it sought by both Parties. The Ambition of the French Queen to have her Sister married to so great a Prince, concurring with the many politick Respects, which oversway'd King Lewis. And soon after for an absolute Conclusion of all Business, Monsieur D'ampmartin was design'd Ambassador for England. These Two Kings equally soliciting the Consummation of this Marriage. Edward, that he might without Fear of more Danger enjoy the Glory of a late recover'd Kingdom. Lewis, that freed from the Danger of an English Invader, and Importunities of Queen Margaret, for Assistance, he might give a Period to his busie Projects at home, by laying the Devil of Civil War, raised by a tumultuous Nobility.

King Edward's Love to the Lady Gray But while Policy acted several Parts abroad, Love on the sudden chang'd the whole Scene at home. For the young King, after Hunting in Wyckwood Forrest, coming to visit the Dutches of Bedford, at her Mannor of Grafton near Stony-Stratford in Buckinghamshire, for a Grant of some Lands taken from her Maintenance, was solicited by a fair Petitioner the Dutches's Daughter Elizabeth, Widow of Sir John Gray, slain on King Henry's Part at the Battle of St. Albans. The King could not but yield to any Request made by so conquering a Beauty, and presently himself grew as earnest in soliciting her, tho' in a more unlawful Suit. But she arm'd her Soul with a Modesty able to break the hottest Battery of Lust; and tho' on every Side assaulted by the Engines of Temptation, she repulsed her Enemy so nobly, by telling him, That tho' she knew her self unworthy to be a Queen, yet she valued her Honour and Person more, than to be the greatest Prince's Concubine; that he offered Parly upon honourable Terms. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with a Chastity strong enough to resist him, who had scarce ever fail'd to be victorious in those Attempts, he grew enamour'd with the Beauty of her Mind, and resolv'd her Vertue was Dower enough to marry her to the highest Throne. Reason of State, which his Mother and Friends were not wanting to press him passionately with, argued sharply against a Marriage so unequal to Majesty, by alledging the Peril of an-

gring so potent a Neighbour as K. Lewis, and so dangerous a Subject as Warwick, as likewise the Inconvenience of raising a Widow to his Bed, who could bring nothing with her but her Poverty, and an unprovided Issue; who, if not advanc'd by him, would be a Scorn to his Children, if advanc'd a ruinous Charge to his Exchequer, and an Envy both to the Princes of his Blood, and the Nobility of his Kingdom. But Love like a cunning Sophister easily resell'd all politick Arguments, and perswaded Reason her self almost to be of his Side.

For he repeated to the King his own Prerogative, which being so large, why should he then be denied the Liberty of a free Choice, which is allow'd the meanest Subject? Why might not he wooe with his own Eyes, and make Election where his Fancy best delighted? As for the Lady her self he found her in the Treasures of her Mind most abundant, and in the Perfections of her Body excellent to please him, who, and not the State, was to marry. For her Birth, she was by the Father Sir Richard Woodville Noble in her Descent at Home, by her Mother of the House of Luxemburg, (l) a Family with which the greatest Princes of Christendom had near Alliance. As for marrying a Subject * and the Widow of his Enemy, the latter argu'd more Charity, and the former could not but tie the Affection of his People, when they saw their Prince disdain'd not Affinity with them. For a Precedent to authorize these his intended Nuptials, he had Edward the Black Prince his Great Uncle, great indeed if not the greatest among all the Princes of his Name. And for the threaten'd Danger from King Lewis or the Earl of Warwick; from France he could never expect how near soever the Alliance had been but an unfaithful Amity; and should this his Marriage thrust Warwick upon rebellious Attempts, the Rebel would but fondly run upon his own Ruin, since it could not stand with the Majesty of a King, to hold his Crown by so base a Tenure, as to have his Actions aw'd by a Subject. These and such like Arguments, which Love is cunning upon all Occasions to enforce, prevail'd so far with him, that though the Old Dutches of York his Mother most violently opposed the Match, by throwing the highest Calumnies upon the Lady Gray, and alledging a Pre-contract between him and the Lady Lucy; yet one Morning secretly did he marry her (m). For the Disparity of Birth or Fortune is no Impediment; and for the Pre-contract, upon Examination the Lady Lucy her self acquitted the King, only laying to his Charge the Guilt of a most winning Courtship, which she hop'd would end in Marriage. And though afterwards during the Usurpation of Richard the Third, in open Parliament it was alledged against the Lawfulness of King Edward's Marriage, that by strange Potions and amorous Charms the Lady Eliz. Gray had bewitch'd him to her Love, and likewise another Pre-contract was asserted with the Lady Eleanor Butler, Daughter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Widow to the Lord of

(k) In Michaelmas Term this Year, there was a Call of Serjeants at Law, Thomas Young, Nicholas Greville, Richard Neal, Thomas Bryan, Richard Pigot, John Greenfield, John Caresby, and Guy Fairfax, Esquires. They kept their Feast at Ely-House in Holborn, to which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were invited; who perceiving the Lord Gray of Ruthin, Lord Treasurer, had taken the upper Seat which belonged to the Lord Mayor, Ely-House being in the Liberties of the City, the Mayor went home with his Brethren, and would not stay to dine, to the great Discontent of the new Serjeants. 'Twas order'd also by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, That this Instance should be register'd for a Precedent to their Successors. Hol.

(l) And why might not he marry her, as well as John, Duke of Bedford, a Prince, as wealthy as himself, marry her Mother.

* She was Servant to Queen Margaret, Wife to King Henry VI. and married to Mr. Gray, who was Knighted at St. Albans on the Day of the Fight in which he was kill'd.

(m) On the First of May.

A. D. 1464. *Sully*; I cannot but believe, that all those Scandals were by some of the Tyrant's wicked Instruments suggested to the Minds of that Assembly: For had there been a Just Exception against this Marriage, neither *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, nor the Earl of *Warwick*, in their frequent Calumnies against the King being in open Rebellion, had left it unmention'd.

King Edward's Marriage distast'd by his Friends. But no sooner had *King Edward* obey'd his Fancy in taking her to his Bed, and in that tasted the forbidden Fruit (forbidden I mean by Politick Respects) than he saw himself Naked of Friends at Home and Abroad to oppose

A. D. 1465. *Reg. 5.* against any new arising Difficulty. But as yet by the Bravery of his Carriage did he add an Honour to the Act, Courage and Love, either denying him to foresee or to regard the Danger.

Though as soon as the Marriage was divulged, he presently discern'd another Face of Men. *Monsieur D'ampmartin*, the Embassadour Extraordinary from *France*, full of Indignation, return'd, and the Nobility in general look'd discontented, or else but forced a Smile. The so high Advancement of this one Lady and her Children, lately beneath so many in Fortune, begetting an universal Envy in the rest. But

The Earl of Warwick incensed at the King's Marriage, yet dissembles his Anger. when the Earl of *Warwick* understood how mighty an Affront by this was given to his Employment; he entertain'd none but disdainful Thoughts against his Prince; and express'd so bold a Discontent, that *Lewis* of *France*, who was quick to perceive, and careful to foment any Displeasure which might tend to the Disturbance of another Kingdom, began to enter into private Communication with him. For ever after this common Injury, (so they call'd the Error of Love in the King) the Earl held a dangerous Intelligence in *France*, which after occasion'd so many Confusions to our Kingdom. Nevertheless upon his Return he dissembled all Discontent, and in every Circumstance of Respect applied himself to applaud the Marriage, and in particular the excellent Personage of the Queen. The King Interpreted the Intentions of the Man according to the Appearance, unwilling perhaps to rask his own Nature so far, till it had confess'd that his Carriage might dissemble Danger. And in the mean time he rais'd his Wife's Kindred as near as possibly to his own Greatness, he search'd out all Means for their Advancement (n). The

The Queen's Kindred advanced.

Lord Richard Woodville her Father he created Earl of *Rivers*, and High Constable of *England*, with an annual Fee of Two Hundred Pound out of the *Exchequer*, whom shortly after he made Lord Treasurer. Her Brother *Anthony* he created Lord *Scales*, the Daughter and Heir to which Title, by the King's earnest Sollicitation, he not long before had wedded; and her Son *Thomas* he rais'd to the Honour of Marquess of *Dorset*, for whom he procur'd in Marriage the Heir of the Lord *Bonville* and *Harrington*. By his own free Gift enobling them with Titles, and by the Industry of his Mediation enabling them with Possessions, to make those Titles no Scorn to the Owners.

The Earl of Warwick in Discontent, endeavours to raise a Rebellion. Every unmarried Lord imagin'd the bestowing of these two great Heirs on the Queen's Kindred, an Injury to his own Hopes; and *Warwick* thought every great Office conferred upon another misplaced. For his many Services begot so great an Insolency, that he scarce allow'd the King a Share in the Distribution of his own: Hereupon his Thoughts grew dange-

rous, and only Opportunity was wanting to thrust him into Action. He consider'd the Vastness of his Possessions, the Greatness of his Authority among the Commons, and the general Dependencies of the Men of War upon him; and hence concluded, it was as easie for him to uncreate as to create a King. But he found the general Humour of the Kingdom not yet fully ripe for Mischief; the Vulgar enamour'd on the much Courtesie of their Prince, the Lords nearest to him in Blood and likeliest to incline to his Faction dear likewise to the King, and all of the House of *Lancaster* who in Probability would at first Invitation take fire in any Combustion of the State, exil'd and poor. Sedition therefore for the present was but an Embryo in his Brain, which after when Time had deliver'd, became so vast and bloody a Monster: Nevertheless he was not unmindful of his Design, cherishing unkind Thoughts in any whom he saw distast'd at the King; and casting forth Speeches which might lessen the Honour of his publick and private Actions; with which Discourses, as with slow Poysons he infected many Limbs of the general Body. Then upon Presence of Infirmary, and Prescription of Physicians for the Change of Air, with License from the King he retired to his Castle at *Warwick*. Where his Observation was, what Lords great in Power or Treasure resorted to him, and with what Countenance; whether they undervalu'd the Weakness of the King's Judgment, or hated the Advancement of the Queen and her Kindred; whether they were troubl'd at any private Repulse or open Affront, or generally at the publick Business, or whether they repented not the so violent Oppression of the Family of *Lancaster*; any Discontent making for his Purpose, which either pointed at the Errors of the King, Pride of the Queen and her Kindred, or the Mis-government of the State. Upon the Affections of the meaner sort he gain'd by a profuse Hospitality, an open Kitchen and Buttery perswading more with them than any Duty to Justice: upon the Good-will of the better sort he won by bowing his Entertainment down to an endearing Familiarity, saluting every Man courteously by his Name, and engaging them by trivial Benefits. And with all sorts by his great Service to the Crown, and a Carriage Noble both in War and Peace.

The King, though he wanted the Virtue of Cowards, Suspicion, began nevertheless to have the Earl in some Jealousie; his unusual Retirement from the Court, and so expenceful purchasing the Vogue of the People, argu'd both distaste against his Prince, and a Hope to maintain any unlawful Enterprize by Faction. But either in Policy he dissembled his Distrust, not having yet any firm Ground to build a just Accusation, or in good Nature would not eclipse the Earl's Greatness, by which himself enjoy'd a Benefit little less than the Crown. But that the Storm threatned from *France*, for incensing *King Lewis* in the discour'd Marriage of the Lady *Bona*, might be diverted; he made strong Confederacies round about him. With *Henry*, King of *Castile*, and *John*, King of *Arragon*, (that *Spain*, however far remote might be near in Friendship) he enter'd into a League, and upon the Conclusion of it, granted a License for the Transportation of certain *Cotswold* Sheep thither, a Grant that is complain'd of still, as a mighty enriching to the *Spaniards*, and as

(n) She was also solemnly crown'd at *Westminster*. Hol.

A. D. 1465. Reg. 5. great an impoverishing to the English Merchants. With Scotland he made a Truce for Fifteen Years, that he invading France, or invaded by the French, might be secure however not to have that Nation, according to their Custom upon all Advantages, Enemies at his Back. His Embassadors in the Low-Countries, urged the Duke of Burgundy to the Accomplishment of the Marriage between his Son the Earl of Charolois, and the Lady Margaret the King's Sister. And so happy Success had this Negotiation, that though for some Years it had hung in Suspence, and Warwick now opposed it, as prejudicial to King Lewis his Friend, yet it was now absolutely agreed on, and the Bastard of Burgundy, and some others sent over with full Instructions and Power to give the Treaty a final Conclusion. For whatsoever Dissimulation the Earl of Charolois used at first, he now intended this Marriage seriously: In regard he found himself lie open to the Malice of King Lewis a most dangerous Neighbour, who by Policy or Fortune had broken all those great Confederacies the Earl had before in France. Wherefore there was now no Safety but in arming himself by a strict Amity with the English, a Nation forward and fierce to attempt any thing upon the French, and in their Attempts scarce ever but prosperous. Neither was the Courage of the King's Youth, and his continual good Success in War a small Inducement; considering it gave a certain Hope, that he upon any Invitation of Honour or Profit might be perswaded to cross the Seas, and undertake the ancient national Quarrel. And for the Danger of any Alteration in the Government, there was then no Ground for Suspicion: The King honour'd and lov'd by his People, the adverse Faction of no Power, and the Earl of Warwick having never yet declared himself but most passionately affected to the House of York. Wherefore in Reason of State being no Impediment, the Marriage was soon agreed on, and upon the Agreement, many Triumphs, glorious but Martial, according to the Nature of that Time, so addicted to Arms, were celebrated between the Bastard and his Retinue, and the English Lords and Gentry.

A. D. 1466. Reg. 6. But to interrupt the Jollity of these Triumphs, an Express came from the Low-Countries, with the News of the Death of Duke Philip: Presently the Bastard return'd, and our Council stood at a gaze, being in some Suspence what Alteration the Business might Receive, the Earl now absolute in Possession of his Father's Dominions. But that Scruple was soon taken away, by an Embassador sent to hasten the full Performance of the Marriage. Whereupon the Lady was carried over with all the Ceremonies of Greatness, and at Bruges marry'd to Duke Charles (o). That Nation which exceeded all the World in Bravery and Riot, exceeding even it self, at this Triumph, in the Wantonness of a superfluous Pomp. In those Countries she liv'd some while his Wife, though ever barren, with as much Love from him, as he could spare from his ambitious Wars, but she continued long his Widow in much Reputation among the Natives, and good Esteem with neighbouring Princes. Two Things render'd her much the Discourse of those Times. An extraordinary Love and Care in the Education of the Posterity of her Husband, and an extreme Malice against Henry the Seventh. To

supplant whom, because there wanted true, A. D. 1466. the countenanced the Supposititious Princes of the House of York, and by continual Practices revenged in part the Injury of that Disrespect he ever cast upon her Family.

This so potent Alliance, and his Confederacies with Foreign States, made King Edward imagine himself in great Security, when indeed he was most unsafe: For during these Treaties Abroad and Triumphs at Home, the Earl of Warwick quicken'd so far his Designs, that now there appear'd a dangerous Life in them. The Body of his Faction was grown Mighty but Monstrous, being compacted of several Natures. For into the Conspiracy of this great Enterprize he had drawn the Clergy and the Laity, and most of them of Affections most opposite. (p) The Archbishop of York was the principal Actor, because he mov'd upon the Soul, and made Treason an Act of Religion. The easie Multitude, who build their Faith upon the Man, not the Doctrine, thinking it meritorious to rebel, in regard his Function seem'd to give Authority to the Action. With the Archbishop the Marquess of Mountague consented, but secretly; either cunningly dissembling Mischief, or else wishing well to both Sides, being in himself divided between a natural Love to a Brother, and an Allegiance to a Prince; or perhaps projecting to make his Benefit, out of which Party soever should prevail. With these agreed many eminent Persons of King Edward's Court, whom either Desire of War, having never lived but in the troubled Stream of Discord, or want of expected Recompence, render'd discontented.

All the Partakers in the Calamity of the House of Lancaster, most passionately at first Overture embraced this Motion, as Men whom Despair had made fit for the most hazardous Attempt; and who having found nothing but evil Fortune at Home, and Contempt Abroad, were instructed in a Patient ready with Joy to suffer a not inglorious Death. Among whom Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter was a sad Example, who after his Ruin by the Fall of Henry the Sixth was reduced to so miserable a Condition, that all ragged and bare footed he begg'd for his Meat in the Low Countries, the absolute Prince whereof and he marry'd two Sisters, the Daughters of Richard, Duke of York. With this so unfortunate a Lord, all the rest who shared with him in Misery, ran violently into this War. But the wonder of the World then was at the powerful Sorcery of those Perswasions, which bewitch'd the Duke of Clarence, the King's Brother to this Conspiracy; but he was Young and Purblind in foreseeing the Event of Things, profuse in Expence beyond his Revenue, and almost beyond the King's Power to supply, grudging the Favours conferred upon the Queen and her Kindred; valuing his Birth too high, as who forgot the Brother of a King is but a Subject, forward upon any Terms to make himself greater, easily lending Ear to dangerous Whispers, and as rashly giving Consent. These Preparatives made this Young Prince fit to undertake any Mischief, which the Earl of Warwick ministred most plentifully.

And first to supply the Narrowness of his present Fortune, a Humour most Troublesome at the Instant, he gave him in Marriage the Lady Isabell his Daughter, and Co-heir to the Rich Earldom of Warwick: Whereupon in hatred

(o) She was marry'd in the following Year. Com.

(p) George Nevill, made so by King Edward not many Months before.

A. D. 1466. against the Queen he concurred and in Discontent against the King's so slender Rewards; but in promising Greatness to *Clarence's* Ambition, he exceeded even Proportion, though not Probability, considering the Earl's unlimited Power.

A. D. 1467. But first to make the Friendship strong by a near Alliance, they sail'd over for the Consummation of this Marriage to *Calis*, of which Town the Earl of *Warwick* was Captain, and in which the young Lady then remain'd with her Mother. Soon was this Ceremony past, and soon did the Earl invite his Son-in-law from the Softness of the Nuptial Dalliance, as who had contrived this Marriage for Business, not for Pleasure, and design'd the first Issue of their Embraces to be a Monster, and the most unnatural one; War between Brothers.

He acquainted therefore his Son-in-Law by what Line he had founded the Depth of the People's Affection to the present King, and what a Tempest he was able to raise when he should resolve for Motion. He told him how in the North 15000 Men had been in Arms, pretending revenge upon the Governours of *St Leonard's Hospital* in *York*, for converting the Alms they receiv'd from the Country every Year in Corn to their own Use, by which they both defrauded the Poor, and the charitable Intention of the Donors; whereas indeed the arm'd Multitude were mov'd, first by his Counsel only, awaiting his Presence, with Resolution to run any Hazard of his Command. And tho' the *Marquess Mountacute* raised Forces in King *Edward's* Name, by which he quieted the Commotion, and beheaded *Robert Hildron* (q) their chief Captain, yet were the People ready upon the first Summons to reassemble; and the *Marquess* (who by such Appearance of Fidelity had won upon the easie Faith of the dull King) prepared to bring his Forces, and join in any Enterprize he should appoint. He shew'd farther, how by this his Brother's Diffimulation, his Intelligence held perfect in the King's Council, and all the Resolutions of State might be without Difficulty prevented, since no sooner made but discover'd.

A. D. 1468. The Duke, who before held the Earl's Courage and Authority with the People in great Estimation, now began to wonder at the so cunning Management of this so great Business. Neither could he suspect the Success, the Earl having so order'd Things, that he left little or nothing to fortune; whereupon he gave his Judgment entirely up to his Father-in-Law's Discretion, with whom he return'd into England, openly professing and justifying his Resolution to Rebellion. The Vanity of Ambition sealing up his Eyes so far, that he could not perceive the Unnaturalness of his Revolt, and the certain Hazard of Ruin, in warring against a Prince so great both in Arms and Fortune.

Against their Return, the Arch-bishop of *York* had wrought so diligently to ripen Mischief, that the Multitude dispers'd before, were again in the Field; but under Leaders of a far more eminent Name. For *Henry*, Son to the Lord *Fitz-bugh*, and *Henry Nevill*, Son to the Lord *Latimer* (the one Nephew, the other Cousin-german to *Warwick*) had the Conduct of these Forces; both Gentlemen great in Blood and Spirit, but in regard of their unexperienced Youth, submitting themselves to the Direction of Sir *John Coniers*, a Commander bold in Courage and sober in Advice. Their March was not now directed against any petty Town

in the North as before, but towards *London*, the Head of the Kingdom; and the Cause of their taking Arms, not upon any trivial Injury or Oppression, but out of Desire of publick Justice, by throwing down a licentious Usurper, and re-investing in the Sovereignty King *Henry*, their lawful Monarch, so injuriously detain'd Prisoner in the Tower. This Pretence carried with it much of Bravery, pleased the Humour of most of the Northern Men, passionately still affected to the Line of *Lancaster*, and took generally with the Commonalty, a Beast as prone to unseasonable Pity, as to inhumane Cruelty, and ever desirous to change Government, because naturally it can endure none.

The noise of these Arms waked King *Edward*; for he now perceiv'd his Title to the Crown, (for which he imagin'd he had had so clear a Sentence) brought again to tryal, and the Sword made Judge. He cast his Eye about him, and found every where the Way open to his Jealousie, and none to Security: And those Lords, from whom he might expect Supply, being near to *Warwick* in Friendship or Alliance, and the *Marquess Mountacute*, in whose Service he had ever found most Trust and Fortune, even Brother to his Enemy. How could he therefore believe, but notwithstanding all their outward Professions of Loyalty, privately they might favour Rebellion? As for the Queen's Kindred, (of whose Faith in regard of their own Interest, he remain'd secure) he could draw little Confidence: Their Greatness so Young, that it had yet taken no deep Root in Opinion, and their Forces only weak Beams shot from the Sun of the King's own Power. But no Consideration in this Trouble begot so much Scorn and Rage in him, as the Revolt of *Clarence*, whose giddy Ambition made him rather chuse to become a Ward to a rough and insolent Guardian, than to share with his Brother a King in the Treasures of Fortune. The Forces of the Rebels he weigh'd more by the Reputation of their Leader *Warwick*, than by the Number; though even that grew every Day more Formidable.

To prepare against these dangerous Motions in his English Rebels, he speedily sent to the Earl of *Pembroke* Commission to raise what Forces he could; having in this general Suspicion of his disloyal Subjects, most Confidence in the Valour of the Welsh, and their natural hatred against the English Name. He requir'd the Earl to give Battle by the Way, while himself gather'd as great an Army as the present Danger, and Cause in Controversie requir'd. The Earl joyful of the Command, puts suddenly into the Field with his valiant Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, having under their Conduct 7000 Men. To them soon joyn 800 Bow-men, led by the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, not long before created Earl of *Devonshire*. With these Forces he resolv'd to hinder the Rebels in their Journey, and having Notice by his Spies that they took their Way by *Norhampton*, against them he led the whole Body of his Army: Having given Order to Sir *Richard Herbert* with 2000 Soldiers to wheel about, and charge the Enemy in the Reer.

Sir *John Coniers* was too valiant to be surpris'd, and so carefully had strengthen'd the Reer, that the Welsh were repuls'd with Loss, and Forced by Flight to seek their Safety. Whereupon he retir'd to his Brother, while *Coniers* upon new Instructions, or else fearful

(q) This Insurrection happen'd in the Year 1469. Hist.

A. D. 1468. Reg. 8. *Pembroke* left *Pembroke* in the Way might gain some Advantage, diverted from his direct Course to *London*, and march'd to *Warwick*, where the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* had levied a mighty Host. *Pembroke* waits close upon their Journey, expecting the Opportunity either to cut off some Part of the Enemy disorder'd, or to give Battle to the whole Army. But while he was constant in this Pursuit of Glory, and shewed all the Parts of a great Commander, a small Division between him and the Lord *Stafford* ruin'd the whole Attempt. For encamping at *Banbury*, a Question grew concerning an Inn, to which *Stafford* pretended as having long used the House; but in which *Pembroke*, in regard of his Preheminence as General, and Commodiousness of the Place, was resolv'd to lodge. This so trivial Distaste (if there were no farther Treason in it) grew so high, that *Stafford* withdrew himself, and his English Archers leaving the Welsh in Arms and Number far inferior to the Enemy; which Defect nevertheless was supplied by their great Courage.

A Difference between the Earl of *Pembroke* and Lord *Stafford*.

Earl of *Pembroke*'s Forces utterly defeated.

Earl of *Pembroke* and his Brother taken and beheaded.

The Rebels go into *Northamptonshire*, raise the People under *Robin of Riddisdale*, and behead the Earl of *Rivers*.

and their first Assault on *Grafton*, a Seat belonging to King *Edward*'s Father-in-Law the Earl of *Rivers*. The Place their wild Rage soon possess'd, and among the other Spoils violently taken there, were the Earl himself, and Sir *John Woodville*, his Younger Son. These they presently led to *Northampton*, and there beheaded without any Form of Law; that deform'd Body having no ear open to any Discourse but to that of Blood and Fury. An envied Life and cruel Death was the Sum of all those Favours conferr'd by Fortune on this Lord, esteem'd so happy in his own Marriage with *Jaquet*, Widow of *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxembourg*, Count *St. Paul*, and in his Daughter's with the present King. For as the Ascent to these strange Heights is ever envied, so the Descent is ruinous and fatal; not any one of Seven Sons which this Lord was Father to, leaving behind him Issue to perpetuate his Name; some of them likewise extinguishing violently. A Misery either seldom happening or not observ'd in meaner Families.

A. D. 1468. Reg. 8.

This great Defeat, and these Insolencies so beyond the Sufferance of a Prince, together with the Earl of *Warwick*'s openly professing himself Head to this vast Body of Rebels, struck an Astonishment in the King's Army, and will not say Fear, but strange Diffidence in the King himself; which inclin'd him to listen to the safer, though less noble Advice of them, who perswaded him to end all Dissention with the Earl by Treaty. For in this so universal Disease of the Kingdom, there was some sound Men, both of the Clergy and Nobility yet left, whom Faction did not engage in Mischief, and who out of Experience of past Miseries, were willing to prevent future. By their Mediation (tho' the Armies by this Time were so near encamp'd, that they could hardly part without Battle) were every Hour made new Overtures of Peace, and on both Sides not unwillingly receiv'd. The Earl of *Warwick*, (whose Pretence was that of all Rebels, *The Good of the Kingdom*) entertain'd these Treaties with a Humility beneath his Nature, and late Advantages; neither appear'd stubborn to bend down to the lowest Submission, so Provision might be made for the publick Benefit. Yet never in all these Appearances of a Calm, did he neglect to prepare himself against the roughest Storm of War, knowing the best Way to be reconcil'd upon safe Terms to an Enemy, is not to be necessitated to Peace.

A. D. 1469. Reg. 9.

K. Edward seeks a Peace with the Earl of *Warwick*.

Warwick's Carriage.

But the King of a pliable Nature, apt to receive any Impressions which best pleased his present Humour, would not trouble his Quiet to believe there might be Fallacy in *Warwick*'s Pretensions. Whereupon, imagining that had receiv'd Perfection which was then but in Agitation, he neglected the Order of War, and began in his Camp to taste the Pleasures of Court. Which evil Discipline observ'd by the Earl, he takes the Advantage, suddenly sets on the King's Field, kills the Watch, and in the dead of Night at *Woollny* within Four Miles of *Warwick*, surpriseth his Person, buried in a careless Sleep: So that he no sooner waked but found how false his Dream had been, which flatter'd him with Peace.

K. Edward neglects his Guard is taken by the Earl of *Warwick* Prisoner.

This so unhappy Negligence betray'd the King to an insulting Enemy, who upbraided his Prisoner in the most insolent Terms with Ingratitude to his great Merits; and boasted, *I*

(r) He was found at *Brent* near the River *Axe* in *Somersetshire*, and carried to *Bridgwater* the next Nearest Town in that Country, and there beheaded. *Hol.*

A. D. 1469. was now both in his Power and Resolution to plain that Mountain he had raised, and raise the humbled Valley of King Henry's Fortunes, up to the Throne he once possess'd. And presently sent away the Earl of Warwick King Prisoner to Middleham-Castle in Yorkshire, there to be kept by his Brother the busie Archbishop of that See; not daring to retain him longer, lest his Army might unite, and hazard the Recovery of their Prince.

In this middle and unsafe Course of managing his great Fortune, questionless the Earl committed a main Oversight. For either by a free Delivery with some Conditions advantageous to himself and Friends, (and what Conditions would the King not then have sign'd?) he should have cast a perpetual Obligation upon him, or else by destroying him, have secur'd his Design from after Hazard; knowing that no Prison could hold a Prince, which would not open to Corruption or Battery; and no Brother could have a Faith so strong which would not be in Danger to be weakned either by Threats or Promises. But perhaps this Way of Policy was only beaten by that Time; and the proud Earl took a Glory to keep the whole Kingdom at his Devotion, and the Two Competitors his Captives; for both of them his Fortune had imprison'd.

But K. Edward grew soon weary of the Restraint, as whom a long Practice in the Liberty of Pleasure, had not indued with such a Tame-ness as armed King Henry: He therefore presently casts his Eye about to find some Way to redeem his Person from Captivity, and his Honour from so dark an Error as by Negligence to have been surpriz'd. And having upon Pre-ference of necessary Exercise for Health, obtain'd Licence to hunt in the adjoyning Park, he so contriv'd with Sir William Stanly and Sir Thomas Burgh, that unexpected they came to his Rescue with a Number and Resolution far Superior to those who guarded him. With them he escapes to York, and so to Lancaster, where the Lord Hastings, Lord Chamberlain had gathered some Forces. With this Increase of Followers he march'd directly to London, his Company growing by the Way to such a Body, as might not unworthily be termed an Army.

Into the City he was receiv'd with the accustomed Triumph, the Affection of the Inhabitants being ever devoted to his Prosperity. The Occasion of which extraordinary Zeal was certainly either a Delight to continue him their Prince, whom their Voices first inaugurated King, or a Hope by his Re-establishment to recover those vast Sums of Money, his Necessities heretofore had borrowed in the City; or else a general Affection born him by the Merchants Wives, who having (according to the uxorious Humour of our Nation) a Command over their Husbands, urged them on to side with that Prince, the Beauty of whose Personage, not the Justice of whose Title, mov'd them.

But the Earl of Warwick, as soon as he had Intelligence of the Escape, and the Fortune which attended it, was distracted with a Thousand several Imaginations. He had just Reason to suspect his Brother the Archbishop's Faith, as corrupted by the King's Perswasions; as likewise the Weight of his own Reputation in the Kingdom, grown lighter by so evil managing so good a Fortune. He condemn'd the Folly of his too much Confidence, in having disbanded his Army, and knew the Difficulty, if not the Impossibility, suddenly to reinforce it. But this was the inward Part of him; outwardly he descended nothing from the Height of his

Greatness and Resolution. And to secure his former Design, he directed his Letters to all the Lords of his Faction, and advis'd them to reassemble for the common Safety.

The Solicitation of those good Men, who heretofore had labour'd Peace, continued still; and so effectually endeavour'd, that in fine they brought both Parties to agree upon an Interview in Westminster-Hall. There was change of Oaths for Safety on both Sides, and nothing but a perfect Re-union of Friendship generally expected.

But no sooner was the Earl of Warwick (who came accompanied by the Duke of Clarence) wish'd to express his Desires, but he fell into a bold Expostulation of Injuries, and his Language swell'd to such Intemperance, so far beyond the Limits of that Modesty becomes a Subject's Mouth; that the King full of Indignation departed the Hall, and immediately took his Journey to Canterbury: On the other Side, the Earl, wild in his Anger, posted to Lincoln; both making Preparation for a Second Interview, when the Sword should both dispute and decide the Controversie. Whoever perswaded these Two great Spirits to this Meeting, err'd grossly in Judgment, how zealous soever they were in their Intention. For who could possibly imagine but the Thunder of War should necessarily follow that Storm, which the capitulation of Injuries must beget? Since Expostulations, (unless there be some apparent Mistake, or that the one Party by evil Fortune be bow'd to an over-low Submission) may well give a Growth to Rancour, but never extirpate it. But Experience condemns all Interviews, till by Commissioners (who with more Patience can argue) all Dissentions are reconcil'd. And most of all against any between a Prince and his Subject; since a Subject hardly contains his Language from Insolency, when by the disproportionable Greatness of his Fortune he is admitted upon even Terms to contest with his Sovereign; and a Prince goes down more than one Step from Majesty, when he is forc'd to descend so low, as to hold Parly with a Rebel.

The King understanding that the greatest Part of the Earl's Forces were under the Conduct of Sir Robert Wells, and that by his good Discipline they were become expert Soldiers, and had done some Service against Sir Thomas Burgh; sent for Richard, Lord Wells, his Father, that having Possession of him, he might either draw away the Son from Warwick, or at least take off the Edge from his violent Proceedings. The Lord Wells in Obedience to the King's Command, with his Brother-in-Law Sir Thomas Dimmock directed his Journey toward the Court; but having by the Way secret Notice of the King's high Displeasure, and how unsafe his Approach would be, secured himself in Sanctuary. But the King resolv'd upon any Terms to get him, granted a general Pardon, and receiv'd him with Promise of all fair Usage. Upon which he came forth, and only at his Approach to the King's Presence, was advis'd by Letters to recal his Son from Rebellion, and himself to bear a loyal Heart. These Letters dispatch'd with as much Authority as a Father could challenge, he remain'd in a kind of Twilight between Favour and Ruin, till the Messenger's return: Who, bringing back no Answer from the Son in Obedience to his Father's Command, but rather a Justification of his Enterprize, so far incensed the King, that he presently caused the Lord Wells and Dimmock to be beheaded at Stamford. An Act barbarous and

A. D. 1469. Reg. 9.

Peace en-
deavour-
ed, and
an Inter-
view con-
cluded.

The Breach
widened
by the
Inter-
view, and
the War
revived.

The ill
Effect of
Inter-
views.

A. D. 1470. Reg. 10.

Warwick's
Party un-
der Sir
Rob. Wells
victori-
ous.

The Lord
Wells not
prevail-
ing by
Letter
with his
Son to
lay down
his Arms,
is behea-
ded.

King Ed-
ward's
Unfaith-
fulness
to his
Word.

King Ed-
ward's
Escape
from im-
prison-
ment.

The City
of Lon-
don's joy-
ful Re-
ception
of him.

Warwick's
Perplexi-
ties for
his Escape
and the
recalling
his Army

A. D. 1470. and unfaithful! For what just Grounds soever the King might have to build Suspicion on, that *Wells* did not effectually perswade his Son, or that inwardly he wish'd better to the Affairs of *Warwick*, yet ought he not to have violated his Word. And it is a most poor Excuse, to say a sudden Rage was guilty of this Mischief.

Sir Robert Wells furious to revenge his Father's Death is beaten, and after beheaded. The Report of this Execution clouded generally the Reputation of the King, but in *Sir Robert Wells* it begot nothing but Fury and Revenge. And indeed Rage so far blinded his Judgment, that contrary to all Perswasion and sober Direction, not attending *Warwick's* coming, who every Day was expected; he drew out his Forces, and charged the King's Army, who receiv'd him with equal Courage, and (while hope of Vengeance transported him too far) inclosed him, and with 67 more took him Prisoner. Upon the Place and in the Flight were slain of the Enemy 10000, on the King's Side only 1300, they who escap'd, to make their Flight the swifter cast away their Coats, which gave to this Battle the Name of *Loose-Coat-Field*. The Prisoners immediately were executed, *Sir Robert Wells* having only in his short Delay of Death the longer Liberty to express his Hatred against the King and his perfidious Cruelty.

The Earl of *Warwick's* Flight to *Calis*. This Overthrow forced *Warwick* to new Resolutions; for his main Forces by the Precipitation of the Commander being destroy'd, he foresaw that suddenly he could not recover an Army able to give the King Battle, and how open to be surprized the least interim would render him: Whereupon leisurely (for his great Spirit disdain'd any thing that resembl'd Flight) he retir'd to *Exeter*, whence having dismissed the Remainder of those Troops which attended him, he went to *Dartmouth*, there with many Ladies and a large Retinue he took Ship, and directly sail'd to *Calis*; while the King no way labour'd either by Land or Sea, to impeach their Journey, either content with the former half-Victory (for nothing could have made it perfect, but the Surprisal or Destruction of *Warwick*) or holding so little Intelligence even in a conquer'd Enemy's Cap, that he knew nothing of his present Design: The Earl having tried as strange a Vicissitude of Fortune, as in so short a Space, was ever observ'd in Story, by the Benefit of a prosperous Gale soon was brought before *Calis*, where being Captain of the Town he expected Entrance, but the Cannon was presented him, and no Commiseration of the Dutcheß of *Clarence's* being in Travail, could obtain so much as Admittance in her present Necessity, only the poor Relief of some few Flaggons of Wine, was sent her. Monsieur de *Vanciere* a (s) Knight of *Gascainy*, Lieutenant of the Town, thus confidently refused his Captain Admission; professing, that however he ow'd his present Command to *Warwick's* Bounty, his Loyalty to the King did cancel all inferior Obligations: By which Bravery of Carriage he won so great Reputation with the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* (who ever hated the factious Pride of *Warwick*, and even from the Beginning of these Troubles had labour'd to continue *Vanciere* firm in his Allegiance) that from the King he received by Letters Patents the Captainship of *Calis* in chief, and from the Duke an annual Pension of 1000 Crowns during Life. Into thus much Honour and Profit did Dissimulation work him, (t) yet a Friend

K. Edward endeavours not to hinder him.

Warwick deny'd Entrance into *Calis* by *Vanciere*.

Monsieur *Vanciere* made Governor of *Calis* by King Edward.

to *Warwick*, while under-Hand by the Subtily of Council he steer'd the Earl of *Warwick* to Safety, and by false-appearing Fidelity betray'd his Prince: For he ascertain'd the Earl of his good Intentions to his Affairs; and that even now, but that he knew it could not but be ruinous to both, he would declare himself for him. For if the Earl entred the Town he would only imprison his Person, to be detain'd till the King were pleas'd to command it forth to Execution. Considering that the Inhabitants were but unsure Friends, and the Lord of *Duras*, the Earl's profest Enemy, Marshal of all the Forces in the Town. Moreover the *Burgundian* Territories encompass'd *Calis* by Land, and their Fleet was in Readiness to block it up by Sea, so that no Way would be open to his Escape: Wherefore Monsieur he advis'd him for his present Security and future Hopes, presently to address himself to King *Lewis* of *France*, who was ever ready to entertain any Lord of another Nation in Quarrel with his Prince. But above all would welcome the Earl both in regard of the near Intelligence he had long held with him, and the Hatred he bore King *Edward* for affronting the Lady *Bona*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* for so often confederating with the Rebels of *France*.

Monsieur *Vanciere* advises *Warwick* to apply himself to King of *France*.

By this Counsel the Earl of *Warwick* steer'd his Course to *Deep*, by the Way making Prize of whatever appertain'd to the Duke of *Burgundy* or his Subjects. And no sooner was he landed there, but he was most solemnly invited to the Castle of *Amboys* (u), where King *Lewis* then kept his Court. The Ceremony (short ever with Men of Business) past over at the first Meeting, suddenly they entred into Council how to renew the War, and restore King *Henry*; whose Re-establishment in the Kingdom *Lewis* ever most passionately urg'd, not in Respect of the near Alliance, Commiseration of his long Troubles, or Opinion of his better Title; but only because he knew him inferior in Courage to King *Edward*, and therefore the less dangerous Neighbour; and probably while any of the House of *York* remain'd, civil War likely to keep the *English* Arms busied at Home. Wherefore by his Importunity Queen *Margaret* (who hitherto had liv'd an Exile in *France*, and now upon the King's Invitation came to Court) was perfectly reconcil'd to the Earl of *Warwick*. *Warwick*, who before had chased her out of the Land, dethron'd her Husband, and opprobriously imprison'd him, cut off the many Branches, and almost pluck'd up the very Root of the Tree of *Lancaster*: But Necessity took away the Sting from Nature, and united them in the nearest Friendship. For that there might not be left any Footsteps of former Discontent or Path to future Jealousy, a Marriage was concluded and celebrated between Prince *Edward*, the Queen's Son, and the Lady *Anne*, younger Daughter to the Earl. And on this Marriage was agreed that King *Edward* should be deposed, King *Henry* re-inthroned, the Crown to be entail'd upon Prince *Edward*, and for Default of his Issue, to come to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Posterity: By which Conveyance human Policy did her Part to perpetuate the Succession of the Kingdom in the Posterity of *Warwick*. But the Almighty made a Mockery of this *Babel*, which fell soon to Ruin by Self-division and Confusion, not of Languages but Affections. For the Duke of *Clarence* began now to

K. Lewis of *France* receives the Earl of *Warwick* gladly.

Q. Margaret reconcil'd to the Earl of *Warwick*.

P. Edward marry'd to the Earl of *Warwick's* younger Daughter.

(s) He was hardly prevail'd upon to let Two Flaggons of Wine be sent to her.
(t) Philip de Comines took an Oath of Fidelity of him to King *Edward* by Appointment of his Master the Duke of *Burgundy*.
(u) Whither came also *Jasper Tudor*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John*, Earl of *Oxford*.

A. D. 1470. consider how by following the Earl's desperate Counsels, he had gain'd nothing but the science of an unnatural Revolt, and how ruin'd he were if the Success of this Enterprize should not be Prosperous, and if Prosperous how upon the Destruction of a Brother, he had built himself a less Greatness than he might have enjoy'd without Sin or Hazzard; there being a vast Distance between the Nearness of two Sons of one Mother, and only Husbands to two Sisters: Neither had he any sure Ground for Confidence, that when King Henry were restored, hereditary Malice might not prevail, and destroy him for the Crime of his Family. And now more than ever he found himself declin'd, being forced to submit not only to *Warwick*, but to a new young Prince; having before acknowledged no Superiour but the King and him a Brother. Neither was the *Duchess of Clarence* her self a weak Engine, on which this Alteration moved. For however, as a Daughter she might wish Prosperity to the Attempts of *Warwick*; yet ever since the last Agreement of Reinvesting the House of *Lancaster* in the Kingdom, she found in her Mind a strange Alienation from the Faction. And indeed either she began to dislike the Variety of her Father's Resolutions, as whom Ambition led violently to build and pluck down, or in Conscience thought the Justice of the Claim was wholly in King *Edward*; having in her Childhood (and those Impressions are ever deepest) been instructed to affect the House of *York*, and approve the Title: Or (and that is the most probable in a Woman) she envied perhaps the Preferment of a younger Sister, hating that Fortune should throw down the Priority of Nature. However, it was, yet certainly by her Means King *Edward* labour'd to recal his Brother, and though not suddenly, yet in the End prevail'd: For having sent over a Gentlewoman (her Sex took away Suspicion from the Practice) with full Instructions both to advise the *Duchess* not to work the Ruin, or at best the lessening of her Husband by those Counsels held then between Queen *Margaret* and the Earl of *Warwick*, as likewise to promise (if she perswaded her Husband) to him and her as much Love and Greatness as the Tie of Nature, and so great a Merit might justly challenge: He in fine got a Promise, that as soon as the Duke were disintangled from his present Engagements, he would declare the natural Affection he owed a Brother.

King *Edward's* voluptuous Nature and Unwariness. This weak Hope, with the late Victory and seeming Banishment of his Enemies, loosened King *Edward* to his accusom'd Wantonness and Riot. For certainly, never lived Prince whom Adversity did more harden to Action, and Prosperity more soften to Voluptuousness: So that by the Judgment on his Life, we may say, like a Stone cast into the Air, he was by Necessity forced up to Glory while his Center remain'd beneath in the Sense of Pleasure: And so improvident was his Memory, that he forgot the greatest Injuries, and resumed the Archbishop of *York* into Favour, not bearing so much as a watchful Eye over a reconcil'd Enemy: By which his Counsels were betray'd and he perswaded to a false and most dangerous Security.

Duke of *Burgundy's* Kindness to *K. Edward*. But the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Recreation was Business, and whose Delight, Extent of Dominion; who by having long wrastled with *Lewis XI.* had learnt all the Slights of War and Peace, labour'd to disperse the Storm before it fell upon *England*. Whereupon he daily advertised King *Edward* of all Passages in the Court

of *France*, his Intelligence holding good there, and who knew how near Danger came to him, should our King be overthrown. He advised him by vast Promises (which no way oblig'd Performance) to win some, and sowing the poysonous Seed of Emulation, to recal others: As likewise to send over some great Lord into *France*, who pretending Discontent, shall adhere to the Faction, and under-hand discover all their Counsels. But above all he solicited him to rig up and set forth his Navy whereby to prevent their landing: Affirming it to be a most ridiculous Madness in a King (unless urged by inevitable Necessity) to stake his Crown at a Battle against the Resolution of a Rebel.

The King, contrary to this sober Counsel never endeavour'd to hinder the Return of *Warwick*, but building on the Protestations of the Marquis *Montacute*, and the Archbishop of *York*, securely gave himself over to Licentiousness. In which Interm, the Earl with his Retinue, conducted by the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, sail'd back into *England*, King *Lewis* having furnish'd him with a full supply of Monies: and for Soldiers he needed no Foreign Levies, his Name and Faction was so great at Home: For though the Country by Civil War was much dispeopled, yet the Commonalty, being for the most part born and bred up in Tumults, were naturally addicted to Arms, and prone upon any Innovations to take the Field. Neither could the Duke of *Burgundy*, though most passionately he labour'd it, hinder the Earl's landing by giving him Battle at Sea; for the Winds fought for *Warwick* and dispersed the *Burgundian* Fleet (the best in that Age commanded upon the Sea) casting some Ships upon the Coast of *Scotland*, others upon the remotest Parts of *Holland*.

Neither did the King any way repent his Error when he understood the Earl was landed, but presently dispatched a Messenger to the Duke of *Burgundy* intreating him to continue his Army at Sea, to prevent *Warwick's* Flight back into *France*, as if he were ascertain'd Fortune would never deny him Victory. So secure was he grown by an over-bold Presumption, the Bastard Daughter of a long Prosperity. But they whom Experience had instructed to more Caution, pittied his Mistake and foresaw his Ruin. And he himself not long after understanding how mightily the Earl increased in Power, began to think his Safety brought into Hazard; which he much more believ'd when he found the Nobility, whom he summon'd to his Aid to excuse themselves, and the common Stream of People to depart wholly from his Service.

And indeed, even in the City the adverse Faction was grown so strong, that Dr. *Gooddiard*, Chaplain to the Earl, at *St. Paul's Cross* in his Sermon dared even to cast the Herald, and conclude *Edward* an Usurper. And thereupon to commend the most religious Intentions of the Earl, and to exhort the Audience to joyn with him in restoring their imprison'd Sovereign King *Henry* to his Scepter, and the Commonwealth to Liberty; and the like did most of the Clergy of *England*.

The credulous Multitude took this Heresie for true Doctrine, and with some of the zealously ignorant, it so far prevail'd, that in pure Devotion they committed High-Treason. But would to God the Pulpit might only speak Things Sacred; Matters of State having room enough to be discussed in Council-Chambers, and other

Duke of *Clarence* relents, and condemns his joyning with *Warwick*.

The *Duchess of Clarence* discontented

K. *Edward* by the *Duchess of Clarence* draws off his Brother from *Warwick's* Side.

King *Edward's* voluptuous Nature and Unwariness.

Duke of *Burgundy's* Kindness to *K. Edward*.

A. D. 1470. Reg. 10.

K. *Edward* misguided suffers *Warwick* to land.

Duke of *Burgundy* endeavours to hinder it, but could not.

K. *Edward's* Confidence in Subjects, deceiv'd.

Dr. *Gooddiard* justifies the Earl of *Warwick's* Proceed-ings.

The People drawn to Rebel- lion by his Sermon.

A. D. 1470. other Places erected for publick Assemblies. For certainly how erroneous soever the Tenet be, if uttered there by a Priest with Appearance of Religion, it gets too much Authority in the Ear, and too much Ground upon the Conscience, as this Opinion did, which was no sooner receiv'd, but all began to incline to Revolt; and with the first got away the late reconcil'd Arch-bishop, and the Marquess Mountacute his Brother; both having so often and so ceremoniously vow'd never to forsake the Title of King Edward, and both now perfidiously breaking those Vows, and with the loudest crying out. *Long live King Henry.*

A general
Revolt
from King
Edward.

King Ed-
ward's
Flight,
and hard
Escape.

Lord Har-
tings ac-
compa-
nies King
Edward in
his lowest
Fortunes.

The Treachery of Mountacute, who having raised in King Edward's Name 6000 Men, turn'd now with them to Warwick, and the general Defection of the Land threw the King down into extream Despair. For those few Lords who constantly adher'd to his declining Fortune, commanded over so small a Number, that to resolve upon a Battle were to betray themselves to Slaughter. And when Misfortune drove their Thoughts upon Safety by Flight, they knew not whither to resolve. No Land being willing to receive that Prince, who is forced to flee his own. But while his Imaginations remain'd thus confused, he had hardly escap'd a Surprise in the Night, had not his former Misfortune served him now for Instruction: And finding his Stay only begot Disreputation to his Quarrel, and Danger to his Person, he began his Flight towards Lincolnshire. But the Earl sent after him his Light-horse, following with the whole Body of his Army; and so close did the Light-horse pursue him, that with much Difficulty, and with Loss of all his Carriages in his Passage through the *Washes* he reach'd *Lincoln*. The Queen, who was the Cause of these Alterations, seeing her Husband gone, and with him all hopes of Safety, all Friends vanishing with Prosperity, was forced to betake her self in all haste, though great with Child, to the Divine Protection in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, with a small Attendance; such as were faithful to her running to other Churches for the like Protection.

The Lord Hastings, faithful to the King in all Fortunes, and who had yet 300 Horse under his Command, stay'd some short Time behind; and now when he imagin'd the King past the reach of imminent Danger, he dismissed his Forces and followed after. At parting he commended the Faith of the Soldiers to their Prince, which nevertheless for the Present he advis'd them to dissemble, because there was no present Security, nor Hope of doing after Service, but by Submission to the prevailing Faction. Ere long he promised to Return, when a better Fortune would invite them to show the Loyalty of their Affections; the Violence of the Storm being too mighty to continue, and King Edward in Faction at Home and Abroad too potent, so easily to quit a Kingdom; however for the present he withdrew himself a while.

A. D. 1471. Having exhorted thus his Soldiers, he obey'd Necessity, and by speedy Flight went after the King: Who having hired Three Ships, one of England and two of Holland, presently embark'd, having in his Company the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl Rivers, the Lords Scales and Say, and in Retinue about One Thousand (*). As soon as they were put to Sea, the King encountered Dangers as great as he had escap'd at Land. For the *Easterlings* (a People ever fa-

med for Sea Affairs, and then at Enmity both with France and England) had set forth not long before some Men of War; who having descri'd these Ships, and guessing them to be English, made Sail after them. The King by Benefit of the Wind got first to the Coast of Holland, and in regard it was Ebbingwater cast Anchor so near the Shore, the *Easterlings* (being Ships of far greater Burthen) could not reach them: But the next Tide infallibly had exposed them a Prize to the Enemy, had not the Lord Grontiere, Lieutenant for the Duke in Holland by mere Accident been at that time at *Alquemare*, a Sea-Town close joyning to them. He as soon as he understood by a Messenger sent from King Edward, that those Three small Vessels carried in them the Fortune of England, commanded the *Easterlings* to forbear Hostility, and license those Passengers a quiet landing. And presently himself came Aboard the King's Ship, expressing in the Obsequiousness of his Respects as much Ceremony and Love, as was due to so great a Majesty, and the Brother-in-law to his Prince. And no sooner had he attended the King Ashore, and found how unprovided of all Things necessary, the Suddenness of his Flight had made him and his Followers; but he furnish'd him and them according to their Quality and Want. For the King's Escape was so hasty, that not only his Apparel and other Furniture were lost or left behind, but even his Treasure. So that to defray the Charge of his Transportation he was necessitated to give the Master of the Ship a Gown furr'd with Martins; and remain beholden to the Lord Grontiere for his Expences to the Hague, whither he was conducted to expect the coming of the Duke. Who as soon as he had perfect Knowledge of the King's so ruinous Success in England, and Arrival in Holland as to a Sanctuary, began to repent his so near Alliance, and cast about how to close with the adverse Faction. And now indeed his Time was to add the most cunning part of Subtilty, by endeavouring to retain the good Opinion of his Brother-in-law, and yet secure himself from Hostility with the Earl of Warwick. Whereupon before ever he came to the Hague he dispatch'd his Agent to *Callis*, to show the chief Men of the Town, that the Peace heretofore concluded between King Edward and himself, was no way personal; But between whatsoever Princes should rule in either Dominions, and betwixt Nation and Nation, and therefore by no Change of King or length of Time dissolvable. Upon which Consideration he intreated (for loth he was at the same Time to wrestle both with France and England) that the Name of Edward might be chang'd into Henry, and the former League continue sacred as before.

The unsettled State of England, and the universal Desires of the Merchants of the Staple at *Callis*, soon effected the Duke's Purpose. For they who had continual Traffick into the Low Countries, and vented all their Wool to the Subjects of the Duke, had been disabled to pay their usual Tribute to the King, if free Inter-course had been denied. Whereupon unwilling to discontent and impoverish so great a Body at home, and too hastily to run into a dangerous Quarrel with a most potent Enemy abroad, the Earl for the present dissembled his inveterate Hatred, and recall'd his Soldiers who had spoiled all the Duke's Territory bordering upon *Callis*. And that the Duke might make himself

The Lord
Grontiere's
Kindness
to King
Edward
in his
Escape.

Duke of
Burgundy
wavering
in his
Friend-
ship to
King Ed-
ward.

Duke of
Burgundy
courts a
Friend-
ship with
King Henry
and his
Party.

(*) Seven Hundred Persons.

A. D. 1471. Reg. II. strong in a Faction potent with the present Time, he renew'd his Friendship with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, whom he solicited earnestly to endear him to King *Henry*, and revive in him the Memory of their so near Kindred. To acquaint him how zealous himself and his Father had ever been for the Honour and Safety of the Family of *Lancaster*, in which himself did so much participate. As likewise to promise all the perfect Offices of a Confederate and Neighbour, if so be that his Faithful Intentions might receive a true Interpretation.

Duke of Burgundy accepted into Friendship with K. Henry. This did the Dukes voluntarily offer to negotiate; *Somerset* in respect of Propinquity in Blood, *Exeter*, of those many Favours receiv'd in the *Low Countries* during his so miserable Exile: Both out of an extream Malice to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had subverted their Families, and to whose Aid, they envied the King should owe his Restitution. And easily was the Duke brought upon good Terms with King *Henry*; his Neighbourhood and Friendship being of so notable Consequence, and the very Appearance of disclaiming the adverse Party (what secret Aid soever he afforded) being so disadvantageous to any Pretence King *Edward* might have to renew the War.

Duke of Burgundy keeps fair with K. Edward, who was then in his Court. This Aspect, full of a smiling Flattery, did the Duke of *Burgundy* bear to the present Fortune of the State. While upon King *Edward* he cast such a supercilious Look, as the World's wise Men usually do upon Men in Adversity. Often sharply he reprehended his so great Carelessness and Neglect of wholesome Advice, which had ruin'd him, and obliged him to this so wretched Flight. He objected the much Contempt this Misfortune would throw upon his Quarrel, and how loth Friends would be to adhere to his present Necessities, since he knew so ill to manage Prosperity. Yet remembering that hereafter there might happily be a Change in Fortune, he often chang'd his Humour, and amid these Reprehensions mingled some passionate Complements of Love. He protested seriously that he wish'd all Happiness to his Affairs, to advance which he would neglect no Industry; yet he desired his Pardon if for the present he disssembled, considering it might at once draw on a War from his Two most dangerous Neighbours, *England* and *France*; against both which Nations should he be necessitated to a Quarrel, he should be very unable to defend himself, much less to serve another. And when a Proclamation was set forth by the Duke, prohibiting his Subjects any way to aid the Pretences of King *Edward* or his Faction, and that it was with much Indignation receiv'd by the King, he protested the Intention of it to be only to betray King *Henry* to an unsafe Security, that in the interim he might without Suspicion levy a greater Aid for his Designs. K. *Edward* (whom a short Adversity had already instructed much) appeared to take the false Coin of these Excuses for currant, and by Example of the Duke, practis'd to dissimble. But after this Time it was noted, that he never bore the Duke so sincere Affection as before. Princes best maintain a near Friendship by keeping at large Distance; Jealousie and Emulation take their Growth with Familiarity, and if either be necessitated to demand Supply, Reason of State oftentimes weakens Love, and roots up good Nature.

To increase King *Edward's* Discontent abroad, no News came from *England* but what spoke absolute Ruin to his Hopes. For tho'

here he heard first the Comfort of his being Father to a Son, Prince *Edward*, yet was this Son born poorly in Sanctuary, and christned without the Ceremonies belonging to a Prince, and if Fortune beyond Expectation alter'd not, Heir apparent only to his Father's Misery. Neither did that wild Insurrection of the Men of *Kent*, which ensued presently upon his Flight, effect any Thing, or so much as openly pretend for King *Edward*. But some disorder'd Companies gathered into one, hoped to fish fair in the troubled Stream of the Kingdom, and by the Advantage of the present Distraction of State to purchase Treasure to themselves. Whereupon they directed their March (if such Stragglers can be said to march) towards *London*; where by the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord Mayor they were soon suppress'd, and some for the general Terror, made Examples in their Punishment, which much rais'd the Reputation of the Earl. But after this all Things tended presently to Quiet, and K. *Henry* being set at Liberty, (y) went in solemn Procession to *St. Paul's Church*, the Clergy, Nobility and Commonalty re-acknowledging all Obedience to him. And, as if there were left no Memory of King *Edward*, or Hope to re-establish his Title, every Man address'd himself to King *Henry*, and all his former Servants recover'd their lost Honours and Places. But that this might not appear to be the Act of Faction, but the universal Consent of the Kingdom, a Parliament was summon'd (z); wherein nothing was denied, which the prevailing Party thought fit to be authoriz'd.

King *Edward* therefore and all his Adherents were attainted of High Treason, their Lands and Goods confiscated. He and his Posterity for ever disabled to inherit not only the Crown, but any other hereditary Estate; his Claim to the Kingdom rejected as a most unjust Pretension, and his former Government condemn'd as of a tyrannous Usurper. And that there might be a great Example of their Justice, *John Tipstoft*, Earl of *Worcester*, Lord High Constable of *England*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland* (having been apprehended in the Forrest of *Wai-bridge*, on the Top of a high Tree, which expressed the Precipice of his Fortune) was on the *Tower Hill* beheaded.

Next they proceeded to entail the Crown upon King *Henry* and his Heirs Males, for Default of which, to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heirs for ever. By which Intail, the Earl of *Warwick* shew'd not only the Extent, but the Insolency of Greatness, as if the Title of the Kingdom appertain'd to them, who were nearest in Alliance to him, not next in Blood to the Crown. For if the Justice of *Lancaster's* Claim had the Preheminence for want of Issue of King *Henry*, why should not the Sovereignty fall to the Duke of *Somerset*? Or if that Line were crooked in respect of Bastardy, why not to the House of *Portugal*, without any Blemish descending from *John of Gaunt*? Or if the House of *York* had the better Title, why was *George*, Duke of *Clarence* then set down but Second in the Intail? Or if the Right were in *Warwick* himself (for his Power order'd and disorder'd all) why was the Kingdom to descend first of all to the Younger Daughter? But preposterous Ambition never knew how to give an Account to Reason.

Then were the Earls of *Oxford*, *Pembroke*, and many others restor'd to their Estates and Titles, and the Duke of *Clarence*, (that greater

(y) On the Twelfth of October.

(z) The Twenty sixth of November.

A.D. 1471. *Reg. 11.* *The Govern-ment put into the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick's Hands.* Hopes might not invite him to return to his Brother) possessed of the Dutchy of *York*. And lastly, the Government of the King and Kingdom committed to the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*; so that King *Henry* (in whose best of Fortune it was never to possess more than the Name of King) seem'd not to be set at Liberty, but only to have changed his Keeper, and get his Prison somewhat more enlarged. But Queen *Margaret* and Prince *Edward*, tho' by the Earl recall'd, found their Fate and the Winds so adverse, that they could not land in *England*, to taste this running Banquet to which Fortune had invited them. And itaid so long by Necessity; that Discretion instructed them, in the End there was no Hope of Felicity, scarce of Safety in their Return.

The Re-establishment of King *Henry* in the Kingdom by the universal Acclamation of the Parliament, and the general Silence of the other Faction, no Man so much as mentioning the Title of *York*, cool'd that Fervour of Respect with which the Duke of *Burgundy* had at first embraced King *Edward*; especially when the Treason of *Monsieur Vaublere* was apparent: For of *Callis*, both the King and the Duke ever thought themselves secure, he having declared himself so faithfully, and they rewarded him so liberally. But now the Traitor turned his Inside outward, and with the loudest proclaim'd his Joy for the Prosperity of *Warwick*: And so far did the Vanity of his former Services betray him, that he boasted even his Treason for Merit. And whatever Messages the King sent to him, he rejected with Scorn, to whose more notable Affront, he wore enamel'd in his Hat, the Bear and ragged Staff, the Earl's Cognizance.

K. Edward obtains Leave to depart, and an Assistance of Men and Money from the Duke of Burgundy. The Neglect which accompanied his Adversity, made the King weary of any further Dependances, and urge the Duke to have Licence for departing. For although the Dutchess neglected no Duty of a Sister, and woo'd him most passionately to a longer Stay, yet so little had his Fortune instructed him to Patience, that neither Love nor Fright of Danger could detain him longer. For the Duke was distemper'd with such an Ague of Discourtesie, that those Fits which before came but every Third or Fourth Day, became now Quotidian; neither knew the King to how high and dangerous a Malice the Disease in Time might rise. His Importunity therefore in the End prevail'd, and under Hand obtain'd a large Supply of Money, and some Men. Four great Ships of *Holland*, and Fourteen of the *Easterling's* Men of War well arm'd, he hired for the Transportation of his Forces; which consisted of the *English* who accompanied him in his Flight, and had escaped over after him, and 2000 *Dutch* Men. With the Ships he covenanted, that they should serve him till Fifteen Days after his landing; and to the *Dutch* Soldiers he gave such large Promises, that they vowed their Lives to the greatest Cruelty of his Fortune.

His Land-ing in York-shire. At *Raven-spur* in *York-shire* he landed (a), where the People naturally devoted to the House of *Lancaster*, (shewed in the Malice of their Looks, what evil Luck they wish'd him) tho' they wanted Courage with their Arms to oppose him.

His March to York. Which so dismal Aspect made him more wary in his March to *York*, fearing it might presage the general Rising of the Country. But when he came thither, and found the Citizens so well pleased with the present State, and so in their

Opinion confirm'd for King *Henry*, he began to despair the Recovery of the Crown. And in 1471. that Resolution, perceiving them obstinate beyond any Hope of Remove, fashion'd his Behaviour by a new Art, pretending he came to recover his Dukedom and Estate. Whereupon, tho' he could not move them to Obedience by the Authority of his unquestion'd Right to the Crown, yet by relation of his present Calamity, he perswaded them to Compassion. So that whom they refused to serve as King, which had been an Act of Loyalty, they condescended to aid as Duke of *York*, which was absolute Rebellion. It being High Treason in a Subject, tho' never so apparently injur'd, to seek his Remedy by Arms. And by the Sense of his own Misfortunes, he made his Oratory so powerful, that all began to exclaim against the Injustice of the last Parliament, in conferring the Dutchy of *York*, which by Right of Primogeniture belonged to *Edward*, upon his Second Brother *George*, Duke of *Clarence*. Which Act could not be imagin'd, freely granted by the Parliament, but extorted by the overgreat Sway of *Warwick*: And had *Edward* by Usurpation of the Crown, deserv'd so heavy an Attraction, he might yet quit himself from the Crime, having been excited thereunto, not by his own ambitious Desire of Reign, but by the Instigation of *Warwick*, who no longer would suffer the Government of his King, than the King knew how to obey his insolent Direction; and who had thus planted and supplanted Princes, not out of Love to Justice, but only thereby to transplant the Sovereignty into his own Family.

Thus the Commonalty argued for *Edward*, and made him yet partake in the Fortune of a Prince, by not permitting him to bear the Burthen of his own Faults; and that he might recover the Dutchy belonging to his Family, many Persons of Power and Name resorted to him, he solemnly swearing never to attempt hereafter the Re-obtaining of the Kingdom. The same Oath swore *Henry* of *Bullinbrook*, when pretending to the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, he landed in the North, and arm'd against *King Richard*, which he broke as *Edward* after did upon the like advantage. So that with Humility we ought to wonder at the Judgments of the Almighty, who permitted Perjury now to unbuild the Greatness of *Lancaster*, which at first was built by Perjury.

Leaving therefore a Garrison in *York* (a safe Retreat upon the worst Occasion) he march'd towards *London*; about which Place he had ever found his Fortune most kind and prosperous. And confidently led on his Forces (which could not deserve the Name of an Army) although the Marquess *Mountacute* with a far superior Power lay then at *Pomfret* to hinder his Journey. Nigh which when King *Edward* came expecting Battle; *Mountacute* who had both Ability and Opportunity to have destroy'd him, let him quietly pass, not permitting any Act of Hostility to be shew'd, or Advantage taken.

This gross Over-sight in so absolute a Commander receiv'd several Interpretations, according to the Complexion of the Men who discour'd it. The more Religious who favour'd red *K. Edward's* Title thought Almighty God, intending to set the Crown upon the Right Head, had infatuated the Counsels of his Enemies: The more Vulgar judg'd it Cowardize in the Marquess which durst not fight against that Majesty for which he had so often fought, and

(a) On the Twelfth of March.

A. D. 1471. *Reg. II.* against a Prince who had never been in Battle but Victorious: But the more indifferent esteem'd it a piece of over-cunning (which in the Event is ever Folly) to let his Forces pass, whereby after he might inclose him between his and his Brother's Army, and so without Hazard destroy him, or else some Intelligence which secretly he held with *K. Edward* to whose Love and Benefits he owed so much. Whence this Mistake proceeded, I will not dispute, but certainly it serv'd well to the King's Purpose and Safety; and receiv'd from the Earl of *Warwick* and his Faction no other Name than that of Falshood and Treason.

King Edward's Army mightily increased, and the claims the Crown. King *Edward* was no sooner past this Danger, but many of the Nobility with mighty Forces repair'd to him at *Nottingham*, either desirous of another Revolution of State, not having found their Expectation answer'd in the last; or directed by their better Angel to adhere to that Side which ever was more just, and suddenly more likely to be more fortunate. But before they would solemnly declare themselves, they intreated and soon prevail'd with him to cast off the poor Intention to a Dutchy, and lay his Challenge to, what was his Inheritance, the Kingdom. For it would lessen, even to Contempt, the great Reputation of his Birth and former Victories, to let the People perceive that a short Eclipse of Fortune had made him fall so low, as to depose himself from the Royalty. Neither could they justify their taking Arms to settle a Subject in his Inheritance. Since the Law is open to end such Controversies, and if he would subject himself to the Law, the last Parliament, had for ever disabled him from any such Claim.

K. Edward hastens to fight the Earl of Warwick. Weaker Arguments would have been of Power enough to have perswaded his great Spirit; but by these he was confirm'd in his own Thoughts; and so being proclaim'd King, with that Title, and a full Army he march'd directly to *Coventry* (b) fierce in his Desire to give *Warwick* Battle, who lay there encamp'd. But no Provocation could bring him from his Trenches, knowing his Army divided, and those Forces he had there under his Command, unequal to maintain Fight with the King. For the *Marquess Mountacute* was not yet return'd from the North, and the Duke of *Clarence*, tho' often and earnestly sollicit'd excus'd himself, and kept his Power apart. So reserv'd a way in them, made *Warwick* begin to hold both in Suspicion; but most of all *Clarence*, whose Forces were so near and in so good Order, that there could be no Excuse but in the Unpreparedness of his Mind.

K. Edward and the Duke of Clarence reconcil'd. The King therefore perceiving nothing could force *Warwick* upon uneven Terms to fight, march'd against *Clarence*, and as soon as he drew near, both Armies prepared for the Encounter. But as a Plot in a well-contriv'd Comedy is so cunningly wrought, that it discovers not it self till the last Scene, and then Expectation acknowledges her self deluded by Invention. So this Reconciliation between the Brothers agreed on long before, on the sudden now broke forth when all outward Appearances threaten'd Hostility. For the Duke of *Glouce-*

A. D. 1471. *Reg. II.* *Peacemakers* *Earl of Warwick.* *Warwick refuses to submit to an Agreement.* *Warwick* and other Lords seeming to abhor the inhuman Nature of the prepared Battle, past oft formally between the Brothers, and urg'd them by all Respects both Religious and Politick to prevent a Quarrel so ruinous and so scandalous to both; wherein the Triumph could not be but almost the Destruction of the Conqueror. After much Mediation and much seeming Reluctancy, that was in the end concluded, which had long before been resolv'd on: And the Duke of *Clarence* submitting himself to King *Edward*, brought with him all those Forces which upon *Warwick's* Reputation, much more than upon his own, he had rais'd. But that in this Agreement he might not appear to forget the Office of a Son-in-law and a Friend, he jointly with the King sent to intreat the Earl to enter League with them; for Confirmation of that Title which himself had first defended, and to avoid the Effusion of so much Blood as this Quarrel must necessarily draw. For Conditions he himself should set down his own, knowing he would be so rational in his Demands, as to require nothing above the Decorum of a Subject to ask, or a Prince to grant.

But *Warwick* had a Spirit too stubborn to bow to any Conditions, which himself had not been the first Proposer of; and as an Injury threw back all Offers of Courtesie, and resolv'd to be reveng'd or die. And now too late he began to curse the Error of his Indulgency, which had added Power to these Brothers only for his own Destruction. From *Edward* he could expect no Safety, for he deserv'd it not; having cancell'd all former Obligations by his last Revolt, by which he forced him to so hazardous a Flight, and from *George* he could not look for a true Faith, considering that for the only Appearance of better Hopes he had heretofore broke it even with a Brother. And from both what thought of perfect Friendship, unless (and that his Nature could never suffer) he would fall beneath his former Height, in which should he continue, Suspicion would never let him remain secure from Danger. That Subject scarce ever having been reputed Innocent, in whose Power it was to be Nocent.

Whereupon *K. Edward* seeing himself by all the Charms of former Friendship and Promise of Future, unable to lay the Spirit that rag'd in *Warwick*, left him obstinate in the Prosecution of his own Designs: And accompany'd with his late reconcil'd Brother, and follow'd by a gallant Army march'd to *London*; where the Citizens out of Conscience of their late Oath taken so solemnly to *K. Henry*, and by the Instigation of the Duke of *Somerset*, Archbishop of *York*, and others of *Warwick's* Friends, made some show of Resistance (c): But soon the Care of their own Safety absolv'd them from that Scruple, instructing them that Oaths by Fear extorted lay no Obligation upon the Soul (d). And with much Alacrity they yielded up to him their City, together with the Person of King *Henry*, who was reserv'd still to be made the Sport of Fortune, and again imprison'd in the Tower. For certainly History shows us not an Example of any Prince, who in so many Vicissitudes, never met with one

(b) He came before *Warwick* the 29th of March.

(c) The Arch-bishop of *York* on the 9th of April brought King *Henry* out of the Tower, and carried him thro' the City to shew him to the Citizens, hoping that his Presence would confirm their Loyalty; but the Terror of King *Edward's* Approach with a mighty Army, drew them from their Obedience, and the Prelate was forced to come to a Treaty, and deliver up the Tower and the King, which he did the next Day.

(d) *Philip de Comines* writes with much more Reason than this Author has; for that he says, That the Citizens were engaged in his Interest, by the Debts *Edward* ow'd them, and the Importunity of their Wives; for as to their Consciences certainly their First Oaths to King *Henry* justified their Second.

A. D. 1471. fully to his Advantage : So that justly we might have condemn'd him for Unhappy, had he not been endued with such a Piety as raised him above his Fortune, and united him to God.

At (e) his Entrance into the City, as a general Applause entertain'd King Edward, all those Inhabitants who had secretly wish'd happy Success to his Affairs, now openly expressing their Triumph; so the Queen and those many of the King's nearest Followers, who for the Space of Six Months had secured themselves in Sanctuary, ran forth to congratulate their own, as well as his Happiness in his Restitution. And even in this general Alacrity concurred the Votes of many Merchants, Natives and Foreigners, who before had hated him and supplied King Henry with Money to his Destruction. For the King out of the Mildness of his natural Disposition, and a Desire that at this universal Triumph there should not be a sad look so much as among his Enemies, gave their Offences a general Pardon. Only letting them understand that he knew both the Value of his own Mercy, and of the Greatness of their Forfeitures, their aiding the contrary Faction having lost them their Estates and Liberties, and in Rigor their Lives. Neither was this an unhappy Policy in him, to oblige many by the forgiving that, the Extremity of which had he taken (his Business being then so unsettled) might have endanger'd a Mutiny in the City, upon the first Approach of the Enemy.

Having therefore by his happy Fortune comforted his Friends, and by his Clemency won upon the Affection of the Rest, and so settled the Town to his Obedience, that he suspected no Danger at his Back: He led forth his Army to oppose the Earl of Warwick, who having reunited his scatter'd Forces by easie Marches was come to St. Albans (f). The Reason of bringing his Power so near London was a Confidence he had, that his Reputation among the Inhabitants would draw many to his Part, or at least so divide them, that they should be no Advantage to the King. But the King jealous of their Levity, as one who had known them (how affectionate soever they pretended themselves to be to his Fortune) siding still with the Prevailer, interposed his Army between the (g) City and the Enemy, whereby he cut off even the Possibility of Intelligence: And that the Presence of King Henry might not be the Occasion of any Tumult in London, nor his Escape add Authority to Warwick's Quarrel, or hereafter endanger a further War; he took him to the Battle: Whereby the Poor distressed King, what Side soever prevail'd, was morally certain of Destruction.

Upon a Plain near Barnet mid-way between London and St. Albans the King pitch'd his Field. The Van-guard was commanded by the Duke of Gloucester, the Rear by the Lord Hastings, the main Battle by himself (h). The Common Soldiers needed no Incouragement of Words, (i) the great Examples of their Leaders was the best Oratory. And none of them but understood their Lives, Estates, and Liberties

were at Stake: Their Prince, if over-thrown, every Day not unlike to produce new Troubles, and new Dangers; if Victorious, a full Conclusion of the War, with Wealth and Triumph.

On the other Side the Earl of Warwick with as bold a Resolution prepared his Forces. The Right Wing which consisted of Horse, he committed to the Earl of Oxford, in whose Company fought the Marquess Mountacute; the Left to the Duke of Exeter; and the main Battle which was composed of Bills and Bows (the best Signs of our English Strength) to the Duke of Somerset: He himself giving Direction in every Quarter. And when he had survey'd his whole Host, and liked both their Order and their Courage, he sent away his Horse, resolving to fight on Foot, and that Day to try the utmost of his Fortune; prefixing to his Imaginations no Mean between Victory and Death. Then he lovingly imbraced all those great Commanders, in every of whom appear'd a Resolution equal to the Cause; and having by many Protestations declared their sincere Faith and Forwardness to the present Service, every Man betook himself to his several Charge. Nothing extraordinary to be observ'd in ordering the Field on either Side, but that neither George, Duke of Clarence, on K. Edward's Side, nor the Marquess Mountacute on the Earl's commanded any Way in Chief that Day: So impossible it was to extirpate that Suspicion, which by their former Actions had taken Root in their Brother's Minds.

It was Easter-Day (k) in the Morning (a) Day too sacred to be profaned with so much Blood) when both Armies prepared themselves to fight. That for the King took Courage from the Justice of their Quarrel, and the Fortune of their Prince. That of the Earl from the long Experience and noble Valour of their Leader, and from the Piety of him for whose Redemption that Day they had brought their Lives to the Hazard. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having been crown'd, and by several Parliaments acknowledged. And indeed the Question was so subtil, that even among Divines it had held long, and at that Day remained not absolutely decided. No marvel then if the common Soldier had on both Sides the same Assurance of Truth, since if they have any, their Faith for the most is led by the Direction of their General. Both Armies therefore had equal Justice, which made them with equal Fierceness begin and continue the Fight.

Six Hours the Victory was doubtful, Advantages and Disadvantages indifferent on both Sides, till at length Error brought Disorder to Warwick's Army, and that a final Overthrow. For the Earl of Oxford (l) giving his Men a Star with Streams for his Badge, begot in the Army a Mistake that they were part of the Enemy whose Badge was the Sun: (which Mistake might easily happen by the thick Mist that Morning), wherefore being in the Right Wing, and pressing forward they were thought King Edward's Men flying, which made their own main Battle fall fiercely on them in the Back: Whereupon Oxford suspecting Treason in War-

(e) On the 11th of April.

(f) He encamp'd on Gladsmore-Heath, towards St. Albans.

(g) He encamp'd on the same Heath in the Night nearer Barnet.

(h) And the Duke of Clarence. In the main Body the Unfortunate King Henry was carry'd in Triumph.

(i) King Edward spoke to his Soldiers, and gave the usual Names of Traytors and Rebels to their Adversaries, and the Earl of Warwick was not behind him in hard Words in his Speech; calling him Tyrant and Usurper. Holinshead, pag. 684.

(k) The 14th of April.

(l) This brave Lord routed King Edward's Left Wing, and drove them out of the Field before that fatal Mistake happen'd.

A. D. 1471. *Reg. II.* *wick* (whose haughty and reserved Ways were ever liable to Suspicion) fled away with eight hundred Men, and King *Edward* with certain fresh Troops of Ritters for some such Purpose reserv'd, perceiving Disorder in the Enemy violently assaulted them, and soon forced them to shrink back. *Warwick* opposed against their Fear both with Language and Example; but when nothing could prevail, he rush'd into the thickest of the Enemies, hoping either his whole Army would bravely follow, or otherwise by Death to prevent the Misery of seeing himself overthrown. *Mountacute* perceiving how far into Danger his Brother was engaged, ran violently after to his Rescue, and both presently oppress'd with Number fell, and with them the Spirit of the Army, which thereupon immediately fled. In their Deaths they both clear'd those Calumnies with which they were blemish'd. *Warwick* of having still a swift Horse in readiness by Flight to escape from any apparent Danger in Battle; *Mountacute* of holding Intelligence with King *Edward*, or betraying at *Pomfret* the Quarrel of his great Brother. For that Story is to be rejected as a Fable forged by Malice, which Reports that the Marquess having put on King *Edward's* Livery was slain by one of *Warwick's* Men, and that the Earl labouring to escape, at a Wood's Side where was no Passage, was killed and stripped to the naked Skin by two of King *Edward's* Soldiers. Yet both of them in their Deaths partaking with the common Condition of Men; the poor being ever esteem'd as vicious, the overthrown as Cowards. By which Judgment we impiously subject the Almighty Disposer of Human Affairs to our deprav'd Affections, as if Felicity or Infelicity were the Touchstone by which we might discern the true Value of the inward Man.

K. Edward carries the News of his Victory to London himself. King *Edward* as soon as he saw the Discomfiture of the Enemy and certainly understood the Death of the two Brothers; that himself might be the first Reporter of his own good Fortune, with King *Henry* in his Company posted up to London. He came into St. Paul's Church at Evening Prayer, and there offer'd up his own Banner, and the Standard of the Earl of *Warwick*, the Trophies of his Morning Service, where waited on him an universal Acclamation, the flattering Shadow which never forsakes Victory. The dead Bodies of *Warwick* and *Mountacute* he caused to be exposed three Days barefaced in St. Paul's Church, that no Pretences of their being alive might stir up any Rebellion afterward.

The Slain in Barnet-Field. To the Duke of *Clarence* and the Duke of *Gloucester* was left the Care to Quarter the Soldiers, whose Enquiry soon found that on both Sides that Day were slain four thousand six hundred and odd. On the King's Side of Eminency only (m) the Lords *Bourchier* and *Barnes*, the former Son and Heir to the Earl of *Essex*, this last to the Lord *Say*: On the other Side were kill'd the Earl of *Warwick* and the Marquess *Mountacute* attended with three and twenty Knights. The Duke of *Exeter*, who by his many Wounds was reported dead, recover'd Life, and got into Sanctuary at *Westminster*, but was never more seen in Action; his Body after some length of Time being cast upon the Shore of *Kent*, as if he had perish'd by Shipwrack: The

A. D. 1471. *Reg. II.* Manner of his after-Life and Death left uncertain in Story. The Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Oxford* fled towards *Scotland*, but fearing that through the length of the Way they might fall into their Enemies Hands, they turn'd into *Wales* to *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*.

To this violent End came the Earl of *Warwick*, the greatest and busiest Subject our latter Age hath brought forth. And indeed how was it possible such a stormy Life could expect a calmer Death? in his Spirit, Birth, Marriage, and Revenue he was Mighty, which rais'd his Thoughts above Proportion. For all these Benefits of Nature and Fortune serv'd him only as Instruments to execute his Rage; into which every small Displeasure taken or mistaken from his Prince, threw him head-long. His Bounty extended it self most in Hospitality, which was dangerous to the Guest, for his Meat was infected with the Poison of Faction. The open Aim of all his Actions was at the Publick Good, which made his Power still recover Strength, though so often weaken'd by evil Fortune; but his secret Intention was to advance his own Greatness, which he resolv'd to purchase tho' with Sale of the publick Safety. He was unquestionless Valiant, for a Coward durst not have thought on those Dangers into which he entred upon the slightest Quarrels. His Soul was never quiet, distast'd always with the present Affairs; and his Pride like a foolish Builder, so delighted to pull down and set up, that at length part of the Frame himself had rais'd, fell upon him and crush'd him to Death. He was a passionate Extoller of Chastity in a Prince, which proceeded rather from Spleen than Zeal, because in that he tacitly made the King contemptible for his voluptuous Life. Being bred up from a Child in Arms (the worst School to learn Religion in) he had certainly no tender Sense of Justice, and his varying so in approving contrary Titles, shew'd either a strange Levity in Judgment, or else that Ambition not Conscience ruled his Actions. The Pretences of his Revolt from King *Edward*, were neither to the World Politick nor to himself Honest. For what greater Hopes could he conceive by restoring a Family himself had ruin'd? Since Injuries make so deep an Impression, that no after-courtesie can take it away? Or how could any Violence offer'd to his Daughter's Honour by the King (for that was then by him pretended) License him to War? Since no Injustice in a Sovereign can Authorize the Subject to Rebellion. But who will give a true Account of his latter Attempts, must look back upon his first Familiarity with *Lewis XI.* For never had *France* such a Merchant to vent Disorder in Foreign Kingdoms, and buy up the Faith of all the greatest Officers to neighbouring Princes. But when by the most powerful Engines of Policy and War, he had screwed up his Intentions to the Highest, by making himself King in Authority though not in Title, the Crown being entailed upon the Two Princes, who had married his Daughters: Almighty God in one Overthrow ruin'd him, and permitted his Sons-in-law, with their Wives not long after to end by strange Deaths, none of them answering his Hope, but the Younger Daughter and that preposterously to his Design. For she indeed by marrying *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, was a Queen.

(m) On the King's Side were kill'd the Lords *Cromwell* and *Say*, the Lord *Mountjoy's* Eldest Son; the Lord *Bernard's* Son, Sir *Humphrey Bourchier*, and 1500 Soldiers. On the Earl's Side, himself, the Marquess his Brother, Sir *William Tyrrell* and 7000 Soldiers. *Hol.*

Hall says, there fell in all 10000 on both Sides.

A.D. 1471. Reg. II. *cester*, the Butcher of her Husband Prince *Edward*, became Queen to an Usurper, and soon after by Poison (as it was justly suspected) made Resignation of her Crown. His Grand-Children by *Clarence*, who arriv'd to any Age, died by the Ax upon a Scaffold; and all that Greatness he so violently labour'd to confirm in his Posterity, by violent Deaths was reduced to nothing: The large River of his Blood, divided now into many Streams, run so small, they are hardly observ'd as they flow by.

The Mar-
quess
Mounta-
cute's
Chara-
cter.

Of his Brother the Marquess *Mountacute* little can be clearly spoken: So reserv'd were his Imaginations and so obscure his Ways; especially to us who look on him so far off, and with so imperfect a Light. Neither of himself can he afford much History, having never been but Second in any Business of Moment; and like soom poor Gamester seldom or never play'd his

His Va-
lour and
Diffimu-
lation.

own Cards. He had certainly as much Valour and Diffimulation, as render'd him both a perfect Soldier and Courtier. He never miscarried, in any Battle, till the last, in which he perish'd; so that indifferently we may ascribe to his good Conduct and Fortune, the Prosperity of his Success: His Affections being divided between a King and a Brother, made him suffer that Misfortune that ever attends Neutrality: Though indeed he may be rather said to have been for both, than either. His Nature was nothing so stubborn as his Brother's, which perhaps was bended to Plausibility, by the Dependances of his Fortune. The Deportment of Men seldom swelling to a distastful Pride, unless from the very Cradle flatter'd with Respect,

His Love
of Wars.

without the Competition of an Equal. He abhorred Peace, whose strict Rules circumscrib'd him within the narrow Limits of his own Revenue, and lov'd War which called not his Expences to account, and equal'd, if not elevated him above those great Men, whom he must have envied in a quiet State. In a Word, the Dispositions of these two Brothers are best discovered to us by the King himself, of whom *Warwick* was still either esteem'd or hated, *Mountacute* lov'd or pitied.

King Ed-
ward's
Love to
the Mar-
quess
Mounta-
cute.

The Affection which *K. Edward* bore *Mountacute* during Life, appear'd by the good Language he always used of him, even when in Arms against him, which perhaps occasion'd some Jealousie of his Faith in *Warwick*; and after Death in permitting his and, and for his sake, his Brother's Body the Honour of a convenient Burial. For after they had both lain two or three Days barefaced in *St. Paul's Church*, exposed a Spectacle obnoxious to such Passions, as the Beholders were inclined to either by Nature or Faction; they were carried down to the Priory of *Bisham* in *Barkshire*, where among their Ancestors by the Mother's Side the Earls of *Salisbury*, the two unquiet Brothers rest in one Tomb.

Q. Marga-
ret lands
and takes
Sanctuary

Queen *Margaret* now when it was too late landed at *Waimouth* in *Dorsetshire* having in (n) her Retinue some few French Forces, the wary King *Lewis* loth to venture much upon an after-game of Fortune. And here when she expected the Acclamations of Triumph, she first received the News of *Warwick* slain and his Army defeated. Which to her Mind, prepared then to have received some Taste of Happiness, was so sad a Distraction, that she knew not which Way to direct her Resolutions, but her Cou-

rage failing her she swooned. At length De-
spair forced her to the common poor Refuge of
Sanctuary. And in *Bewly* in *Hampshire*, a Mo-
nastery of Cistercian Monks she registred her
self, her Son and Followers for Persons pri-
viledged. To her in this Agony of Soul came
Edmund, Duke of *Somerfet* (who had escaped
from the Overthrow at *Barnet*) with his Bro-
ther the Lord *John Beaufort*, *John Courtney*, Earl
of *Devonshire* (Brother to *Thomas*; who being
taken at *Towton-Field* was beheaded at *York*)
Jasper, Earl of *Pembroke* (o) Younger Son of
Owen Tudor by Queen *Katherine Dowager*, *John*
Longstrother, Lord Prior of *St. John's*, (p) and
John, Lord *Wenlock*, who had received his first
Advancement to Honour by his great Services
to King *Edward*, and now by the Folly of his
Ingratitude, had likned himself to a ruinous
Faction.

These noble Personages greater far in the
Reputation of what they had, or might have
been, than in their present Power; labour'd
what they could by their Advice and Presence
to raise up the Queen, sunk with the Weight
of her Misfortunes. They related to her the
Hopes she yet might retain in the Amity with
France, and Authority she had in *England*:
Multitudes yet surviving, whom if not Affec-
tion to the Title, the Smalness of their own
Fortunes, and Safety of their Persons, would
necessitate to take Arms. All Overthrows ra-
ther sowing, than taking away the Seeds of
War. Neither if she look'd indifferently upon
the last Battle, had she reason to be Disconso-
late. For if she reflected on the Number of
the Slain, it was not Considerable; or upon
the Death of the General the Earl of *Warwick*,
she might receive that Loss as a Benefit; he
having been indeed a cruel Enemy, but never
but an insolent Friend; whose Fortune had it
continued Prosperous as it began, it might have
been a Question whether the Duke of *York's* or
his Usurpation would have been the more in-
supportable. They urged farther the Autho-
rity *Somerfet*, *Devonshire*, the Lord Prior, and
Wenlock had in *England*, and the Multitudes
Pembroke might arm in *Wales*. But above all,
what a Confluence of the boldest Youth there
would be to the Prince, would he but take the
Field, and appear in his own Quarrel. No-
thing having advanced the Title of *York*, but
March's Presence in all Battles, or foil'd the en-
Reputation of *Lancaster*, but King *Henry's* un-
active Piety, and fighting still by Deputies.
The Soldiers thinking it in vain for them to
hazard their Lives, where the Prince whom it
concerns, timorously refuseth to venture his
own.

But all these Arguments set off by the most
perswasive Oratory, could not recover the sad
Queen to a perfect Life in her Spirit. For
either so many Disasters, and falling so thick
together, made her despair of Success; or else
the Soul before a great Mischief hath a certain
divining Knowledge of future Accidents. And
now she began to think that small Time her
Husband had been re-invested in the Kingdom,
was but a Lightning before the Death of all So-
vereignty in his Family. Yet when she looked
upon the Prince, hope flatter'd her Desires,
that he might hereafter revive the Greatness of
his Blood; but then the Memory of forepast
Misfortunes, made her a melancholy Prophe-

(n) She landed on the very Day that the last Battle was fought upon.

(o) The Earl of *Pembroke* was then raising Forces in *Wales*, and did not join her at all.

(p) The Prior of *St. John's* and the Lord *Wenlock* came from *France* with her.

A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. The Queen refuses to let her Son be in the Battle. tefs of future Ruin. Howsoever the Objects of her Thoughts were dismal, she dissembled them, and was as busie in all Politick Contrivances, and as forward in setting forth the Army as the most resolute Commander. (q) But when she perceived the Lords earnest to have the Prince present in the Battle; she violently opposed it, in respect of his Youth, want of Experience, and the so mighty Venture: For if he perish'd in this Storm, even Hope it self would in him be Shipwrack'd. She therefore urged earnestly to have him convey'd back into France, where in Safety he might attend the Success of the present Enterprize, which if unprosperous, he might there remain, till by the Increase of Years and Power, he might be inabled to fight his own Quarrel. But the contrary Opinion overrul'd in her all the Passions, both of a Woman and a Mother; and having already lost so much at this Play of Fortune, she was perswaded like a desperate Gamester, to hazard at one Cast the Remainder of all her Stock.

Q. Margaret and her Son the Prince gather Forces.

Having therefore yielded to this Resolution, she leaves the Sanctuary and puts her self in Arms; The very Name of Prince Edward, like a Diamond, attracted Multitudes to the War. Her Companies immediately she advanced to Bath, where the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Devonshire were high in Reputation, and by whose Authority daily new Forces came in to the Prince's Service. Yet were they not grown to so full a Number, as might encourage the Queen to think upon a Battle. Whereupon she keeps her self in the Town, until the coming of Jasper (r) Earl of Pembroke, upon the Addition of which Welsh Forces, she resolved to take the Field, and encounter King Edward.

K. Edward speedily re-assembles his Army, and encamps at Marlborough.

Who as soon as he had perfect Intelligence of her Resolutions, gathered his Army together, which he (ever too confident of Peace, so amorously courted by him) had after the Victory at Barnet, licensed to disperse it self. And with so unexpected Suddenness he made his Preparations, that before the Return of Pembroke, he incamp'd at Marlborough, within fifteen Miles of Bath (s), and by the Interposition of his Army, hindered all Succours which could come to the Enemy from Wales. Which so near Approach distracted the Resolutions of the Queen, and made her suspect her Safety, if she remain'd longer there. Wherefore she retired to Bristol (t), from whence she sent to the Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, who had the keeping both of the City and Castle of Gloucester, to desire Passage over the Severn there, but he refused her, and forced her to march up to Tewksbury, there to endeavour to cross the River.

Q. Margaret flies to Tewksbury, and is forced to engage King Edward.

In her Way thither, as she past by Gloucester, which in Discretion she durst not Assault, tho' by the former Discourtesie provoked; he taking Advantage of the Place and some Disorder in the Queen's Rearward, fell suddenly upon it and carry'd away, after some Slaughter of the uncircumspect Soldier, much of her Artillery. This Loss troubled her a little; but when she found her self pursu'd by King Edward so close, that before she could reach Tewksbury (u), he with his Horse were in Sight; Despair seiz'd

her, so that she began only to look which way to flee. And indeed to that Extremity was her Business reduced, that there was left no other hope of Safety: The King having so much odds in Courage and Number. But the Duke of Somerset prevail'd against her Fears, and the sober Opinion of most of the best Commanders; upon which, neglecting to escape at first into Wales, where Pembroke had raised mighty Forces for her Service, she was soon by the King necessitated, either to yield or endure the Battle. Whereupon she resolv'd to fight it out that Day, which was the last, and that which decided the great Quarrel between the two Houses.

The Duke of Somerset pitch'd his Field in a Park adjoining to the Town, and entrench'd his Camp round so high and so strong, that the Enemy could on no Side force it; and when he perceiv'd an inevitable Necessity of present Fight, he Marshal'd his Host for the Service. The Foreward he and his Brother commanded, the Earl of Devonshire the Rear. In the main Battel was the Prince, under the Direction of the Lord Prior, and the Lord Wenlock. The Queen seeing the Hour draw near, and that there was need the Soldiers should have Advantage of Valour to equal the Enemy, who had it in Multitude, took the Prince with her and rode about the Army. In her Looks appear'd nothing but Life and Resolution, in her Language almost an Assurance of Victory; so cunningly she conceal'd the Wound her Despair had given her, that then only it bled inward. She told them, That it rested in their Courage that Day to restore their imprison'd King to Liberty and his Crown; and themselves not to Safety only, but to Honour and Treasure; for the Wealth of the rebellious Cities should be their Spoil, the Kingdom their Inheritance to be divided only among them, and all those Titles the Enemies so proudly wore, to be conferred upon their Deserts. If the Inequality of Number frighted them, she shew'd it was not such, but that they might be confident their great Hearts animated by the Justice of the Cause, would easily take away the Disparity. Then she wish'd them to look upon the Prince (whose Personage the fond Mother thought would make them like desperate Lovers contemn Danger) and fight for him their fellow Soldier, with whom they were to share in Fortune, and who once in Possession of the Throne, would never forget them, by whose Courage he was seated there.

The Soldier generally appear'd resolv'd against the sharpest Danger, receiving her Words with much Alacrity: And as soon as the Signal was given bravely repulsed the Duke of Gloucester, who having the leading of King Edward's Vanguard, had assaulted the Queen's Camp. Upon which Repulse, the Duke of Somerset seeing Gloucester retire with some Appearance of Flight (an Appearance indeed it was only to betray the Enemy) ran after so far in the Pursuit, that there was no Safety in the Retreat. Then did Gloucester on the sudden turn back upon him, and having by this Deceit

The Duke of Somerset's Wing destroyed by the Duke of Gloucester's cunning.

(q) This long Account of the Queen's Despair is not very certain, but very natural, she being a Woman of a Masculine Spirit.

(r) The Earl of Pembroke did not join her.

(s) Marlborough is Twenty Four Miles from Bath, and not at all situated to cut off the Communication between Bristol and Wales, the King lay at Cirencester in Gloucestershire.

(t) She was very well receiv'd and supply'd by the Citizens of Bristol, and was so far from shunning the King's Army, that she came to Sudbury in Gloucestershire and insulted King Edward's Quarters. Some of her Scouts entering the Town and bringing off Five or Six of his Men.

(u) She march'd the Night before, and that Day Thirty Six long Miles, and encamp'd at Tewksbury the Third of May. Hol.

intified

A. D. 1471. Reg. II. intised him from his Trenches, he cut all the Vanguard in pieces. The Lord *Wenlock* who had the Conduct of the main Battle, and whom it concern'd to have reliev'd the Duke, only looking on as if he were a Spectator, and no Actor in the present Tragedy. *Somerſet* enraged with his Diſcomfiture, and having *Wenlock's* Faith in ſome Jealouſie; upon his eſcape back upbraided him with the moſt ignominious Terms of Cowardize and Treason, and transported by the Heat of Paſſion, with an Ax he had in his Hand ſtruck out his Brains. This Outrage begat nothing but Diſorder in the Queen's Camp; and ſo great grew the Confuſion that no Man knew whom to obey, or how or where to make Reſiſtance againſt the aſſaulting Enemy. So unhappy is Government both in War and Peace, when all Authority is not conferred on one: A multitude of Commanders dividing the Obedience of the Inferior, and ever diſtracting Reſolutions among themſelves. Whereas Nature inſtructs us to a Subordination, and as in our own, ſo in a publick Body, it is monſtrous either to have no Head, or elſe to have more than one.

K. Edward conquers the Queen's Army. The King took Advantage of this Uprore, and by it gain'd a moſt entire Victory: for entering without any Oppoſition the Queen's Trenches, he committed a moſt cruel Slaughter on all who reſiſted. Three Thouſand of the Common Soldiers (for they always pay for the Raſhneſs or Folly of their Commanders) were ſlain that Day, and among them the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *John Beaufort*, and ſome other Gentlemen of Name (*). The thick Woods of the Park preſerv'd ſome, and the Sanctuary others, but them only for a while; for King *Edward* who was never an overſcrupulous obſerver of religious Rites, with his Sword drawn would have entered the Church and forced them thence. But a good Priest careful to maintain the Immunity of the Place, with the Eucharift in his Hand, oppoſed the Violence and would not let him enter a Place ſacred to our moſt merciful God, until he had granted to all there his Mercy by a free Pardon. But this Pardon betray'd them, for on the Monday after they were taken out of the Church, and all beheaded in the Market-Place at *Tewksbury* (y). Among whom thoſe of principal Note were the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Lord Prior of *St. John's*, and many other Knights of great Reputation and Fortune. By which Violation of the Sanctuary he made good the Opinion which the World before had conceived of him; that Religion never could prevail ſo far upon his Conſcience as to be any bar either to his Pleaſures or Revenge.

Q. Margaret and Prince Edward taken. K. Edward again breaks a ſolemn Promiſe. The Queen half dead in her Chariot was taken in the Battle (z), and not long after, the Prince was brought Priſoner to the King by Sir *Richard Crofts*, who taking Notice of the Proclamation, whereby the Reward of a Hundred Pound by the Year during Life was promiſed to whoſoever ſhould yield up the Prince's Body, dead or alive, to the King, (with Proteſtation not to offer any Violence to his Perſon if alive) brought him unhappily to his Death: Which when the good Knight afterward found, he repented what he had done, and openly profeſſed his Service abuſed, and his Faith deluded.

A. D. 1471. Reg. II. For King *Edward* preſently upon the Delivery of the Prince, cauſed him to be brought into his Preſence, and entertain'd him with ſome Demonſtration of Courteſie: Moved perhaps thereunto by the Innocency of his Youth, Compaſſion of his Miſfortune, or the Comlineſs of his Perſon, the Composition of his Body, being guilty of no Fault but a too feminine Beauty. At firſt it was ſuppoſed the King might have ſome charitable Intention, and reſolve happily to have ſettled him in the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, his Father's Inheritance, a Parri-mony too narrow for a King, and ſomething too large for a Subject; and for that End is ſaid to have enter'd Diſcourſe with him, to make Tryal whether his Spirit would ſtoop to acknowledge a Superior. He therefore queſtion'd him what mad Perſwaſion had made him enter into ſo raſh an Enterprize, as to take up Arms againſt him, where the very Attempt was Rebellion, being againſt his Sovereign, and Folly being in Oppoſition to a Prince ſo far in Power above him? He expected an humble Answer, as if he were to beg his Life, or ſoft and gentle, according to the Complexion either of his Fortune or his Face. But he with a Reſolution (as bold as his Grandfather *Henry* the Fifth, would have replied with) answer'd, 'That to recover his Father miſerably oppreſſed, and the Crown violently uſurped, he had taken Arms. Neither could he be reputed to make any unjuſt Claim, who deſir'd no more than what had been poſſeſſed by *Henry* the Sixth, the Fifth and Fourth, his Father, Grandfather, and great Grandfather Kings of *England*; and acknowledged by the Approbation not of the Kingdom only but the World, and even by the Progenitors of K. *Edward*.' The Prince's Answer to King *Edward*.

By the Spirit of which Language when the King perceived how much his Life might threaten Danger, with a Look full of Indignation he turned from him, thruſting him diſdainfully away with his Gauntlet (a). Which ſo mighty Rage obſerv'd, and his ſo diſtemper'd parring out of the Room: The Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Hastings*, ſeiz'd ſuddenly upon the Prince, and with their Poniards moſt barbarouſly murder'd him. Of whom we can make little Mention, his Youth having perform'd nothing worth Story, though it promiſed much. For under the Government of a Mother (the worſt Education for a Son) he had been bred up, until this laſt Scene of Life; which he acted along, and bravely, ſo that Poſterity laments his Miſfortune yet, and applaudes the Juſtice of the Almighty in Punishment of his Murthers. For all of them came to violent Ends: *Glouceſter* being Executioner of the Reſt, and of him the Earl of *Richmond*, the next ſurviving Kinsman of the butcher'd Prince. The Severity of which Example, holds a Glaſs before the Eyes of the Wicked, and ſhows them how rotten is all that Greatneſs, which is not raiſed upon, and maintain'd by Vertue; and as the Conſcience is ever after ſuch a crying Sin, inwardly tortured upon the Rack of Fear; ſo ſeldom doth the Body eſcape outwardly an exemplary Death by Violence. The Prince's Death revenged.

After this general Deſeat of the Enemy, the Death of the Prince, and all the great Parta-

(*) This Battel was fought the Fourth of May, and 3000 private Soldiers were ſlain.

(y) The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Prior of *St. John's*, Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Sir *Gerwaſe Clifton* and others were formally tried before the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and preſently condemn'd.

(z) She was not taken in the Battle, but in a Monastery near *Warceſter*. Hol. 688.

(a) He ſtruck him with his Gauntlet. Hol.

A. D. 1471. *Reg. II.* kers with the House of Lancaster, and the Sur-
prize of the Queen her self: the King returned
toward London (b): This being the only com-
pleat Victory he ever gain'd, from which no
Man of Eminency escap'd; and no Man, who
might pretend to a Competition, was now pre-
served except King Henry, and he Issueless, and
in Prison.

Q. Mar- And to make this Triumph resemble some-
garet's thing of the Roman, the King carried with him
Chara- his great Captive the most afflicted Queen Mar-
cter. garet. A Woman most unfortunate to her self,
and most ruinous to this Kingdom. For after
her Marriage into England, soon finding her
Husband's Weakness, safe however in being di-
rected and strengthened by sober Counsel, she
never left off inventing new Machinations till
she wrought him into her sole Command, with
the Destruction of his nearest Friends. So that
to make the Prospect of her Greatness larger,
she broke down and levell'd his strong Bul-
warks. The Duke of Gloucester, which might
perhaps a little check her ambitious Eye, being
taken quite away, left her open to every Tem-
pest. Having therefore by fomenting Diffen-
sion at home, lost (except only Calis) all our
wide Territories abroad: By the Murther of
the good Duke, her Husband's Uncle, she gave
Liberty to the House of York, to make their
just Claim to the Crown; and in the end to put
her out of that Government, she preposterously
managed. In her Prosperity, she was rather
ambitious than wanton; though from the last
Opinion did not absolutely acquit her. Which
Aspersions certainly was cast upon her, by Rea-
son of her too intimate Familiarity with some
of the younger and finer Lords: For the more
discreet and aged, either dislik'd her Projects,
or were dislik'd by her, as Persons too cautious
to consult with a giddy Woman. Her mighty
Confidence in the Duke of Suffolk, who wrought
her Marriage with England, had left the larg-
est Part of that false Suspicion upon her Name.

Her Amb- For they who are just to her Memory, cannot
ition. but say, beside that she was religious, she was
even too busie to think of Love-Matters. But
perhaps the Misfortune of her Carriage gave
some small Occasion of the Report. Her pro-
sperous Fortune presents her to us in the worst
Colours a factious, busie, and imperious Queen.
Her Adverse in the best, a most industrious Wo-
man to recover what her Folly had lost, an ex-
cellent Wife, and a most indulgent Mother.
And had she never appear'd in Action but when
Misfortune had compell'd her to it, she had cer-
tainly been numbered among the best Examples
of her Sex: But now the Merits of her latter
Part of her Life, by redeeming the Errors of the
former, serve only to level her with the Indif-
ferent. The Time she continued a Prisoner in
England, she shewed us no Face but that of De-
solation; the Strength of her Spirit, either
broken in the Murther of her Son, or else she
accounted it a needless Employment now to
raise her self above her Sorrows. After some
time, her Father, with the Sale (c) of much
of that poor Estate, of which he remained
yet in Possession, ransomed her for 50000
Crowns; whereby she was redeemed to ano-

Her Reli- but say, beside that she was religious, she was
gion. even too busie to think of Love-Matters. But
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broken in the Murther of her Son, or else she
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raise her self above her Sorrows. After some
time, her Father, with the Sale (c) of much
of that poor Estate, of which he remained
yet in Possession, ransomed her for 50000
Crowns; whereby she was redeemed to ano-

Her Grief- The Time she continued a Prisoner in
ferent. England, she shewed us no Face but that of De-
solation; the Strength of her Spirit, either
broken in the Murther of her Son, or else she
accounted it a needless Employment now to
raise her self above her Sorrows. After some
time, her Father, with the Sale (c) of much
of that poor Estate, of which he remained
yet in Possession, ransomed her for 50000
Crowns; whereby she was redeemed to ano-

Q. Mar- som'd by of that poor Estate, of which he remained
her Fa- yet in Possession, ransomed her for 50000
ther. Crowns; whereby she was redeemed to ano-

their Air, tho' not to a freer Fortune. In Ad-
dition to her other Miseries, she was punish'd
with a long Life, which she spun out sadly and
ingloriously, living humbly upon the narrow
Exhibition her Father did steal from himself to
afford her. Her Life was much the Talk of the
present and succeeding Times, because it con-
curr'd to the Destruction of the House of Lan-
caster, a Family beyond any then in the Christian
World, both in Extent and Dominion, Great-
ness of Alliance, and Glory of Action. Her
Death was so obscure (for who counts the Steps
of the Unfortunate?) that it is not left cer-
tainly in Story when she died.

But King Edward, by her Misfortune rec-
kon'd his own Felicities; and now justly concei-
ved himself secure in that Throne, he so passio-
nately had endeavoured to sit at ease in. But
because the Scene of his Fortune had had more
Changes than any King in England yet, except
his Competitor, he continued still with a most
watchful Eye to look about him. And not
knowing to how dangerous a Growth Enemies
might arrive, which for the present appeared
weak, he thought fit to take Order with Jas-
per, Earl of Pembroke, who remained in Wales,
with a Power unable to offend the King, but
able enough considering the Nature of the
Place, to defend himself. Wherefore, that
without a publick Trouble he might destroy so
private a Person, he sent Roger Vaughan strong
both in Kindred and Followers, with Commis-
sion by some Stratagem to entrap him. But the
Earl had a Discovery of his Plot, and to de-
ceive the Deceiver, seemed to give Opportu-
nity for Execution of the Design; by which
means he got Vaughan into his Possession, and
presently caused him to be beheaded. But
knowing this Act concurring with the whole
Progress of his Life in Opposition to the King,
would bring him to Ruin, either by open
Power or secret Practice, he resolv'd to sail
over into Brittain, and under the Protection of
that State to secure himself from the present
Storm. With him he carried his Nephew
Henry, Earl of Richmond, Heir of the Tudors
Family by the Paternal, by the Mother's Side
of the House of Somerset; for the Civil War
had now destroyed all those great Dukes, who
had with Loss of their Lives shewed their
Devotion to King Henry, and left the Inheri-
rance of their Honour, with a far more favou-
rable Aspect to this young Earl.

By the Duke of Brittain, they were received
not only with Promise of Safety, but with an
Allowance of a Pension. Him perhaps the Con-
sideration of the Instability of humane Affairs,
moved to this noble Pity. But Peter Landois
(the sole Director of the Duke, and a wicked
Man) perswaded his Master to give them Enter-
tainment out of a covetous Design one Day,
to make a good Merchandize for himself by
Sale of them into England.

Yet could not the King bring his Happiness
to that Quiet he desired; some few small Drops
fell upon him after the great Tempest: For
a base Son of William Nevill; Earl of Kent,
(commonly known by the Name of the
Bastard Falconbridge, having been employed

(b) There was a Rising in the North in Favour of King Henry, and King Edward before he went to London march'd Northward to suppress it; but the Northern Men hearing of the ill Fortune of their Friends in the South, desired the Earl of Northumberland to mediate with the King for a Pardon, which he did actually at Coventry. The King did not come to London till the 21st of May.

(c) He borrowed the Money of the French King, and pawn'd only Naples and Sicily for it, Two Kingdoms that never were in his Possession.

(d) Thomas Nevill.

(e) Bastard Son to the brave Lord Falconbridge. Hist.

A. D. 1471. Vice-Admiral by the Earl of Warwick, during the late Combuſtions of the Kingdom, to hinder all Succours which might come from the Low-Countries to King Edward's Aid, ſoon as he underſtood the Earl's Death, ſet up for himſelf, and fell to Trade in open PyracY. His Conditions were ignoble as his Birth, and only can be ſaid a fit Inſtrument to move the baſe Multitude to Sedition. Between Dover and Calis he robb'd moſt, and had now got under his Command a Navy great enough to work Miſchief. Eſpecially having the chief Men of Calis (who had ſided lately with the Earl) of his Confederacy, and by that Means Safety upon all Occaſions in their Harbour. Gathering therefore into his Retinue many of thoſe who had eſcaped from the two former Overthrows, and preſuming upon the Affection of the Kentiſh and Eſſex Men, he ſailed up the River of Thames.

His Navy.

His Army of 17000

The Intention of his Arms he gave out to be for the common Liberty, and the Redemption of the King and Queen imprifon'd by an Uſurper. By which Pretence, ever powerful to incline the Vulgar to Sedition, he invited to the Quarrel ſo great a Multitude, that the Number was reckoned 17000 fighting Men; moſt of them the Dregs and Lees of former Rebellions: Such who having been heretofore on King Henry's Side, and wanting Courage to make good the Undertaking, had by Flight eſcap'd; or elſe Men whom Guilt of ſome enormous Diſorder had prepared for any Attempt; becauſe neither of them could hope to remain long ſecure from Punishment, when once the ſevere Eye of a peaceable Government, ſhould look narrowly into their Offences.

He ſeizes the City, and is repulſed by the Mayor.

With this Army he march'd to Kingſtoke hoping there to have croſſed the River, but being debarr'd, he led his Army into St. George's Fields, (f) and from thence with his Ordinance made ſome ſmall Battery on the City. And to ſtrike the more Terror, in the mean time he cauſed 3000 of his Men to be transported by Boat at St. Katherine's, to make an Aſſault on the other Side at Aldgate and Biſhopsgate. Who being ſet a ſhore with a Courage as deſperate as their Quarrel, offered to force an Entrance, but by the Citizens were bravely repulſed. The Lord (g) Mayor and Aldermen, directed by the great Experience of the Earls of Eſſex and Rivers, and the Marqueſs Dorſet, neglecting no Part of the beſt Commanders. And ſo valiantly they purſued the Rebels (who ſoon began to ſhrink) that Falconbridge with much Difficulty recovered his Ships. For he over-confident of Succeſs, had commanded them to fall as low as the Downs, little fearing he ſhould ſoon be forced to ſeek Safety at Sea, and having vainly deluded himſelf and his Soldiers with Expectation of great Forces from Wales under the Conduct of Jaſper, Earl of Pembroke. With much Danger of being deſtroyed at Black-beath, where, for a while he entrench'd, he got at length to Sandwich, and fortified the Place. Few of the Rebels, who had any weak Hope of Pardon, following their General upon a forc'd Retreat.

The Commons entring thus upon every ſlight Invitation into Rebellion, when the Preſervation or Reſtitution of King Henry was but mention'd, made the King begin to conſider how dangerous his Life was to the State; and

that his Death would diſſipate even the Hope of his Faction, for ever reflecting more upon the Wars. It was therefore reſolv'd in King Edward's Cabinet Council, that to take away all Title from future Inſurrections, King Henry ſhould be ſacrificed. For howſoever, ſome either to clear the Memory of the King, or by after Cruelties gueſſing at precedent, will have this Murther to be the ſole Act of the Duke of Glouceſter: I cannot believe a Man ſo cunning in declining Envy, and winning Honour to his Name, would have undertaken ſuch a Buſineſs of his own Council, (h) and executed it with his own Hands. Neither did this concern Glouceſter ſo particularly, as to engage him alone in the Cruelty; nor was the King ſo ſcrupulous, having commanded more unneceſſary Slaughters, and from his Youth been never any Stranger to ſuch Executions. In killing the Prince he had Clarence, Dorſet and Haſtings for his Conductors; and in the very Murther of his Nephews (which was the ſecuring his Uſurpation) he truſted Tyrrel: So confident had his innate Inhumanity made him, that he doubted not but others might be faithful in Villany. But the Death of King Henry was acted in the dark; ſo that it cannot be affirmed who was the Executioner; only it is probable it was a Reſolution of State. The Care of the King's Safety and the publick Quiet, in ſome ſort making it, however cruel, yet (i) neceſſary.

But that the World might not ſuſpect King Henry lived ſtill, and thereupon be ſtirred up to new Deſigns; he was no ſooner dead, but with ſome Show of Funeral Rites, his Body was brought into St. Paul's Church, where upon Aſcenſion-Day, with his Face uncovered, he was expoſed to the Curioſity of every Eye. For the King was reſolved rather to endure the Scandal of his Murther, than to hazard the Queſtion of his Life, which continually gave Life to new Seditions. From St. Paul's next Day, the Corps obſcurely without any Ceremony (in thoſe Days with much Piety obſerv'd toward the Dead) was conveyed to the Black-Friers, and from thence by Boat to Cherſy, in Surry. Whence, after it had reſted ſome while, it was removed to Windſor, and there at length found Quiet. The King having even after Death partaken with the Troubles and Diſgraces of his Life.

The Reaſon of burying him thus in the Dark, I cannot gueſs to be any Diſreſpect to ſo great a Prince; but only to ſtop the Diſcourſes of the Commons, who always pity them dead, to whoſe Deaths their Votes concurr'd. Unleſs it be true what is commonly written, that the People began to cenſure hardly the King for his Death, becauſe at what time his Body lay in St. Paul's, and after in Black-Friers, a large Quantity of Blood iſſued from his Noſe. A moſt miraculous Way of ſpeaking the Barbariſme of his Murther, and giving Tyrants to underſtand that the Dead dare in their Language tell the Truth, and call even their Actions to Account. For this manner of bleeding was never obſerved to happen, but when againſt Law, Nature had been oppreſſed with Violence, and ſeemed to challenge Juſtice.

With what Aſpect he entertain'd his Fate, I cannot write: But well we may believe, he could not but ſmile upon Death, who by a continual Exerciſe in Vertue, from his very Infancy,

A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. K. Henry's Death. reſolved on by K. Edward and his Council, and effected, but by whom is not known. Duke of Glouceſter not the Murtherer of King Henry.

K. Henry being murdered, is expoſed bare faced in St. Paul's Church.

K. Henry's Corps bled in St. Paul's and the Interpretation of it.

K. Henry's Sixth's Chara-cter.

(f) On the 12th of May.

(g) Thomas Stockton, Mercer.

(h) Sir Thomas More in his Life of Edward V. ſays the Duke of Glouceſter ſlew him with his own Hand without the King's Privy; and it was conſtantly reported in his Time, who was Contemporary with him, tho' it was in his Youth.

(i) The Author vindicates K. Henry's Murther as neceſſary.

A. D. cy had triumph'd over Sin, which only makes
 1471. Death Formidable to a Christian. Of his out-
 ward Actions, all good Men of that Time took
 a reverend Notice; especially of his due Ob-
 servation of all the Laws of the Church, his
 exemplary Piety, Humility beneath the State
 commonly used by Princes, and a Modesty even
 to Admiration. But they were the Vertues,
 which crowned the first part of his Life, which
 was past over in a full Prosperity, and apper-
 tain not to my Story. His Misfortune and
 Death only fall to my Task. And in his Mis-
 fortune he expressed so singular a Fortitude,
 that he was never observ'd to be dejected upon
 the Report of any sad Accident. But enter-
 tain'd all Afflictions as sent from the Almighty,
 and absolutely resign'd his Will to that of Hea-
 ven. How innocently he spent the last Ten
 Years of his Life, which was in as much Ad-
 versity as ever Prince suffer'd, his ghostly Fa-
 ther gave a happy Testimony: Affirming that
 in all that long Trial of the inward Man, he
 never in Confession could accuse himself of any
 actual Sin. His Employment was Prayer, and
 his Recreation only pious Discourses which per-
 swaded Man to set a true Value upon heavenly
 Things, and throw a just Contempt upon the
 World. And to such Reputation the Sanctity
 of his Life arriv'd among the Common People,
 that after his Death they honour'd him with
 the Devotions due to a Saint. And King Hen-
 ry the Seventh (who owed the highest Opinion
 to his Holiness, because he had fore-professed
 he should enjoy that Crown for which the two
 Houses then so much contested) labour'd his
 Canonization with the Pope, but that succeed-
 ed not; for however the World was assured of
 his Piety, there was much Question of his Go-
 vernment: So that he might be term'd a just
 Man, but an unjust King. Since his Title to
 the Crown was unjust; for though it came by
 Descent to him, yet was it but a continued
 Usurpation: His Reign, was guilty, I will not
 say through his Demerit, but thro' his evil For-
 tune, of much Mischief, and the Effusion of a
 Sea of Christian Blood: And however in the
 Contemplative Part he was Religious toward
 God, in the Active he was Defective to the
 World: So that to have made him worthy that
 Honour Henry the Seventh would have provid-
 ed for him, he must either (being resolv'd in
 Conscience his Title was just) have fully per-
 form'd the Office of a King; or knowing it
 questionable have submitted it to be disputed
 freely, and upon the Resolution made Resignati-
 on of what he unlawfully possessed. But Ju-
 stice which commands any Diminution of Great-
 ness, is seldom obey'd by Princes, and Death
 only makes them surrender up what was vio-
 lently by their Progenitors usurped, and un-
 justly by themselves continued, for till Death,
 Ambition betrays the Conscience, and Fear of
 being less makes it not dare to see the Truth,
 which perswades to Restitution.

*Falcon-
bridge in
Sandwich
submitsto
the King.*

King Henry thus taken away, the Forces un-
 der Falconbridge's Command, which before had
 the specious Title of a just War, could now
 pretend to nothing but an unjust Sedition.
 And so low they fell both in Courage and Re-
 putation, that all they intended was but to
 make show of War, whereby the easier to work
 their Peace: No Man of Name or Power, who
 before secretly had favoured them, but openly
 protested against the Enterprize. In Sandwich
 Nine Hundred of them remained, till they cer-
 tainly understood the King's Approach with
 a mighty Power; then they sent forth Sir

George Brooke, to acquaint his Majesty with
 their Desire to return to his Obedience, if they
 might by his Pardon be secured of their Lives
 and Liberties. They protested it was no Fear
 or present Necessity induced them to this Sub-
 mission, having Confederates enough Abroad to
 relieve them upon Extremity, and for the pre-
 sent Victuals for Six Months, and Ammunition
 to oppose any Assault. If this Offer might be
 accepted, they would give up with themselves,
 the Town and Castle, together with all the
 Shipping in the Harbour; if not, Necessity
 would force them to their own Defence. And
 if they must die, they would sell their Lives
 at so dear a rate, that the King might repent
 his Purchase; considering he had kill'd so ma-
 ny, who would have been as bold to have fought
 his Quarrel, and lost so good Shipping, and so
 commodious a Haven-Town; for they were
 resolv'd to see both consum'd with themselves,
 that the Victory might be no Triumph to the
 Conqueror, and the Conquer'd might have that
 Comfort in their Ruin.

The Proposition was accepted by the King,
 and the Duke of Gloucester (whose Wisdom and
 Valour had wrought him high in the Opinion
 of the King) was sent with a general Pardon to
 the Rebels, and Authority in the King's Name
 to receive the Town, the Castle, and all the
 Shipping in the Harbour.

But the King, who never let any Pardon be
 an Impediment to his Purpose, having them in
 his Power, caused the Laws severely to pro-
 ceed against them. And for the Example of
 the rest, Spicing and Quintin (two of the chief
 in this Rebellion) were executed at Canterbury,
 and their Heads set upon those Gates, which
 at their last being at London, they so furiously
 assaulted. And that the King might not only
 draw Blood, but Treasure from this Business,
 a Commission of Oyer and Terminer was direct-
 ed to the Lord Denham, and Sir John Fog, to
 inquire against all Offenders in the last Rebel-
 lion, and to inflict on them either corporal or
 pecuniary Punishment. But the Commissioners
 who understood both the Necessity and Intenti-
 on of the State, made rather choice of the lat-
 ter, knowing Death would but incur the Cen-
 sure of Cruelty, and no way advance the King's
 Benefit. Whereas great Fines weaken as much
 the Discontented, and make the Prince as se-
 cure from Danger, even with the Reputation
 of Clemency.

And that Falconbridge the first mover of this
 Sedition might have no more Privilege than
 his Complices; coming into Southampton he was
 apprehended and put to Death. The infert-
 ing of his Name in the former Pardon, though
 often pleaded by him, serving only to make him
 suffer the same Execution with the rest.

The Punishment of these succeeding so well,
 the King proceeded against others. And first
 against the Archbishop of York, Brother to the
 Earl of Warwick, who with his spiritual Autho-
 rity had set a Gloss of Religion upon all the
 latter Attempts. And by his working inclin'd
 the Commons of the North to so constant a Re-
 solution for King Henry. With him the King
 took Order, because he found his Ambition ir-
 regular, and sent him to be kept Prisoner in the
 Castle of Guisnes. Where deservedly he endur-
 ed a long Restraint, and never attain'd Liber-
 ty till Death enlarged him. No Man afforded
 the poor Comfort of Pity to his Affliction, be-
 cause in his Prosperity he had been Insolent and
 Factionous.

A. D. 1471. The Manner of the Attachment was according to the Custom of the King, unfaithful. For having admitted the Archbishop, after *Barnet-Field*, not only into Favour, but a special Familiarity; as he was hunting with him near *Windsor*, he promised to come to *More-Park*, (a Place in *Hartfordshire*, which was not long before purchased, and built up most commodiously by the Archbishop) and there to hunt with him; with this Caution, that there might be nothing but a liberal Mirth, and friendly Entertainment. With much Complacency, the Archbishop retired to his House, joyful to see the King so free in his Affection, without Memory of former Discontents. And that the Entertainment might not be altogether beneath the Majesty of his Person, against the King's coming, beside all costly Provision, which the Shortness of the Time could make; he had gathered together of his own and his Friends, Plate and other rich household Stuff, to the Value of 20000 *l*. Next Day expecting the Presence of the King, on the sudden, *Sir William Par*, Knight, and Master *Thomas Vaughan* entered the House, and by Virtue of a Commission to that Purpose, confiscated all those Goods to the King's Use; and having arrested his Person and sent that to Prison, seized upon all his Estate both Temporal and Ecclesiastical: The former forfeited for ever, the latter during the Archbishop's Life.

The Earl of Oxford fortifies St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and held it out against the King. The Crime objected against him was Treason, for secretly aiding the Earl of Oxford, who at that Time had fortified and held *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, ever since *Barnet-Field*. For the poor Earl seeing the whole Island lost from the House of *Lancaster* (in whose Defence he had been so constant) and all the great Favourers of the Quarrel destroyed; having no Place of Safety to shelter himself abroad, took this Corner of the Kingdom, and endeavour'd to make it good. But this was but the Enterprize of a desperate Man; for all his Hope this way could be only to prolong a wretched Life without Servitude. As for Liberty he was his own Goal, and his Fortress his Prison. The whole Number of his Soldiers were but 70, scarce enough for his Retinue. Yet with these he managed his Business so happily, that tho' besieg'd, he revictualled the Place, and made his Defence good some Months. But when *Richard Fortescue*, Esq; of the Body to the King, (k) and then Sheriff of the County, came down, and by open Offer of the King's free Pardon to all the Earl's Men, and secret Practising, had wrought them to his Purpose; the Earl was forc'd to yield, and with him the Lord *Beumont*, Two of the Earl's Brothers, and *Thomas Clifford*; all Persons of great Name and Quality. The King receiv'd them to Mercy, as far as their Lives were concern'd: But for their Estates (for now he began to husband his Victories to the Benefit of his Treasury) he confiscated them wholly; not allowing the disconsolate Countess any Part of her Joynture. In-somuch that during the Life-time of King *Edward* (for all that while was the Earl kept Prisoner near *Callis*, in the Castle of *Humes*) she was forc'd to live upon the Courtesie of her Friends, a kind of better Sort of Alms.

A. D. 1472. All now were reduced to Order, except the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*; and them the King laboured to fetch in: For now either his Nature was alter'd to a strange Mistrust, which

in his Youth had been so taxed of an uncircumspect Confidence; or else he began to be govern'd by a Council of a more wary Judgment, and whose Sight could discern Danger afar off. And certainly, who compares the first and last Times of the King's Government, shall perceive a strange Difference in the Policy; unless in those Affairs wherein he obeyed his own Direction, and in them remain'd a Tincture of his natural Error. The Change of Government may be ascribed to the Duke of *Gloucester*, a Man whom the Conscience of his own Insidelity, made jealous of the Faith of others; who thought no Enemy alive and with Liberty, but full of Danger, how weak soever his Power or Pretence might be; and who at this Time held the Stern of the Council, while the King at Pleasure wanton'd in his Cabin. By his Advice Commissioners were sent over to the Duke of *Brittain*, in whose Dominions the Earls remained, to expostulate the Injury of giving Entertainment to any Evil-affected to the State of *England*. *Pembroke* having been upon all Occasions an open Rebel, and *Richmond* only wanting Age to take Arms, and who shortly appeared to threaten no less Dangers. They desired him 'as he respected any Confederacy with *England*, and the Common Policy of Princes, not to disoblige the King by harbouring his Enemies, and succouring such who could bring nothing but Ruin to their Abettors: Neither to prefer Faith with Two miserable Exiles, before Love to a Prince, who had both the Power and Intention to join with him in any War, that might tend to the Safety or Honour of his Dutchy. They concluded with an earnest Request, 'That he would deliver up into their Hands the Two Fugitives, that such Order might be taken as was safest for the present State. Or if the too scrupulous Observance of an Oath perplex'd him, that at least such Care might be had, that they might neither attempt Confederacy abroad, or a Power to enable them to return home.

The Duke made Answer, 'That in Point of Honour he could not condescend to the King's first Demand; having upon their Arrival there given them his Word. But for the second Part, he would beyond the King's own Desire consult for the Safeguard of his Majesty, and restrain them from any Power to attempt new Enterprizes. And perhaps, as it would preserve his Reputation clearer to the World, so would it more advance the King's Purpose to let them remain in *Brittain*, rather than to have them returned into *England*; considering, at Home they had a great Kindred, and by the Slaughter of the rest, were grown chief of the Faction of *Lancaster*: Whereas, if they continued with him, they should be in a free but a safe Custody, in a Country where they were so far from Power, that they wanted Acquaintance: And that himself would narrowly look that no discontented Persons should resort to them, or that they should make their Addresses to any other Prince. Whereupon he entreated his Majesty to consider him as a Confederate most religious in Maintenance of that Amity, heretofore so happily begun, and hitherto so faithfully maintained.

With this Answer the Ambassadors return'd, and the Duke made good his Promise to the

(k) *Fortescue* was not Sheriff of the County at that Time, but one *Bedringham*, who favoured the Besieged, and gave the Earl an Opportunity of Victualling his Garrison.

A. D. King. For presently he remov'd all their English Servants, and set Britains to attend them, who did rather observe than serve them: Men who cunningly mark'd not only who made their Dependencies upon them of the English, or with what People they held Intelligence, but even their Looks, and sent the Copy of them into England, oftentimes with a false Interpretation. Then (that Two together might not animate each other, and enter into dangerous Counsels) they were kept divided, and all Communication either by Language or Letter, absolutely forbidden. And (that both being in the same Restraint, might not conspire to the same Escape) there was a Guard set upon them, who narrowly, tho' respectfully watch'd them. So that we may guess this great Care the King took for their Restraint, to have wrought a strange Effect. Richmond esteeming himself more considerable as he was more suspected; and by the Fears of the King making Valuation of his own Pretences. Great Thoughts crept into his Mind by the Circumspection of such great Princes; and the Vulgar both abroad and at home began to believe (for they always think there are strange Depths even in the Shallows of Princes Actions) there was much Mystery in Richmond's Title, and Danger in his Liberty. Whereas had he lived unsuspected by the King, he had perhaps died unobserv'd by the World.

K. Edward endeavours to hinder the Growth of the French by a Marriage with the Heiress of the Duke of Burgundy.

The Danger of the French King's being Master of the Netherlands to England and all Europe.

By this Negotiation with Brittain, having secured himself of these Two Earls, who might endanger the Quiet of the Kingdom at Home, he began to look abroad, whither yet he had never Liberty to cast his Eye: His Pleasures, or Dangers hitherto so taking up his Time, that he had only served his Appetite, or Safety; but now he had quieted all Civil Troubles, and even rooted up the very Fear of War hereafter; he therefore thought it necessary to look first upon France, a Nation which had made Benefit of our Ruin; and while we busied our Thoughts and Courage in Destruction of each other, recovered so much Life, that they were grown dangerous. Of their farther Growth the King was fearful, and resolv'd, if he could not make them less, at least to keep them at a Stay. Whereupon, having Intelligence of a Marriage in Agitation between Duke Charles (Brother to Lewis XI. and then Heir apparent to the Crown) and the Daughter and sole Heir of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, he endeavoured by all Arts to break off the Treaty. For he considered how formidable the French would grow to our Kingdom, should the so large Territories of the Seventeen Provinces with the other Dominions of the Duke be added to them. How they would then be enabled to revenge those many Injuries the Fortune of our Victories had done them, when we should be left to our own Arms, the Burgundian (by whose Aid we had entred and conquer'd France) now prepared to war upon us. How France superior always to the English in Multitude, and Extent of Territories, and defective only in commodious Havens, would by this be enlarged with a mighty Sea Coast, and with as good Men for Navigation as the World then had; by which they would have absolute Command at Sea, and keep us within the narrow Limits of our Island: If they would permit us that. These Considerations made the King solicit both the Duke of Brittain and the Count St. Paul (the Two earnest Mediators for Duke Charles) to desist from farther Negotiation in the Marriage. Brittain he moved to reflect upon his own Danger, if Charles

should survive King Lewis, as by Course of Years it was probable, and have so great an Empire under his Command, telling him, That greater Princes, like greater Rivers swallow up the less, and after a while retain no Memory of them. And if he presumed upon the Friendship between him and Duke Charles, and the many Courtesies done him, it was a treacherous Hope that never yet kept from Faith. That Brittain never enjoyed all the Privileges appertaining to the Dutchy, but when France was disabled to break them.

With the Count St. Paul he dealt another Way, by representing to him, The near Friendship that ought to be between them Two, in Respect of the so near Alliance, being Uncle to his Queen; which he entreated him not urge a Business so prejudicial to the Crown of England, which in a near Degree concern'd his own Blood. Withal he advised him, to take Care of himself, and not to exasperate too far King Lewis, to whom the Treaty of this Marriage was most displeasing; in Regard to the Safety of his own Estate. To foment Discord between Brothers, being injurious to Religion, and unsafe to Policy: For Nature reunites them, and throws both their Malices on him, who occasioned the first Breach; and so he for the most part is yielded up a Sacrifice to the Reconciliation. He concluded, with the Madnes of his Actions, who would provoke the just Anger of so subtil, and so revengeful a Prince, for the frail Amity of so weak and inconstant a Man as his Brother Duke Charles, who so often had been entrap'd.

From both these Princes he received such Answer as shewed they resolv'd to prosecute their Design, but not to have him suspect it; giving fair Protestations of their Desire to be overrul'd by the King's Direction. But neither of them understood the Business to be of that dangerous Nature, as it was conceived in England. For tho' King Lewis had no Son at that Time, yet was there every Day Expectation he might have; the Queen likely to conceive, and Lewis in much Health and Strength of Body. And indeed, soon after a young Dauphin was born, who succeeded in the Kingdom. Moreover they considered the Malice between the Brothers grown to that Height, that all Attempts of Reconciliation was needless; and that there was no such certain Way to maintain a general Dissension in France, as by enabling Duke Charles with a Power to make good the former Contestation. Nothing likely to incline him to seek Friendship with his Brother, but being disabled to continue an Enemy.

The King suspecting the Reality of their Intentions, and being resolv'd upon any Terms to prevent the Marriage, had in his Determination to have forgot all former Discontents justly conceived against King Lewis in abetting the contrary Faction of Lancaster, and to have entred into a particular League with him against the Duke of Burgundy: But before he would make the Overture, he tried by his Ambassadors to know the certain Resolution of the Duke himself, who had in the Marriage of his Daughter always held his Thoughts apart from the World. And in Truth the End of his Intentions was to keep all neighbouring Princes in Expectation, but to conclude with none. For at the same time when Duke Charles had so many underhand Promises, with the self-same Hope did he entertain Maximilian, Son to the Emperor Frederick the Third, Nicholas, Duke of Calabria, and Philibert, Duke of Savoy. His Ambition being to create many Dependancies upon himself, and never to marry her to no Man, unless he should be forced to it by some evil Fate in War,

Duke of Burgundy's Policy in marrying his Daughter.